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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

[No. 64]

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of the

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of the

Royal Asiatic Society

June, 1913.

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THE

STRAITS BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

COUNCIL FOR 1913.

HON. DR. D. J. GALLOWAY, *President.*

REV. W. G. SHELLABEAR, *Vice-President for Singapore.*

HON. W. EVANS, ,, *Penang.*

MR. H. C. ROBINSON, ,, *F. M. S.*

DR. R. HANITSCH, *Honorary Secretary.*

MR. J. LOVE MONTGOMERIE, *Honorary Treasurer.*

MR. A. C. BAKER, *Honorary Librarian.*

THE BISHOP OF SINGAPORE,
MR. I. H. BURKILL,
MR. A. KNIGHT,
MR. H. MARRIOTT, } *Councillors.*

PROCEEDINGS

of the

Annual General Meeting.

The Annual General meeting was held on February 17th, 1913, at the Raffles Library.

There were present:—

MR. W MAKEPEACE, in the Chair.

THE BISHOP OF SINGAPORE
MR. A. C. BAKER.
MR. R. J. BARTLETT.
DR. R. VAN BEUNINGEN.
VAN HELSDINGEN.
MR. C. S. BRISON.
MR. I. H. BURKILL.
MR A. KNIGHT.
MR. H. MARRIOTT.
MR. J. LOVE MONTGOMERIE.
MR. R. PEIRCE.
MR. R D. PRINGLE.

DR. R. HANITSCH, HON. SECRETARY.

The minutes of the Annual General Meeting of 1912 were read and confirmed.

The Council's Report and the Hon. Treasurer's accounts were laid on the table, and on the proposal of the Chairman, seconded by the Bishop of Singapore, adopted.

The Members elected during the past year were confirmed in election, including those elected in January, 1913, *viz.*, Raja Chulan bin Ex-Sultan Abdullah, of Kuala Kangsar; Mr. John Erskine Kempe, of Kuala Kangsar; Mr. P. Gold, of Singapore, and Mr. R. St. J. Braddell, of Singapore.

The following new members were elected: Mr. S. W. Jones, F. M. S. Civil Service, at present Acting D. O., Pekan, proposed by Mr. A. S. Haynes, seconded by the Hon. Secretary;

Rev. G. Dexter Allen, of Banting, Sarawak, proposed by Mr. J. C. Moulton, seconded by the Hon. Secretary;

Mr. Hans Overbeck, of Singapore, proposed by the Hon. Secretary, seconded by the Chairman;

Rev. W. Murray, M. A., proposed by the Hon. Secretary, seconded by the Chairman.

The election of office-bearers for the new year resulted as follows:—

President	...	HON. DR. D. J. GALLOWAY.
Vice-President for Singapore	...	REV. W. G. SHELLABEAR.
„ *Penang*	...	HON. W. EVANS.
„ *F.M.S.*	...	MR. H. C. ROBINSON.
Hon. Secretary	...	DR. R. HANITSCH.
Hon. Treasurer	...	MR. J. LOVE MONTGOMERIE.
Hon. Librarian	...	MR. A. C. BAKER.
Councillors	...	THE BISHOP OF SINGAPORE. MR I. H. BURKILL. MR. A. KNIGHT. MR. H. MARRIOTT.

ANNUAL REPORT

of the

Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society

for 1912.

The past year has been one of quiet work. One Journal, No. 61, was published in June, and another one, the double No. 62-3, in December. The sale of the new edition of the Map of the Malay Peninsula, which arrived here in August 1911, and of which 358 copies were sold locally up to the end of 1911, made satisfactory progress during the year, 295 copies being disposed of locally, and about 40 copies in London.

The following new members were elected during the year:—

January: MR. C. J. SWAYNE, Sibu, Sarawak.
,, WILLIAM ROBERT PRICE, B. A., F.L.S., Pen Moel, Chepstow, England.

April: ,, W. R. JONES, Batu Gajah, Perak.
,, H. C. BARNARD, Taiping, Perak.
,, V. GIBBONS, Singapore.
, S. L. WHARTON, Singapore.

May: , A. C. BAKER, Singapore.
PROF. HARRISON W. SMITH, Boston, U.S.A.
MR. WYNDHAM JONES, Miri, Sarawak.

August: ,, TAN TAT YAN, Singapore.
,, FRANK J. CROSSLE, Kepong, Selangor.
,, J. ROBERTSON, Singapore.
,, J. C. HERMANSEN, Singapore.
,, F. D. TRACY, Singapore.
, W. J. ROUNTREE, Singapore.
,, J. W. BICKNELL, Singapore.
,, W. J. GALLAGHER, Singapore.
,, F. L. TOMLIN, Singapore.

October: DR S. B. FAULKNER, Christmas I.
MR. T. LEIGH MATTHEWS, Singapore.
, I. H. BURKILL, Singapore.
, T. WILLIAMS, Raub, Pahang.

His Excellency the Governor, Sir Arthur Young, K.C M.G., graciously accepted the invitation of the Society to become its Patron.

In April Mr. W. Makepeace resigned the post of Hon. Librarian, and Mr. A. C. Baker was elected in his place Mr. V. Flower who had been for many years a most useful member of the Council, left the Colony for England in November.

The Council decided to continue to compile material towards a future edition of the Map, and the following were appointed members of a Sub-Committee for the purpose:—

THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP OF SINGAPORE.
MR. H. MARRIOTT.
,, H. ROBINSON.

The Council much regret to record the death of one of the Society's members, His Excellency J. S. Mason, soon after his appointment to the Governorship of B. N. Borneo. They also record with much regret the death of Mr. R. Shelford, of Oxford. Mr. Shelford was Curator of the Sarawak Museum from 1899 to 1905, and though he had severed his connection with the Society on leaving the East, he will long be remembered as one of the most valued and frequent contributors to the Journal.

Singapore, January, 1913.

R. HANITSCH,
Hon: Secretary.

HONORARY TREASURER'S ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1912.

	$	c.	$	c.
Balance brought forward from 1911:—				
Mercantile Bank, fixed deposit	2,700	00		
Chartered Bank, fixed deposit	1,500	00		
Mercantile Bank, current account	242	27		
Chartered Bank, current account	28	29	4,470	56
Receipts in 1912:—				
Subscriptions for 1910 ...	5	00		
do 1911 ...	95	00		
do 1912 ...	1,000	00		
do 1913 ...	56	08		
Life membership (4) ...	200	00		
Sale of Journals ...	503	13		
Sale of maps (to 14th Aug. 1912) ...	3,274	80	5,134	01
Interest on fixed deposit, Mercantile Bank ...	108	00		
Interest on fixed deposit, Chartered Bank ...	60	00		
Interest on current a/c, Mercantile Bank ...	21	92	189	92
			9,794	49

	$	c.	$	c.
Payments in 1912:—				
Printing of journal 60 ...	436	49		
do 61 ...	357	52		
do 62/63	372	00		
Illustration	306	96		
Printing of maps (£300 to Ac -	2,562	86		
Freight shipping and landing charges on maps ...	42	00		
London charges on 1 case maps	29	75		
Miscellaneous printing ...	58	92		
Book-binding ..	79	55		
Furniture	154	00		
Salary of clerk ...	180	00		
Salary of peon ...	36	00		
Petties and postages ...	109	59	4,725	64
Balance carried forward:—				
Mercantile Bank, fixed deposit $500, $2,200 ...	2,700	00		
Chartered Bank, fixed deposit	1,500	00		
Mercantile Bank, current account	780	56		
Chartered Bank, current account	88	29	5,068	85
			9,794	49

Audited and found correct,
A. C. Baker
11th February, 1913.

J. Love Montgomerie,
Honorary Treasurer, Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.
4th February, 1913.

List of Members for 1913.

*Life Members. †Honorary Members.

Date of election.	Patron: H. E. Sir Arthur Young, K.C.M.G.	
1903	Abbott, Dr. W. L.	Calcutta.
1905	Acton, R. D.	Penang.
1909	Adam, Frank	Singapore.
1908	Adams, Hon. A. R.	Penang.
1910	Adams, H. A.	Sarawak.
1910	Adams, H. Powys	England.
1909	Adams, T. S.	Jugra, Selangor.
1910	Aldworth, J. R. O.	Kuala Lumpur.
1913	Allen, Rev. Geo. Dexter	Banting, Sarawak.
1909	Allen, Rowland	England.
1908	Anderson, E.	Singapore.
1911	Anderson, J. W.	Singapore.
1890	Anthonisz, Hon. J. O.	Singapore.
1911	Armstrong, W. R.	Penang.
1908	Arthur, J. S. W.	Penang.
1910	Asmus, Ad.	England.
1910	Avetoom, Dr. T. C.	Penang.
1908*	Ayre, C. F. C.	Kuala Lumpur.
1912	Baker, A. C.	Singapore.
1909	Banks, C. W.	Singapore.
1899*	Banks, J. E.	Iowa, U. S. A.
1910	Barnard, Basil	Taiping, Perak.
1912	Barnard. H. C.	Taiping, Perak.
1904	Bartlett, R. J.	Singapore.
1910	Bartley, W.	Kuala Lumpur.
1909	Bean, A. W.	Singapore.
1910	Beatty, D.	Singapore.
1913	Bell, V. G.	Kuantan, Pahang.
1910	Benjafield, F. J.	Singapore.
1910*	Berkeley, H.	Perak.
1912	Bicknell, J. W.	Singapore.
1885	Bicknell, W. A.	Penang.
1901	Bidwell, R. A. J.	Singapore.
1903	Birch, Sir E. W., C. M. G.	England.
1908*	Bishop, Major C. F., R. A.	England.
1901	Bishop, J. E.	Kelantan.

1890*	Blagden, C. O.	London.
1884	Bland, R. N.	England.
1905	Bland, Mrs. R. N.	England.
1910	Boult, F. F.	Sadong, Sarawak.
1910	Boyd, Hon. D. T.	Singapore.
1913	Braddell, R. H. John	Singapore.
1910	Brison, Clifford S.	Singapore.
1897	Brockman, Sir E. L., K. C. M. G.	Kuala Lumpur.
1911	Brooke, J. R.	Singapore.
1909	Brooks, C. J.	Benkoolen, Sumatra.
1909	Brown, A. V.	Penang.
1910	Brown, D. A. M.	Penang.
1887	Bryant, A. T.	Singapore.
1912	Burkill, I. H.	Singapore.
1903	Burn-Murdoch, A. M.	Kuala Lumpur.
1906	Campbell, J.	Calcutta.
1909	Carver, Hon. C. J.	Singapore.
1885	Cerruti, G. B.	Penang.
1910	Chancellor, Capt. A. B.	Singapore.
1906	Chapman, W. T.	Penang.
1911	Clayton, T. W.	Pahang.
1894†	Collyer, W. R., I. S. O.	England.
1897*	Conlay, W. L.	Tringganu.
1910	Cook, Hon. W. W.	Singapore.
1899	Cook, Rev. J. A. B.	Singapore.
1912	Crossle, Frank J.	Kepong, Selangor.
1910	Croucher, Dr. F. B.	Singapore.
1904	Dallas, Hon. F. H.	Sarawak.
1910	Daly, W. D.	Kuala Lumpur.
1892	Dane, Dr. R.	Penang.
1910	Darbishire, Hon. C. W.	Singapore.
1907	Dent, Dr. F.	Singapore.
1912	Derry, R.	Singapore.
1903*	Deshon, Hon H. F.	England.
1897	Dickson, E. A.	Brunei.
1905	Douglas, R. S.	Miri, Sarawak.
1910	Draper, B.	Johore.
1910	Dunman, W.	Singapore.
1899	Edmonds, R. C.	Kuala Lumpur.
1885	Egerton, H. E. Sir W., K. C. M. G.	Lagos, S. Nigeria.
1885	Elcum, Hon. J. B.	Johore.
1910	Ellerton, H. B.	Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1909	Ellis, Hon. E. C.	Singapore.
1910	Engel, L.	Batavia.
1913	Ermen, C.	Bau, Sarawak.
1910	Evans, Hon. W.	Penang.
1891	Everett, H. H.	Santubong, Sarawak.
1910	Falshaw, Dr. P. S.	Singapore.

1909	Farrer, R. J.	Singapore.
1912	Faulkner, Dr. S. B.	Christmas I.
1911*	Ferguson-Davie, Rt. Rev. Bishop C. J., D.D.	Singapore.
1909	Ferrier, J. C.	Surabaya.
1910	Firmstone, H. W.	Singapore.
1910	Fisher, W. D.	Singapore.
1901	Fleming, T. C.	Perak.
1897*	Flower, Capt. S. S.	Egypt.
1904*	Flower, V. A.	London.
1897	Fort, Sir Hugh	London.
1908	Freeman, D.	Kuala Lumpur.
1897	Freer, Dr. G. D.	Kuala Lumpur.
1910*	Frost, Meadows.	Kedah.
1909	Gahagan, A. Y.	England.
1912	Gallagher, W. J.	Singapore.
1905	Galloway, Hon. Dr. D.J.	Singapore.
1897*	Gerini, Lt. Col. G. E.	Italy.
1912	Gibbons, V.	Singapore.
1911	Gibbs, W. E.	Singapore.
1903	Gibson, W. S.	Ipoh, Perak.
1902*	Gimlette, Dr. J. D.	Kelantan.
1910	Glennie, Dr. J. A. R.	Singapore.
1913	Gold, P.	Singapore,
1909	Goulding, R. R.	Perlis, Kedah,
1910	Gray, N. T.	Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
1911	Griffiths, J.	Johore.
1897	Haines, Rev. F. W.	Penang.
1886	Hale, A.	England.
1907	Hall, G. A.	Singapore.
1911	Hallifax, F. J.	Singapore.
1911	Handy, Dr. J. M.	Singapore.
1895	Hanitsch, Dr. R.	Singapore.
1909	Harrington, A. G.	Singapore.
1904	Haynes, A. S.	Klang, Selangor.
1907	Hays, Dr. T. Heyward	Bangkok, Siam.
1901	Hellier, Maurice	England.
1909	Hennings, W. G.	Singapore.
1910	Henry, J.	Singapore.
1912	Hermansen., J. C.	Singapore.
1911	Hewan, E. D.	London.
1905	Hewitt, John, B.A.	Grahamstown, C.C.
1878	Hill, E. C.	England.
1911	Hood-Begg, A.	Singapore.
1897	Hose, E. S.	Kuala Lumpur.
1878†	Hose, Rt. Rev. Bishop G. F.	England.
1892	Hoynck van Papendrecht, P. C.	Uccle, Brussels, Belgium.
1909	Hubback, T. R.	Pertang, Jelebu.

1909	Hughes, J. W. W.	Kota Bharu, Kelantan.
1907	Humphreys, J. L.	Singapore.
1903	Izard, Ven. Arch. H. C.	Singapore.
1910	Jackson, Col. H. M.	Kuala Lumpur.
1910	Jaeger, P.	Singapore.
1910	Jamieson, Dr. T. Hill.	Penang.
1907	Janion, E. M.	England.
1912	Jelf, A. S.	Muar.
1910	Johnson, B. G. H.	Teluk Anson.
1911	Johnson, H. S. B.	Baram, Sarawak.
1910	Jones, H. W.	Tapah, Perak.
1913	Jones, S. W.	Pekan, Pahang.
1912	Jones, W. R.	Batu Gajah, Perak.
1912	Jones, Wyndham	Miri, Sarawak.
1878	Kehding, Dr. F.	Germany.
1909	Keith, Dr. R. D.	Singapore.
1909	Kemp, W. L.	Singapore.
1913	Kempe, John Erskine	K. Kangsar.
1906	Kinsey, W. E.	Seremban.
1910	Kirk, Dr. J.	Penang.
1901	Kloss, C. B.	Kuala Lumpur.
1884	Knight, Arthur	Singapore.
1905	Knocker, Fred	
1907	Kriekenbeek, J. W.	Taiping, Perak.
1905	Laidlaw, G. M.	Kanga, Perlis.
1910	Law, His Honour Sir A. F. G.	England.
1885†	Lawes, Rev. W. G.	New Guinea.
1907	Lawrence, A. E.	Bintulu, Sarawak.
1910	Lemon, A. H.	Seremban.
1892	Lewis, J. E: A., B.A.	Kobe, Japan.
1897	Lim Boon Keng, Dr.	Singapore.
1910	Lloyd, J. T.	Singapore.
1910	Low, H. A.	Penang.
1897	Luering, Rev. Prof. H. L. E., Ph. D.	Frankfurt a. M., Germany.
1910	Lupton, Harry	Malacca.
1902	Lyons, Rev. E. S.	Philippine Islands.
1909	McArthur, C.	Singapore.
1909	McArthur, M. S. H.	Singapore.
1897	McCausland, C. F.	Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
1906	MacDougall, Dr. W.	Singapore.
1910*	Macfadyen, Eric	Jugra, Selangor.
1908	MacKray, W. H.	Kuala Lumpur.
1911	Maclean, L.	Penang.
1878	Mahomed, Hon. Dato bin Mahbob	Johore.
1905	Makepeace, W.	Singapore.
1908	Main, T. W.	Malacca.
1902	Marriott, H.	Singapore.

1909	Marsh, F. E.	Singapore.
1903	Marshall, F. C.	Bentong, Pahang.
1909	Marshall, Harold B.	Brunei.
1910*	Marriner, J. T.	Kelantan.
1912	Matthews, T. Leigh	Singapore.
1909	Mauldon, E. F.	Singapore.
1903	Maxwell, Eric	Ipoh, Perak.
1903	Maxwell, W. G.	Kedah.
1909	May, C. G.	Penang.
1909	Millard, Dr. A. S.	Klang.
1908	Millard, H.	Singapore.
1910	Miller, Mrs. T. C. B.	Singapore.
1910	Money, A. W. Kyrle	Penang.
1910	Montgomerie, J. Love	Singapore.
1910	Morant, Geo. C.	Sussex.
1909*	Moulton, J. C.	Sarawak.
1911	Munro, R. W.	Jugra.
1913	Murray, Rev. W.	Singapore.
1909	Nathan, J. E.	Raub, Pahang.
1910	Niven, W. G.	Glasgow.
1901	Norman, Henry	Kuala Kangsar.
1906	Nunn, B.	Singapore.
1911	O'May, J.	Kuala Kangsar.
1913	Overbeck, Hans	Singapore.
1908	Parr, C. W. C.	Klang, Selangor.
1910	Paxon. H. C.	Singapore.
1909	Peacock, W.	Singapore.
1910	Peirce, R.	Singapore.
1911*	Pennington, H. E.	Tampin, Negri Sembilan.
1878†	Perham, Ven: Archdeacon	England.
1909	Plumpton, M. E.	Singapore.
1910	Pratt, E.	Cornwall, England.
1912	Price, William Robert	Chepstow, England.
1906	Pringle, R. D.	England.
1907	Pykett, Rev. G. F.	Penang.
1913	Raja Chulan bin Ex-Sultan Abdullah	Kuala Kangsar.
1910*	Reid, Dr. Alfred	Kuantan.
1910	Reid, Alex	Singapore.
1909	Rennie, J. S. M.	Singapore.
1909	Richards, D. S.	Kuala Lumpur.
1911	Richards, R. M.	Province Wellesley.
1890†	Ridley, H. N., C.M.G., F. R. S.	England.
1910*	Ritchie, J. G.	Perak.
1911	Robertson, G. H. M.	Christmas Island.
1912	Robertson, J.	Singapore.
1911	Robinson, H.	Singapore.
1904	Robinson, H. C.	Kuala Lumpur.

1897	Rostados, E.	Gali, Pahang.
1912	Rountree, W. J.	Singapore.
1897*	Rowland, W. R.	Negri Sembilan.
1909	Sanderson, Mrs. R.	Singapore.
1878†	Sarawak, H. H. Rajah of, G.C.M.G.	Sarawak.
1885†	Satow, Sir E. M.	England.
1897	Saunders, Hon. C. J.	Singapore.
1910	Schudel, G.	Singapore.
1904	Schwabe, E. M.	Kajang, Selangor.
1910	Scott, R.	Penang.
1907	Scrivenor, J. B	Batu Gajah, Perak.
1890	Seah Liang Seah	Singapore.
1894	Shellabear, Rev. W. G.	Singapore.
1909	Sims, W. A.	Singapore.
1909	Skinner, Capt. R. McK.	Singapore.
1893†	Smith, Sir C. C., G. C .M. G.	Welwyn, England.
1912	Smith, Prof. Harrison W.	Boston, U.S.A.
1911	Smith Steinmetz, G. A.	Klang, Selangor.
1910	Song Ong Siang	Singapore.
1910	Spakler, H.	Singapore.
1890	St. Clair, W. G.	Singapore.
1912	Staley, Dr. Mildred E.	Malacca.
1911	Steadman, V.	Singapore.
1909	Steedman, R. S.	Intan, Upper Perak.
1910	Stevens, K. A.	Singapore.
1910	Still, A. W.	Singapore.
1911	Stuart, E. A. G.	Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1910	Sturrock, A. J.	Batu Mengkebang, Kelantan.
1910	Sunner, J. H.	Singapore.
1912	Swayne, C. J.	Sibu, Sarawak.
1908	Tan Cheng Lock	Malacca.
1910	Tan Jiak Kim, Hon.	Singapore.
1912	Tan Tat Yan	Singapore.
1905	Tatlock, J. H.	Ipoh.
1913	Taylor, C. J.	Seremban.
1911	Taylor, F. E. Worsley	Singapore.
1909	Thunder, M.	Singapore.
1912	Tomlin, F. L.	Singapore.
1912	Tracy, F. D.	Singapore.
1911	Valpy, E.	England.
1888	Van Beuningen van Helsdingen, Dr. R.	Singapore.
1878	Walker, Col. R. S. F., C. M. G.	England.
1909	Ward, A. B.	Semanggang, Sarawak.
1897	Watkins, A. J. W., A. T. M.	Singapore.
1910	Watson, Dr. Malcolm	Klang, F.M.S.
1910	Weld, F. J.	Pahang.

1907	WELHAM, H.	Penang.
1912	WHARTON, S. L.	Singapore.
1910	WHITEHEAD, C. B.	Province Wellesley.
1912	WILLIAMS, F.	Raub, Pahang.
1904	WILLIAMS, J. H.	Perak. (?)
1913	WILLIAMS, R. B.	Bau Sarawak.
1910	WILLIAMS, S. G.	Singapore.
1910*	WINKELMANN, H.	Singapore.
1904	WINSTEDT, R. O.	Kuala Pilah, N. Sembilan.
1910	WOLFERSTAN, L. E. P.	Malacca.
1902	WOLFF, E. C. H.	Taiping, Perak.
1908*	WOOD, E. G.	Kuala Kangsar.
1913	WOOD, W. L.	Taiping.
1910	WYATT, E. W. N.	London.
1910	WYMODZEFF, A. DE	Japan.
1904*	YOUNG, H. S.	Bau, Sarawak.

RULES

OF THE STRAITS BRANCH

OF THE

Royal Asiatic Society.

I. Name and Objects.

1. The name of the Society shall be 'The Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.'

2. The objects of the Society shall be :—

(*a*) the increase and diffusion of knowledge concerning British Malaya and the neighbouring countries.

(*b*) the publication of a Journal and of works and maps.

(*c*) the formation of a library of books and maps.

II. Membership.

3. Members shall be of two kinds—Ordinary and Honorary.

4. Candidates for ordinary membership shall be proposed and seconded by members and elected by a majority of the Council.

5. Ordinary members shall pay an annual subscription of $5 payable in advance on the first of January in each year. Members shall be allowed to compound for life membership by a payment of $50.

6. On or about the 30th of June in each year the Honorary Treasurer shall prepare and submit to the Council a list of those members whose subscriptions for the current year remain unpaid. Such members shall be deemed to be suspended from membership until their subscriptions have been paid, and in default of payment within two years shall be deemed to have resigned their membership.

No Member shall receive a copy of the Journal or other publications of the Society until his subscription for the current year has been paid.

7. Distinguished persons and persons who have rendered notable service to the Society may on the recommendation of the Council be elected Honorary members by a majority at a General meeting. They shall pay no subscription, and shall enjoy all the privileges of a member except a vote at meetings and eligibility for office.

III. Officers

8. The officers of the Society shall be :—

A President.
Three Vice Presidents, resident in Singapore, Penang and the Federated Malay States respectively.
An Honorary Secretary.
An Honorary Treasurer.
An Honorary Librarian.
Four Councillors.

These officers shall be elected for one year at the annual General Meeting, and shall hold office until their successors are appointed.

9. Vacancies in the above offices occurring during any year shall be filled by a vote of majority of the remaining officers.

IV. Council.

10. The Council of the Society shall be composed of the officers for the current year, and its duties and powers shall be :—

(*a*) to administer the affairs, prcperty and trusts of the Society.

(*b*) to elect ordinary members and to recommend cardidates or election as Honorary members of the Society.

(*c*) to obtain and select material for publication in the Journal and to supervise the printing and distribution of the Journal.

(*d*) to authorise the publication of works and maps at the expense of the Society otherwise than in the Journal.

(*e*) to select and purchase books and maps for the Library.

(*f*) to accept or decline donations on behalf of the Society.

(*g*) to present to the Annual General Meeting at the expiration of their term of office a report of the proceedings and condition of the Society.

(*h*) to make and enforce by-laws and regulations for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Society. Every such by-law or regulation shall be published in the Journal.

11. The Council shall meet for the transaction of business once a month and oftener if necessary. Three officers shall form a quorum of the Council.

V. General Meetings.

12. One week's notice of all meetings shall be given and of the subjects to be discussed or dealt with.

13. At all meetings the Chairman shall in the case of an equality of votes be entitled to a casting vote in addition to his own.

14. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in February in each year. Eleven members shall form a quorum.

15. (i) At the Annual General Meeting the Council shall present a Report for the preceding year and the Treasurer shall render an account of the financial condition of the Society. Copies of such Report and account shall be circulated to members with the notice calling the meeting.

(ii) Officers for the current year shall also be chosen.

16. The Council may summon a General Meeting at any time, and shall so summon one upon receipt by the Secretary of a written requisition signed by five ordinary members desiring to submit any specified resolution to such meeting. Seven members shall form a quorum at any such meeting.

17. Visitors may be admitted to any meeting at the discretion of the Chairman, but shall not be allowed to address the meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

VI. Publications.

18. The Journal shall be published at least twice in each year, and oftener if material is available. It shall contain material approved by the Council. In the first number in each year shall be published the Report of the Council, the account of the financial position of the Society, a list of members, the Rules, and a list of the publications received by the Society during the preceding year.

19. Every member shall be entitled to one copy of the Journal, which shall be sent free by post. Copies may be presented by the Council to other Societies or to distinguished individuals, and the remaining copies shall be sold at such prices as the Council shall from time to time direct.

20. Twenty-four copies of each paper published in the Journal shall be placed at the disposal of the author.

VII. Amendments to Rules.

21. Amendments to these Rules must be proposed in writing to the Council, who shall submit them to a General Meeting duly summoned to consider them. If passed at such General Meeting they shall come into force upon confirmation at a subsequent General Meeting or at an Annual General Meeting.

Royal Asiatic Society.

22, Albemarle Street, W.

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1. The Royal Asiatic Society has its headquarters at 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., where it has a large library of books and MSS. relating to Oriental subjects, and holds monthly meetings from November to June (inclusive) at which papers on such subjects are read and discussed.

2. By Rule 105 of this Society all the Members of Branch Societies are entitled while on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within the limits of Great Britain, and Ireland, to the use of the Library as Non-Resident Members, and to attend the ordinary monthly meetings of this Society. This Society accordingly invites Members of Branch Societies temporarily resident in this country to avail themselves of these facilities and to make their home addresses known to the Secretary so that notice of the meetings may be sent to them.

3. Under Rule 84, the Council of the Society is able to accept contributions to its Journal from Members of Branch Societies, and other persons interested in Oriental research, of original articles, short notes &c., on matters connected with the languages, archaeology, history, beliefs, and customs of any part of Asia.

4. By virtue of the afore-mentioned Rule 105, all Members of Branch Societies are entitled to apply for election to the Society without the formality of nomination. They should apply in writing to the Secretary, stating their names and addresses, and mentioning the Branch Society to which they belong. Election is by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council.

5. The subscription for Non-Resident Members of the Society is 30/-per annum. They receive the quarterly Journal post free.

Some Account of the Anglo Dutch Relations in the East at the Beginning of the 19th Century Based on the Records preserved in the Colonial Secretary's Office in Singapore, and, in the Resident's Office, Malacca.

BY A. C. BAKER,

Straits Settlements Civil Service.

At the beginning of the 19th Century, the East India Company held a number of trading stations on the West Coast of Sumatra of which the most important were Bencoolen and the two subsidiary Ports of Tapanooly and Natal. These ports, which had been acquired mainly as outlets for the pepper trade of the Rejang and Coast Districts had suffered from the falling off of the profits on the pepper trade, and had never grown to be really important and well established.

In 1760 the Settlements on the West Coast had been plundered and partially destroyed by the French Squadron under the Comte D'Estaigne and they now found themselves again threatened by the French ascendency. Napoleon had practically acquired the control of Holland and was using the Dutch Fleet and the Dutch Colonies as important assets in a world wide struggle. Though after 1806 the French fleet had ceased to be a striking force in the home waters, a number of fast sailing frigates and privateers were still roving between the Mauritius Islands and the Dutch ports in Java. Marshall Daendels working from Batavia appears to have formed a wide spread scheme, for extending the French influence to Acheen and Burma, and establishing depots of naval stores, at native ports. His emissary Lieutenant Leon de la Houssaye was forced by stress of weather to land at Pulau Pisang and was sent by the Resident of Bencoolen under arrest to Penang. The incident is described in the two following letters from the Resident of Bencoolen.

To The Hon'ble

COLONEL MACALISTER, (1)

Governor and Council,

Prince of Wales's Island.

Gentlemen,

I beg leave to acquaint you that a French Officer of Rank, an Aide-De-Camp of Marshall Daendels, recently taken Prisoner on this coast, has mentioned to me that a corvette, which left Bourdeaux the 24th November passed through the Straits of Manilla last month bound to Manilla, the object of her voyage I understood to be the conveyance to the Government of the complete submission of the Spanish Nation and re-establishment of Joseph Bonaparte on the Throne, and to invite its acknowledgement of, and allegiance to the new Sovereign.

It has been mentioned by this Officer to a gentleman with whom he lodges at this place, in the apparent exhilaration of his spirits at table, that seven French frigates with troops were shortly expected at the Isle of France from Europe, and that they were ultimately destined for Batavia with a considerable part of that force. As to the degree of credit due to this communication, or how far it may have been influenced by a desire to mistate for purposes altogether injurious to British interests I do not presume to offer an opinion. The informant is certainly a very intelligent man and when he mentioned a piece of information of so much moment in a kind of confidential manner to a British subject, he could scarcely have imagined it could long be a secret to the government. It may not be immaterial to notice that the officer in question has shewn me an attested copy of a letter from General Deceeise dated the 18th February to Marshall Daendels, (communicating the recent success of the French in Spain and Portugal) in which he adverts to a decree from the French Emperor, conformably to which all vessels are to be seized not carrying the particular passports described. Detailed instructions are referred to, but from the context of the letter I should conclude the vessels affected by the decree to be Spanish and Portuguese.

I have communicated the points of information noticed in this letter to the Governments of Fort William and Fort Saint George, and to His Excellency Rear Admiral Drury.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.

(Signed) R. PARRY,

Fort Marlbro', 15th June, 1809. *Resident.*

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1. Colonial Secretary's Office Records .. .. Vol. 941 P. 13

P. S. Since writing the foregoing the officer above mentioned has informed me in a manner quite unreserved, that Vice Admiral Sercey (whom he states to be his brother-in-law) arrived at the Isle of France on the 4th January with seven frigates of 44 guns each.

(Signed) R. PARRY,

Resident.

To The Honorable Colonel Macalister, [2]

Governor and Council,

Prince of Wales's Island.

Gentlemen,

On board the Hon'ble Company ship Lord Castlereagh is embarked a French Officer named Leon de la Houssaye, who has a commission signed by Marshall Daendels of Lieut. Colonel and Aide-de-Camp, on his way to Fort William.

It appears from his own narrative as well as from the enquiries which have been instituted that he was proceeding from Batavia up this coast in a small prow, and had got nearly as far north as this place when the wind became contrary, and the prow leaking very badly, he was compelled to put into the first place of shelter, which was the Island of Pulo Pisang off the station of Croee, where he was made a prisoner, and sent up under a guard to this Settlement. This detail is confirmed by the people of the boat and his own servants, with the additional information that he was proceeding to Acheen.

Although it is stated by Lieut. Colonel de la Houssaye that he has laboured under a continued state of bad health for many months at Batavia, which his appearance sufficiently corroborates, it has not been assigned by him as the object of the present voyage. Indeed the route he has selected would afford ample grounds for concluding, that though the hope of deriving benefit from a sea excursion may have been one of its objects, it was not the exclusive one. But the additional circumstances of his possession of so large a sum of ready money as Ds.1,200 (which have been paid into the Treasury of this place) and of letters of credit from Marshall Daendels to an unlimited amount (which he has intimated to the Gentlemen in whose house he has been accommodated) leave little doubt that his voyage has been undertaken with some objects of a public nature, the accomplishment of which has been confided to him by the Government of Batavia.

As Acheen has been mentioned by those in whose company he arrived at this Settlement it is not at all improbable that those objects may be centred in that place. Whatsoever they may be,

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2. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 941 P. 15

if they really have existence, the information afforded in the present address will enable you to take such measures as may appear calculated to counteract them. It is not to be imagined that the interruption of the first mission will prevent the dispatch of another, if the object is of any moment, it is a more probable supposition that a further envoy will be sent to the same quarter as soon as the detention of the present is known at Batavia.

It may not be immaterial to mention that the officer in question was navigating this coast in a small and incommodious prow which was certainly well calculated to elude suspicion and search from any of His Majesty's Ships which might be cruizing on any part of it.

The Commander of the Lord Castlereagh has been directed to acquaint you on his arrival, of this Officer being on board, and not to permit him to land without your permission for that purpose.

He has been treated during his stay here with all the attention due to his rank and to the situation he holds about the person of Marshall Daendels whose conduct to Capt. Pakenham of His Majesty's late Ship 'Greyhound' during his detention at Batavia was in the highest degree liberal and courteous. He has been accommodated in the house of an Officer, but permitted to quit it only in a particular direction into the Country.

I have the honor to be,

(Signed) R. PARRY,

Fort Marlbro', 20th June, 1809. *Resident.*

P. S. Since writing the above Lt. Colonel de la Houssaye has mentioned in my presence in an unreserved manner that his destination was Acheen on a particular mission.

(Signed) R. PARRY.

Resident.

On arriving at Penang, de la Houssaye was kept on board the Lord Castlereagh under close arrest. His very emphatic protest: (3) "The captain of this vessel has communicated to you my bad state of health and you refuse to allow me to land. This is tyranny worse than that of the anthropophagi, for they either killed their victims or took care of them." only resulted in a report from a very prosaic minded Surgeon: (4) "Lieutenant de la Houssaye, through the judicious treatment of the Surgeon on board, is much better than he has been. Under the circumstances I consider it advisable that he should remain on board the ship where he has every

3. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 941 P. 19
4. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 941 P. 20

attendance and accommodation with free air which can so essentially conduce to the re-establishment of his health."

De la Houssaye's papers when seized and searched were found to contain Malay letters to the kings of Acheen and Ava with Dutch and French translations. Colonel Macalister, Governor of Prince of Wales Island at once warned Admiral Drury of the possible approach of the French squadron, and forwarded the following vigorously worded letter to the King of Acheen.

To His Majesty the King of Acheen, (5)

(After the usual Compliments.)

It is with much concern that I had occasion to remark for some time past a dereliction in the proceedings of your Majesty's Government from these principles of alliance and friendship into which the House of Acheen has so solemnly entered with the English.

There is too good reason to believe that your Majesty has contrary to good faith with the English admitted into your service persons well known to belong to the French, the enemies of the English, and that your Majesty has been induced to listen to the promises of that Nation—this Nation having destroyed their King and all the revered usages which had been handed down to them by their ancestors are too weak to meet the English (their Superiors) in Battle, but send forth their emissaries in the dark, and under the cloak of friendship and fair promises (which they can never fulfil) ensnare those who have no ability to discern their views, whilst they disseminate principles subversive of all Government.

I have in my possession documents proving the negociation that has existed between your Majesty and the French, and an ambassador from the French to the Court of Acheen has actually been arrested by the English. I fear from this that your Majesty must not only have forgotten your alliance with the English, but remain in ignorance of the danger attending any intercourse with the French—by degrees they would obtain a footing in your Majesty's territories and when an opportunity offered, in defiance of all treaties and engagements, would dethrone your Majesty and give up your rich and valuable kingdom to plunder and rapine.

The English Government fortunately have kept a watch over your safety, and viewing with abhorrence the attempts of the enemy to undermine your Majesty's Government, now prove their friendship to your Majesty in warning you of your danger as it may be expected that other ambassadors may be sent. The English themselves have nothing to fear, for should the French effect their designs at Acheen, the English would immediately destroy them, but in doing so much innocent blood might be spilt which they wish to avoid.

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5. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 941 P. 24

It is the wish of the English to preserve the honor of all the Indian States in alliance with them, and in order that their trade may not be disturbed, it cannot admit any French interest to prevail in such States.

I therefore give your Majesty this timely intimation being desirous of continuing in terms of the strictest friendship with your Majesty. The English cannot allow that any French ship shall receive refreshment or repairs at Acheen or at any of the ports under your Majesty's authority; if such takes place, the English Admiral will of course deem it necessary to attend to such conduct. In assuring my friend of my affection and friendship, and promising on account of the English Nation every support my friend may require in protecting him from the evil machinations of the French who would undermine the safety of your Majesty's Kingdom, I have only to add my confidence and reliance in your Majesty's immediately taking effective measures for doing away the evils complained of.

Your Majesty must be aware of the power and superiority of the English Nation and that in this country, the French have no footing except in the Islands, Batavia, and the Mauritius, in which they are confined by the blockade of the English ships; they have no trade, and those people only can reach your Majesty's dominions, who are spies and emissaries of the French. The object is to stir up revolt and rebellion as they have done in their own country, to extend their dominions and to make vassals and slaves of all those who are foolish enough to believe them.

It is therefore as much the interest as the duty of your Majesty towards the English to discourage all such attempts on the part of the French and I trust your Majesty will immediately be induced to dismiss from your employ, all Frenchmen of whatever description.

As a mark of my friendship and esteem for your Majesty, I request your Majesty's acceptance of the articles which will be delivered by the bearer of this letter.........

The whole incident serves to show the alarm felt both by the Home Government and the Directors of the East India Company at the Franco-Dutch activity in the East Indies.

An exceptionally well provided expedition was sent against the Mauritius which was occupied in 1810.

In 1811 Lord Minto writes from Calcutta to Raffles: (6) "The Mauritius and all the French Islands being now in our possession, there is nothing to retard the execution of our further views to the East"........"I am now to acquaint you with my own intention to proceed in person at least to Malacca, and eventually, I may say probably to Java"........"I must tell you in confidence that I have received the sanction of the Government at home for this expedition but that the views of the Directors do not go be-

6. Life of Raffles by Lady Raffles .. .. .. P. 23

yond the expulsion or reduction of the Dutch Power, the destruction of their fortifications, the distribution of their arms and stores to the natives and the evacuation of the island by our own troops."

The high minded energy of Lord Minto prevented this project from being carried out in its brutal simplicity; but, the ultimate recession of Java was inevitable.

The Home Government had accomplished their object by the destruction of the last refuge of the French fleet in the East, and with the fall of Napoleon all fear of a militant Franco-Dutch Colonial Empire had come to an end. The Directors of the East India Company were loath to undertake a large and costly extension of their already scattered settlements. Their whole policy was now one of concentration. Raffles himself in a letter to the Directors on the subject of his salary and allowances raises the question of the anomalous position of the new territories administered by the Company, yet outside the scope of their charter.

(7) "The objection which is so forcibly stated as a bar to what I consider my just due in this instance, namely, my having proceeded to Europe in the interim, which act by the provisions of the Legislature framed for the management of the Company's Territories in India, is considered an absolute avoidance of office and salary,—however it may stand good against similar claims on the part of those employed within the Territories of the Company, cannot legally be considered to apply to the possessions beyond the limits of their Charter, or to Countries circumstanced and situated as Java and its dependencies were, held entirely on a political and provisional tenure and in no way subjected or capable of being subjected at the time to the internal and detailed laws and regulations laid down for the Company's permanent Establishments and possessions in India. The Rules for salaries and emoluments as fixed by the Act of Parliament for *British* India were never attempted to be carried into effect in *Dutch* India, as the urgency, nature and peculiarity of the circumstances under which it was governed by us rendered it altogether impracticable."

The short lived English occupation of Java does not appear to have improved the position of Bencoolen. And after the cession of Java it became very doubtful whether Bencoolen was worth retaining. The Settlement was an isolated one; the value of the pepper trade had fallen off and the cost of the establishment had risen.

When Mr. Raffles on his return from Europe first took charge of the Bencoolen Settlement the outlook was gloomy. In 1818 he writes to William Marsden:

(8) "This (Bencoolen) is the most wretched place I ever beheld. I cannot convey to you an adequate idea of

7. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 907 P. 66
8. Life of Raffles by Lady Raffles .. .. .. P. 293

the state of ruin and dilapidation which surrounds me. What with the natural impediments, bad government, and the awful visitations of Providence which we have recently experienced, in repeated earthquakes, we have scarcely a dwelling in which to lay our heads, or wherewithal to satisfy the cravings of nature. The roads are impassable. The highways in the town are overrun with rank grass. The Government house a den of ravenous dogs and polecats. The natives say that Bencoolen is now a "tana mati." In truth I could never have conceived anything half so bad. We will try and make it better."

In so far as he was able Raffles tried to improve the position. In 1822 he forwarded to the Directors the following letter containing a proposal for a preferential tariff which he recommends, both in the immediate interests of the Company's settlement on the West Coast of Sumatra, and in the more enlarged interests of British Commerce in general.

To H. Dart, Esquire, (9)
Secretary to the East India Company,
London.

Sir,

It having been resolved at a late meeting of the spice cultivators of Bencoolen to petition the Hon'ble Court of Directors for their patronage and support in obtaining a remission in such portion of the duties on nutmegs, mace, and cloves imported into the United Kingdom being "bona fide" the produce of the British possessions as may enable them more effectually to compete in the market with the produce of the Dutch monopoly, I have the honor to transmit to you herewith a memorial addressed by those gentlemen to the Hon'ble Court in consequence, the prayer of which I beg leave respectfully to recommend to the Court's favorable consideration.

2. The manifest and declared efforts of the Netherlands Authorities in this Country to injure and destroy by every means in their power, the rival produce of Bencoolen, are felt in so many shapes and directions that our planters feel themselves under the necessity of applying for the protection of their own Government. To meet the sacrifices which the Dutch have made in India, with a view to glut the market and undersell the produce of Bencoolen as well as to support them against a similar proceeding in Europe, the planters appeal for a still further protecting duty in favor of the British spices. They are at present able to deliver their Spices at a rate that by the latest price currents in Europe will realise a profit, but the Article in the present state of commerce hardly yields

9. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 907 P. 25

sufficient advantage to encourage the intermediate party or merchant to enter on the speculation. The planters themselves having their whole capital invested in their plantations cannot lay out their money during the consignment to Europe without injury to the increasing cultivation, but they conceive that were a remission in the present duties on importation into the United Kingdom to the extent of one shilling, or even sixpence in the pound to take place, the merchant would find his advantage in the speculation, and that the additional advantage over the foreign spices would be adequate to enable them to compete successfully with the Dutch monopoly and eventually to destroy it altogether.

3. To this extent I consider the claims of the planters deserving of every consideration, whether the subject is received with reference to the immediate interests of the Company's settlement on the West Coast of Sumatra or to the more enlarged interests of British commerce in general.

I have the honor to be &c.

(Signed) T. S. Raffles.

Fort Marlbro', 28th February, 1822.

Bencoolen was too isolated to allow of its falling trade being bolstered up by any such expedients, it became more and more obvious that after the cession of Java the English trade was powerless against the quiet regular opposition of the Dutch. It was becoming abundantly clear that what was required was some port which whilst giving reasonable access to the Dutch Indies would control the routes of the steadily increasing trade with China and Japan.

After a conference with the Governor General of Bengal, Lord Hastings, Raffles writes in 1818, ([10]) "Lord Hastings is, I know, inclined to recommend our exchanging Bencoolen for Malacca and to make the Equator the limit." Next year 1819, acting on Lord Hastings' general instructions Raffles had secured in the island of Singapore, an ideal post both for trade and for defence. In 1822 Raffles is already able to write as follows.—

To Joseph Dart, Esqr., ([11])

Secretary to the Honourable East India Company,

London.

Sir,

I have much satisfaction in transmitting for the information of the Honourable Court of Directors an abstract statement of the arrivals and departures of shipping via Singapore from the

10. Life of Raffles by Lady Raffles .. .. .. P. 369
11. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 907 P. 3

date of its first establishment to the 31st August last, being a period of two years and a half, during which the port has been progressively advancing in importance.

2. From this statement the Court will perceive that during the said period no less than 2889 vessels have entered at the port, of which 383 were owned and commanded by Europeans, and 2506 by natives, and their united tonnage has amounted to Tons 161038.

3. From the returns in the Master Attendant's Office, it further appears that the value of merchandize in native vessels, junks, prows, etc., which have entered and sailed from the port during the same period, has amounted to about five millions of dollars and that the imports and exports by ships have not been less than three millions more, making in all a gross amount of eight millions of dollars, or two millions Sterling.

4. This proof of the extent in Commercial dealings at Singapore during the infancy of the establishment, *and whilst it has laboured under the greatest disadvantage from the uncertainty of its permanent retention*. must at once establish the importance and value of the Station, from a commercial point of view.

I have etc.,

(Signed) T. S. Raffles.

Fort Marlbro', 6th Feby.,1822.

As soon as the Settlement of Singapore was well established the exchange of Bencoolen for Malacca became one of mutual advantage. In Malacca the Dutch found themselves cramped between the English settlements of Penang and Singapore with very little chance of opening up a profitable trade with the Peninsula especially since Crawford's negotiations with Siam. On the other hand in Bencoolen an English settlement was isolated apart from the main trade routes of the East India Company and in a district in which the Dutch had the preponderating influence amongst the local native states.

Negotiations were entered into in Europe between the English and Dutch Governments and on the 17th of March 1824 the treaty of London was signed. The text of the treaty has been published in Singapore in 1889 by the Government Printing Office under the title of "Treaties and engagements entered into with or affecting the native states of the Malay Peninsula." It is also printed as an appendix of Neubold's British Settlements in Malacca. Both books are now somewhat rare and the text of the treaty is here reprinted for convenience of reference.

The treaty as published by the Government Printing Office is called the treaty of Holland. But as the treaty was signed in London and is referred to as the Treaty of London in contemporary correspondence it is referred to as the Treaty of London throughout this paper.

Treaty of Holland, 1824.

Treaty between His Britannick Majesty and The King of the Netherlands, respecting Territory and Commerce in the East Indies, signed at London, March 17, 1824.

Article I.

The high Contracting Parties engage to admit the Subjects of each other to trade with Their respective Possession in the Eastern Archipelago, and on the Continent of India, and in Ceylon, upon the footing of the most favoured Nation; Their respective Subjects conforming themselves to the local Regulations of each Settlement.

Article II.

The Subjects and Vessels of one Nation shall not pay, upon importation or exportation, at the Ports of the other in the Eastern Seas any Duty at a rate beyond the double of that at which the Subjects and Vessels of the Nation to which the Port belongs, are charged.

The Duties paid on exports or imports at a British Port, on the Continent of India, or in Ceylon, on Dutch bottoms, shall be arranged so as, in no case, to be charged at more than double the amount of the Duties paid by British bottoms.

In regard to any article upon which no Duty is imposed, when imported or exported by the Subjects, or on the Vessels, of the Nation to which the Port belongs, the Duty charged upon the Subjects or Vessels of the other shall, in no case, exceed six per cent.

Article III.

The High Contracting Parties engage, that no Treaty hereafter made by Either, with any Native Power in the Eastern Seas, shall contain any Article tending, either expressly, or by the imposition of unequal Duties, to exclude the Trade of the other Party from the Ports of such Native Power: and that if in any Treaty now existing on either Part, any Article to that effect has been admitted, such Article shall be abrogated upon the conclusion of the present Treaty.

It is understood that, before the conclusion of the present Treaty, communication has been made by each of the Contracting Parties to the other, of all Treaties or Engagements subsisting between Each of them, respectively, and any Native Power in the Eastern Seas; and that the like communication shall be made of all such Treaties concluded by Them, respectively, hereafter.

Article IV.

Their Britannick and Netherland Majesties engage to give strict Orders, as well to Their Civil and Military Authorities, as to their Ships of war, to respect the freedom of Trade, established by Articles I., II., and III.; and, in no case, to impede a free communication of the Natives in the Eastern Archipelago, with the Ports of the Two Governments, respectively, or of the Subjects of the Two Governments with the Ports belonging to Native Powers.

Article V.

Their Britannick and Netherland Majesties, in like manner, engage to concur effectually in repressing Piracy in those Seas: They will not grant either asylum or protection to Vessels engaged in Piracy, and They will, in no case, permit the Ships or merchandize captured by such Vessels, to be introduced, deposited, or sold, in any of their Possessions.

Article VI.

It is agreed that Orders shall be given by the Two Governments to their Officers and Agents in the East, not to form any new Settlement on any of the Islands in the Eastern Seas, without previous Authority from their respective Governments in Europe.

Article VII.

The Molucca Islands, and especially Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, and their immediate Dependencies, are excepted from the operation of the I., II., III., and IV. Articles, until the Netherland Government shall think fit to abandon the monopoly of Spices; but if the said Government shall, at any time previous to such abandonment of the monopoly, allow the Subjects of any Power, other than a Native Asiatic Power, to carry on any Commercial Intercourse with the said Islands, the Subjects of His Britannick Majesty shall be admitted to such Intercourse, upon a footing precisely similar.

Article VIII.

His Netherland Majesty cedes to His Britannick Majesty all His Establishments on the Continent of India; and renounces all privileges and exemptions enjoyed or claimed in virtue of those Establishments.

Article IX.

The Factory of Fort Marlborough and all the English Possessions on the Island of Sumatra, are hereby ceded to His Netherland Majesty: and His Britannick Majesty further engages that no British Settlement shall be formed on that Island, nor any Treaty concluded by British Authority, with any Native Prince, Chief, or State therein.

Article X.

The Town and Fort of Malacca, and its dependencies, are hereby ceded to His Britannick Majesty; and His Netherland Majesty engages, for Himself and His Subjects, never to form any Establishment on any part of the Peninsula of Malacca, or to conclude any Treaty with any Native Prince, Chief, or State therein.

Article XI.

His Britannick Majesty withdraws the objections which have been made to the occupation of the Island of Billiton and its Dependencies, by the Agents of the Netherland Government.

Article XII.

His Netherland Majesty withdraws the objections which have been made to the occupation of the Island of Singapore, by the Subjects of His Britannick Majesty.

His Britannick Majesty, however, engages, that no British Establishment shall be made on the Carimon Isles, or on the Islands of Battam, Bintang, Lingin, or on any of the other Islands South of the Straits of Singapore, nor any Treaty concluded by British Authority with the Chiefs of those Islands.

Article XIII.

All the Colonies, Possessions and Establishments which are ceded by the preceding Articles shall be delivered up to the Officers of the respective Sovereigns on the 1st of March 1825. The Fortifications shall remain in the state in which they shall be at the period of the notification of this Treaty in India; but no claim shall be made, on either side, for ordinance, or stores of any description, either left or removed by the ceding power, nor for any arrears of revenue, or any charge of administration whatever.

Article XIV.

All the Inhabitants of the Territories hereby ceded, shall enjoy, for a period of six years from the date of the Ratification of the present Treaty, the liberty of disposing, as they please, of their property, and of transporting themselves, without let or hinderance, to any country to which they may wish to remove.

Article XV.

The High Contracting Parties agree that none of the Territories or Establishments mentioned in Articles VIII., IX., X., XI., and XII. shall be, at any time, transferred to any other Power. In case of any of the said Possessions being abandoned by one of the present Contracting Parties, the right of occupation thereof shall immediately pass to the other.

Article XVI.

It is agreed that all accounts and reclamations arising out of the restorations of Java, and other Possessions, to the Officers of His Netherland Majesty in the East Indies,—as well as those which were the subject of a Convention made at Java on the 24th of June 1817, between the Commissioners of the Two Nations, as all others shall be finally and completely closed and satisfied on the payment of the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, sterling money, to be made in London on the part of the Netherlands, before the expiration of the Year 1825.

Article XVII.

The present Treaty shall be ratified and the Ratifications exchanged at London, within Three Months from the date hereof, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and affixed thereunto the Seals of their Arms.

.... *Done in London, the Seventeenth day of March, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-four.*

(L. S.) Charles Watkin Williams Wynn.

(L. S.) George Canning.

The text of the Treaty was forwarded to the Governor of Prince of Wales Island, through the Governor-General of Bengal with the two following covering letters, containing the general instructions of the Directors.

1. ([12]) We have the satisfaction of transmitting to you a Copy of a Treaty, for adjusting the relations of the British and Dutch

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Nations in the East, which was signed on the 17th instant, between His Majesty's Plenipotentiaries and those of the King of the Netherlands.

2. We also forward copies of two notes, delivered on the same day by the respective Plenipotentiaries.

3. As the Treaty cannot be laid before Parliament or made public in England, before the ratifications have been exchanged, you will retain the documents in your secret department until you shall have been officially advised of the ratification.

4. We communicate the Treaty to you, in its present state, in order that you may have full time for considering and preparing the measures which will be necessary for carrying into effect some of its provisions.

5. It is intended to propose to Parliament, that all the Dutch settlements on the Continent of India, and on the Peninsula of Malacca, which by the 8th and 10th Articles of the Treaty are to be ceded to Great Britain, should be transferred to the East India Company, you will therefore consider what arangement will be necessary, with the Dutch authorities, for receiving possession of those settlements, on the day fixed, and you will determine upon the most expedient and economical mode of administering the affairs of the respective acquisitions. In reference to the first point, we refer you to the 13th Article which was framed with a particular view to avoiding the occurrence of differences, such as those which occurred on the restitution of Java to the Dutch.

6. As to the second we trust that you will find it possible to effect this, at a much less charge than that which attended the temporary occupation during the war.

7. We are not aware that any new arrangement will be necessary as to Singapore, which is also to be transferred to the Company.

8. But the most important matter, arising out of the Treaty so far as your proceedings are concerned, is the cession of Bencoolen, and the Company's possessions on Sumatra, to the King of the Netherlands. We request your particular attention to those passages of the notes exchanged by the Plenipotentiaries, which relate to the inhabitants of Bencoolen, and to the relations of England with the King of Acheen. You will take care that the intelligence of the intended transfer of Authority, shall be accompanied by a knowledge of the assurances which His Majesty's Government have obtained from the Dutch, in regard to the interests of the natives and without which the Court of Directors would not have thought themselves authorized to concur in the cession.

9. These interests, therefore, we recommend to your special care.

10. Towards the execution of the 9th Article, so far as it regards Bencoolen, you will receive, with the ratified Treaty, more particular instructions from the Court of Directors. It is intended

that the local debt of that factory should be paid off previously to the transfer.

11. With respect to Acheen it will not be necessary for you to take any step, until you shall have received the ratified Treaty.

12. Although the Treaty and notes which we now communicate to you, are to remain secret, yet it may be necessary that the general nature of the arrangement should be known to those, whose duty it will be to carry it into execution.

13. For your guidance in this respect we forward an extract from a communication made by the President of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India to the special secret committee, and by them laid before the Court of Directors. The information contained in this document may be given to any persons with whom you may find it necessary to communicate upon the subject of the present Dispatch; it may also serve for your guidance, in the event of imperfect information upon the subject of the Treaty obtaining publicity in India.

We are,

Your affectionate friends,

(Signed) W. Wigram.

„ W. Astell.

East India House, (13)

London, the 20th March, 1824.

Our Governor-General in Council,

at Fort William in Bengal.

1. Our last letter to you in this department was dated the ....

2. We transmit herewith copies of a Treaty for adjusting the relations of the British and Dutch Nations in the East which was signed on the 17th March last and the ratification of which have been subsequently exchanged. To the Treaty are annexed copies of two notes which were delivered by the respective Plenipotentiaries on the day whereon the Treaty was signed. We likewise forward copies of an Act passed on the 24th June last for transferring to the East India Company certain possessions newly-acquired in the East Indies, and for authorizing the removal of convicts from Sumatra.

3. The first Article of the Treaty stipulates for a reciprocal admission of British and Dutch Subjects into the ports of the other Power upon the footing of the most favoured Nation. We

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are not aware that this stipulation will require any new measure on your part in favour of the Dutch or that it will entitle British subjects to any privilege at Dutch Ports of which they are not already in possession, you will take care that the reserve which the article contains as to the local regulations of each settlement is not abused. With this view you will inform yourselves of the nature of all existing regulations whereby the British trade is effected, either as to the facility of importation and exportation or as to the ports to which traffic may be limited and you will compare these regulations with those to which the Dutch trade is subjected in British India. This instruction is especially applicable to the ports of Java.

4. The second Article as to duties is conformable to the general principle which has been established for many years in British India though in some degree contravened since the last peace. The reduction of duty which it will be necessary for you to make in pursuance of the first part of this Article will necessarily be extended to those Nations which have acquired by Treaty the privilege of the most favoured Nation in the East Indies. These are in fact all the principal Powers which have intercourse with India. We are, therefore, desirous that the new regulation of duties should be applicable generally to all foreign vessels.

5. Care must be taken that the duties payable by British subjects or vessels in Dutch ports, shall not be raised above the stipulated proportion by any arbitrary or unequal mode of valuing merchandize previously to charging duties "ad valorem".

6. The third Article is especially directed against a practice, which, according to the statements of various persons who have been concerned in the trade with the Eastern Islands, has been carried to a considerable extent by the Dutch of inducing the Native States to make treaties whereby all Europeans but the Dutch are excluded from trade. These settlements have been denied by the Dutch, and we have certainly had no specific evidence of the fact, but however this may have been, the evil cannot exist in future, since all engagements having the effect of excluding British traders from the native ports are annulled by the present Treaty.

7. The fourth Article provides generally for the freedom of trade with the natives of the Archipelago which is in no way to be impeded by the Dutch or English respectively.

8. On the fifth Article respecting piracy we have nothing to observe.

9. Should any Establishment be formed by any English Authority in India, in contravention of the sixth Article, it will be necessary forthwith to direct the abandonment of such Establishment. On the other hand, should any Establishment be made without authority by the Dutch, the Netherland Government will be called upon to direct that it will be abandoned.

10. The seventh Article excepts the Moluccas from the preceding stipulations as to freedom of trade, this exception you will respect, but you will be careful to observe whether any attempt is made to extend the restriction beyond the limits within which it is confined by the note which accompanied the Treaty. You will inform us of any indications which may be perceived of an intention to relinquish the monopoly of the Spice Islands.

11. These seven Articles contain all the stipulations which it has been thought necessary to make with respect to commerce. It is clear that if carried into execution with good faith they will remove all the impediments which have been said to obstruct our commerce in the Eastern Seas.

12. If any complaint should reach you either officially or otherwise of any contravention of the Treaty by the Dutch you will carefully investigate it, and report to us, or to the secret committee the result without delay, but you must be aware, and cause it to be well understood, that no remonstrance, founded upon a complaint of this description, can be made to the Netherlands Government unless it be accompanied by specific allegations and proper evidence of proceedings not warranted by Treaty.

13. The Treaty contains no stipulation concerning the freedom of navigation as it has not been alleged that British vessels have met with any interruption in any part of the Archipelago.

14. The eighth Article accomplishes an object which has been repeatedly recommended from Bengal. The Dutch Settlements on the Continent of India ceded by this Article to Great Britain, having been transferred by the Act passed on the 24th of June last, to the East India Company, you will adopt the necessary arrangements in concert with the Dutch Authorities for receiving possession of those settlements on the day fixed, with special reference to the 13th Article of the Treaty and you will determine on the most expedient and economical mode of administering the affairs of the respective acquisitions and report to us your proceedings.

15. You will, in conformity with the ninth Article of the Treaty, make arrangements for delivering over to the Dutch, on the 1st of March 1825, the factory of Fort Marlborough and all the English possessions on the Island of Sumatra. With reference to the cession of Bencoolen, we request your particular attention to such parts of the notes exchanged by the British and Dutch Plenipotentiaries as relate to the inhabitants of Bencoolen. You will take care that the intelligence of the intended transfer of authority shall be accompanied by a knowledge of the assurances which His Majesty's Government have obtained from the Dutch in regard to the interests of the natives and without which we should not have thought ourselves authorized to concur in the cession. Those interests, therefore, we recommend to your especial care.

16. Arrangements must be made for discharging the amount of promissory notes outstanding at Fort Marlborough, and for adjusting so far as may be practicable all outstanding accounts between the Company and individuals.

17. You will give directions that all ordonance and military stores at Bencoolen be removed previously to the settlement being delivered over to the Agents of the King of the Netherlands. They may be conveyed to Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, or Malacca as may be thought most expedient.

18. The Fort Marlborough Records are to be sent to Penang, and you will request the Government of Prince of Wales Island to report to us the quantity of tonnage which will be required for conveying them to this country. Particular care must be taken of the baptismal and marriage registers which it is desirable should be transmitted to this country by the earliest opportunity.

19. The furniture belonging to the Bencoolen Residency it may be expedient to dispose of on the spot, but the Plate belonging to the Company is to be sent to Prince of Wales Island.

20. In regard to commercial stores you will receive our instructions from the Commercial Department.

21. As to the mode of disposing of our Bencoolen servants, the following are the only observations and instructions with which it is now in our power to furnish you.

22. The Lieutenant Governor is coming home.

23. The first Assistant (Captain McKenzie) belongs to the Bengal Army to which he may return on the relinquishment of the settlement.

24. The same is the case of Mr. Tyler, the Surgeon, of Mr. Colman, the Assistant Surgeon, and of Lieutenant T. W. Hule, the Superintendent of Convicts, etc.

25. The Chaplain may proceed to Singapore, taking along with him the communion plate and the church books lately sent from this country to Bencoolen.

26. It will hereafter be determined to what Establishment our twelve Civil Servants attached to the Residency of Fort Marlborough shall be transferred. But as a temporary arrangement it is our wish that they should be employed in discharging the requisite duties at Singapore and Malacca, and that such as may remain supernumerary shall continue to draw their present allowances until further orders.

27. There are about thirty uncovenanted Assistants and monthly Writers, who though they are not entitled to a permanent provision from the Company may, from the periods of their service, and the possible circumstance of their not having other dependence, have claims to our liberal consideration. We are desirous therefore that the most deserving of those persons may be employed in performing such duties as may be required of uncovenanted servants in the new settlements, and that moderate pensions

may be granted to such of the remainder as may appear from past service and good conduct to have claims on our bounty.

28. The office of Master Attendant is now vacant, and the services of the Assistants in that Department will probably be required at the other settlements.

29. In regard to the tenth Article of the Treaty, we refer you to our observations on Article 8, with the addition that you will take care that the Dutch conform strictly to the stipulation contained in the latter part of the Article.

30. Article 11 requires no observation.

31. Article 12, you will observe, puts an end to all questions between the British Government and the Dutch as to the title of the British to Singapore.

32. We have some reason to believe that the harbour of Singapore is partly formed of one or more Islets lying very near to the main Island, in order to prevent any difficulty or dispute respecting these Islets, we authorize and desire you to take possession of any such Islets or Islands in the Straits of Singapore at the same time that we enjoin you strict attention to the stipulations of the present Article respecting the Carimon Islands and the others laying *South* of those Straits.

33. The 13th Article of the Treaty was framed with a particular view to avoiding the occurrence of differences such as those which occurred on the restitution of Java to the Dutch.

34. By the 16th Article all accounts and reclamations arising out of the restoration of Java and other Dutch possessions in the East Indies will be finally settled on payment of the sum therein stipulated.

35. By the accompanying Act of the 5th of the King Cap: 108 Section 2 the Indian Governments are empowered to remove convicts who may have been transported to Sumatra to some other place whither they might have been sentenced to transportation for the remainder of the term of their sentence and to transport to some other place to which they might have been sentenced to transportation such convicts as may be under sentence of transportation to Sumatra. In pursuance of this enactment you will determine in concert with the Governments of Fort St. George, Bombany and Penang, on the Station, whether at Prince of Wales Island, Malacca or Singapore to which the convicts may be most conveniently removed with reference to the opportunities of employing them and the means of maintaining them at the least expense.

36. As by the Statute above referred to it has been enacted that the new settlements are to be "holden by the Company in "such and the same manner to all intents, effects, constructions and "purposes whatsoever and subject to the same authorities re- "strictions and provisions as the factory of Bencoolen and the "possessions in the Island of Sumatra were vested in and holden

"by the said Company before the conclusion of the Treaty" and as in virtue of the powers vested in us by the 42nd of Geo. 3rd Cap: 29 we did by our separate dispatch to your Government dated 19th April, 1817, reduce our Establishment at Fort Marlborough to a factory only, subordinate to the presidency of Fort William. Singapore and Malacca will remain subject to your Government.

37. We shall transmit a copy of this Despatch to the Government of Prince of Wales Island.

We are,

Your affectionate Friends,

London the 4th August, 1824.

(Signed) W. Astell.
C. Marjoribanks.
Geo. Smith.
Jno. Morris.
W. S. Clarke.
N. B. Edmonstone.
S. Toone.
Jno. G. Ravenshaw.
I. Pattison.
Jno. Bebb.
R. C. Plowden.
C. Mills.
Jno. Masterman.

Copd. W. H. Hutchisson.
H. J. Johnstone.

The Treaty still left some important matters to be adjusted locally, notably the actual transfer of Bencoolen and Malacca, the position of the Dutch Settlement on the Island of Rhio, and the treaty which had previously been entered into between the East India Company and the King of Acheen.

This last difficulty had been foreseen by the British Plenipotentiaries in a note addressed to the Plenipotentiaries of the Netherlands at the time of the signing of the treaty.

"A treaty concluded in the year 1819, by British Agents, with the King of Acheen is incompatible with the 3rd Article of the present Treaty. The British Plenipotentiaries therefore undertake, that the Treaty of Acheen shall as soon as possible, be modified into a simple arrangement for the hospitable reception of British vessels and subjects in the Port of Acheen. But as some of the provisions of that Treaty (which has been communicated to the Netherlands Plenipotentiaries), will be conducive to the general interests of Europeans established in the Eastern Seas: they trust that the Netherlands Government will take measures for securing the benefit of those provisions, and they express their confidence, that no

measures, hostile to the King of Acheen, will be adopted by the new possessors of Fort Marlborough."

On several occasions within the next year or so, the Governor of Prince of Wales Island received the most definite instructions from the Directors to abstain from any negociations with the Native States within the Dutch sphere of influence.

The following letters will show how exactly this Policy of non-interference was carried out.

The President lays before the Board the following letter from the King of Acheen, with his reply thereto.

KING OF ACHEEN.

King of Acheen, 13th October, 1826. [14]

TRANSLATION.

of a letter from Sultan Ala-eddin, Mahomed Shah King of Acheen to the Honorable the Governor of Pulo Pinang.

(After Compliments).

Whereas the Sultan of Acheen makes known to the Governor of Pulo Pinang that the British Government has always been on friendly terms with, and assisted the King of Acheen and the present Sultan is very desirous to preserve the same friendly relations as formerly. Any thing which the King desired, such as ships, guns or muskets, etc., the Governor of Pulo Pinang kindly supplied and assisted him when in difficulty. The Sultan of Acheen therefore places great confidence in the Governor of Pulo Pinang. The Sultan of Acheen is bound to make a reciprocal return in compliance with the wishes of the Governor of Pulo Pinang. At present the Sultan is in some difficulty, and he therefore makes the same known to the Governor of Pulo Pinang.

It is reported that Seyed Akeel intends seizing upon Delli; and as Delli is the dependency of Acheen, the Sultan requests very earnestly, that the Governor of Pulo Pinang; will have consideration towards him, as Seyed Akeel is a subject of the Company, and the Sultan trusts that the engagement formerly made in the time of the late Sultan—will be observed, viz., that the enemies of the Sultan shall be considered the enemies of the Company. Dated the 18th of Dalhajee, 1241—on Sunday. Prince of Wales Island (A true translation) the 13th October, 1826.

(Signed) JOHN ANDERSON,
Malay Translator to Govt.

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TO THE KING OF ACHEEN.

To the King of Acheen, 19th October, 1826. (15)

LETTER.

from the Honorable the Governor to the King of Acheen.

The Governor of Prince of Wales Island has received the letter addressed to him in the name of Sultan Ala-eddin Mahomed Shah King of Acheen and informs him in reply that it has always been and continues to be his earnest wish and desire to cultivate and keep a true friendship, harmony and good will; with all neighbouring States—but as to affording assistance in the supply of ships, guns, muskets, or warlike stores; the Governor of Prince of Wales Island, must distinctly inform the King of Acheen that he cannot interfere in the disputes of States on the Island of Sumatra, in anyway whatever. As to the conduct and supposed intention of Seyed Akeel to seize upon Delli, the Governor of Pinang informs the King of Acheen, that Seyed Akeel, before he left this Island, on his own private concerns was expressly cautioned, and informed to abstain from all acts, of interference in the affairs of Delli; such therefore have no sanction from this Government and if Seyed Akeel is guilty of such, it must be at the risk and peril, to which such conduct will subject him.

(Signed) R. FULLERTON,

19th October, 1826.

MALAY TRANSLATOR TO SEYED AKEEL AT DELLI.

Letter to Seyed Akeel, 2nd November, 1826. (16)

LETTER FROM THE MALAY TRANSLATOR TO SEYED AKEEL.

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor to acquaint my friend that his stay at Delli has been protracted considerably beyond the period fixed for his return and a representation relative to my friend's proceedings having lately been received from the King of Acheen, I am instructed to express the expectation of the Hon'ble the Governor that my friend will studiously refrain from any measures calculated to produce collision with neighbouring states or any remonstrances, from the Chiefs thereof and that my friend will be prepared to quit Delli with as little delay as possible.

(Signed) J. ANDERSON,
Malay Translator to Government.

Penang, 2nd November, 1826.

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16. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 944 P. 188

There appears to have been a good deal of delay in informing the Acting Resident of Bencoolen of the terms of the Treaty and of the impending transfer of the Settlement.

A good deal of loss and inconvenience was caused by the hurried transfer as the following correspondence shows.

To J. Dart, Esquire, (17)
Secretary to the H. E. I. Company,
London.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose for the information of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, copy of my address and Enclosures to the Supreme Government, on the present state and value of the Honorable Company's spice plantations at Bencoolen, judging that the subject may be interesting and of some importance on any discussions which may take place regarding their Establishments on this Coast.

I embrace this opportunity of stating, that most unexpectedly we have received information through various channels, of the intended transfer of the Hon'ble Company's possessions on Sumatra to the Netherlands Government on the 1st Proximo for which intelligence we were totally unprepared, and I have to lament the difficulties I experience in the absence of all information upon the arrangement, affecting the interests of every individual, both European and native on this and the subordinate Settlements, and request to inform you, that up to this period the local Government, have not been favored with the receipt of any instructions from the Hon'ble Court, or the Supreme Government, on the detail of the Public Stock or of the future destination of the servants in the employ of the Hon'ble Company.

I have, etc.,
(Signed) J. Prince,
Acting Resident,
General Department.

Fort Marlbro', 12th February, 1825.

To J. H. Dart, Esquire, (18)
Secretary to the H. E. I. Company,
London.

Sir,

I have the honor to report for the information of the Hon'ble Court of Directors that on the 20th ultimo, I received a duplicate letter from the Supreme Government under date 14th October of which the annexed is an abstract.

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17. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 907 P. 140
18. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 907 P. 126

"You will be pleased to adopt arrangements for removing from Fort Marlbro' all stores and property of value previous to the day appointed for the transfer of Bencoolen, and abstain from making any further advances on account of pepper, or other articles of commerce, which cannot be realized with security before the day of transfer."

In exculpation of any future consequences I beg to state, that on receipt of the above instructions, (only eight days previous to that fixed for the transfer) I had no means of fulfilling the first part of them, not a vessel of any description being in the Roads applicable to the public service, and, with regard to the latter part, the advances for the purchase of the Hon'ble Company's pepper agreeable to your instructions under date 2nd January 1823, and 6th January 1824, had been previously made, and the greater part came in, with the exception of an advance of 30,000 Spanish Dollars to Captain Tabor of the Eleanor who had contracted for the delivery of the pepper at Tappanooly, and where in consequence of these Instructions, I have sent directions to offer him freight to carry the same to Calcutta.

Four days after the receipt of the above letter from the Supreme Government I have the honor further to report, that the H. Company's Chartered Ship Layton, arrived at Bencoolen 24th Ultimo with final instructions from the Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council, desiring me to embark all the ordnance, military and civil stores previous to the day of transfer, and on that day to cede to the constituted Authorities of the Netherlands Government, the territorial possessions of the Hon'ble Company on the Island of Sumatra.

I beg to state that the total absence of Agents on the part of the Netherlands Government, prevented my fulfilling on the part of the British Government the stipulations of the Treaty, as far as they concerned this Factory and its Dependencies, on the day fixed, and also that the same deficiency and want of tonnage to transport the military and civil stores then existed and continues to exist.

I have the honor to present for the information of the Hon'ble Court, copy of a declaration I considered myself called upon to make, on the 1st March last in consequence of the peculiar situation I was placed in, and confidently trust that the Hon'ble Court will exonerate me from the responsibility and consequences which may ensue therefrom.

In pursuance of authority from the Supreme Government, I am adopting measures for securing Tonnage from Batavia to transport the pepper and coffee to Europe, and the convicts, etc., to Prince of Wales Island, and am in hourly expectation of ships from Calcutta to transport the military stores.

I have the honor also to report, that by the latest advices received from Batavia and Padang, it appears that the Netherlands

Government, is so much engaged in hostilities in their Eastern Possessions, that it has not at this moment sufficient Troops to spare for the occupation of the stations ordered to be ceded to that Flag.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) J. PRINCE,
Acting Resident,
Commercial Department.

Fort Marlbro', 9th March, 1825.

Certain points still remained to be settled, especially with regard to the 14th Article of the Treaty. As some long drawn out negotiations had not come to any clear result, Ibbetson was sent on a special Mission to the Governor-General at Batavia.

After several Conferences, Ibbetson was able to obtain the following letter which at once put the matter on a satisfactory footing.

TRANSLATION.

To The Hon'ble R. Ibbetson, Esq., (19)
British Commissioner,

Batavia, 16th January, 1829.

With reference to your letter dated the 6th December last to His Excellency the Commissioner General of Netherlands India, and to the Conference that took place between you and Messrs. Goldman, Councillor of India, and Du Puy, Acting Chief Secretary to the Government, relative to the emancipated convicts and others at Bencoolen, I have the honour to inform you.

That the three points proposed to be settled by previous mutual arrangement in the letter from the British Government dated the 17th April, 1828, with the view of giving due execution to the 14th Article of the Treaty of London in so far as Bencoolen is concerned, are acquiesced in and agreed to by the Netherlands Govt. under the following explanation for the better understanding of the same, viz.

With regard to the first point being as follows.

That no objection shall be made by the Netherlands local officers to the departure in such vessel or vessels as may be provided by the British Government of any description of persons declaring their desire to remove when called upon to make their election in the manner proposed by this Government nor to their wives and families accompanying them.

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19. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 994 P. 59

"That the Summons to appear before the British Agent and the Assistant Resident shall be confined to the liberated convicts and Caffrees, with their families and that the free Bengalees and other persons shall not be included therein, it being understood that all such among the latter as may be desirous of availing themselves of the privilege conceded by Article 14th of the Treaty shall be permitted to appear before the joint Authorities, although not called upon to declare such desire, in which case they will be proceeded with in the same manner as the convicts and Caffrees who shall have been summoned as above."

With regard to the second point being of the following tenor.

That if local debts are proved against any of these persons it shall be necessary that the creditors be satisfied for their just claims, before permission to depart be granted, but that it shall be left entirely to the British Agent to aid them in the adjustment of their debts by advance of money, or otherwise, and that such assistance shall not be made a ground for refusing permission to depart to such as have a right thereto by the Treaty.

"That it is previously understood and agreed to, by both "parties that such of the persons in question as do *not* discharge "their just debts, shall not be allowed to remove."

The third proposition is as follows.— That no law established since the transfer of Bencoolen, or not in force, at that time, shall be adduced or allowed effect, in bar of the right to remove, declared by the Treaty.

The Netherlands Government has no remark to make on this proposition, considering it as included in the first.

The necessary orders will be forthwith issued to the Assistant Resident of Bencoolen in pursuance hereof to proceed to the final settlement of this matter without delay, on your arrival at that place, and in the manner regulated above, that Officer will also be instructed to expedite and facilitate the execution of your mission as far as may be necessary and practicable, and will be recommended to arrange every thing with you in the best understanding.

These orders will be addressed *direct* to the local Officer at Bencoolen and will be handed to you in order to expedite the completion of your commission as otherwise, according to the existing instructions, our directions on this subject should be forwarded to the Resident and Commandant of Padang to whom, the Assistant Resident of Bencoolen is subordinate, and through whose intervention the ulterior instructions to the latter Officer should in the regular course be communicated.

In this particular case however from a consideration of the delay which would thereby be caused especially at this season, in the termination of the mission with which you are entrusted, we have resolved to depart from accustomed rules, trusting that the British authorities will see in this a new proof of the readiness

of the Netherlands Government, to facilitate the execution of the Treaty of London, as far as it is possible on our part, and at the same time, of our desire to strengthen by all proper means the good understanding now happily subsisting between the two Governments.

I take this opportunity to offer you the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

The Lieut. Governor-General of Netherlands India

In his absence

The Senior Councillor of India.

(Signed) CHASSE.

A true translation.

(Signed) J. DU PUY.

Actg. Chief Secy. to Govt.

The local negotiations were carried out without a hitch and the whole question was closed by any exchange of compliments between the Governor General of the Netherlands and the Governor General of British India.

To R. Ibbetson, Esquire, [20]

British Commissioner,

Bencoolen.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day, and therein enclosed lists of the British pensioners who desire to receive their allowance here.

Regarding the payment of the pensions in Silver Money, sitpulated in the second Paragraph of your Letter, I have the satisfaction to state for your information that as this subject appears to me of less consequence then mentioned in your Letter, so I find no difficulty in assuring you from the part of my Government, that the remaining British pensioners, as they appear in the List which you have forwarded to me, will be paid in such silver coin as may be admitted to be in circulation at this place, provided the restitution be in the same coin this will also be of application to the holders of promissory notes.

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The fourth Paragraph of your above mentioned Letter regarding the deduction of the advances made to the persons of *Sujak, Blantan, Slamat, and Poopang,* will be properly observed in the payment of their allowances.

With regard to the 5th Paragraph respecting the regularisation of the advances which are to be made here, to the Pensioners I beg leave to refer to the arrangements which you have made on the subject with the Government at Java, but as I am fully convinced with you that the settling of accounts between the mutual Governments could more effectually take place with Batavia and Prince of Wales Island, or even more so with Singapore, so I shall contemplate it, as a duty to bring this your proposition to the notice of my Government.

Further I beg leave to state for your information that the pensions will be paid by me here monthly, and the pay lists properly signed by each individual, forwarded to Batavia *every three months* in duplicate from which a set will be sent to the British Government to serve for verification of the bills which may be drawn by the Netherlands Government on the British Government in India.

Lastly. I enclosed herewith a receipt for the one thousand and two hundred Guilders, which you have sent me as pension money.

And in conclusion, Allow me Sir! reciprocally to express my acknowledgement for the indulgence with which you have supported my endeavours in settling the affairs of the Caffrees and Bengalees who are going to leave this, for without this indulgence, I would certainly have met with many difficulties in the observance of the positive orders which I have received from my Government to facilitate your Mission at this place, for the laws of this country which were transferred to us by a former Government and which still remain in force are of such construction that the native Chiefs here have the right to prevent the departure of many, who now received their papers to go in which case we could once more have fallen into those difficulties which have already given to this cause a delay, unpleasant to our mutual Government's. Therefore it is with double pleasure I see the end of our business without any hitch, whatsoever, and the amicable way in which everything is settled and join with you, in saying "that must be equally agreeable to our respective Governments."

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

(Signed) M. FRANCIS.

Bencoolen, 17th March, 1829.

To the Secretary to Government, (21)
Prince of Wales Island.
Sir,

1. In continuation of my Dispatch to your address, dated Batavia the 24th of January last; I have now the honor to report for the information of the Hon'ble the Governor in Council; that, as intimated in this concluding Paragraph, I quitted those Roads on the 27th of that Month, and arrived here in prosecution of my Mission on the 24th Ultimo.

In my Letter of the 16th instant, to the Assistant Resident, I suggested for the consideration of his Government the preference I gave to the drawing of Bills upon Prince of Wales Island or Singapore, over Calcutta. I was induced to this upon reflecting, that constant intercourse is maintained between the merchants of these Settlements and Batavia, and that a convenient arrangement might be concluded through them for the payment at Batavia of the quarterly balances as they became due.

2. In my further reply of the 21st instant, I purposely evaded his question for permission to forward to Penang by future opportunities, such diseased Bengalees as were not permitted to proceed by the present one, because without risking a little of the good understanding subsisting between us, I could not venture my real motive for an absolute refusal, which rested upon the knowledge I had obtained, that the sufferers alluded to were neither more nor less than all the vagabonds, and beggars, of the place.

3. I should strenuously recommend that no further expense whatever be incurred on this Account, the individuals now embarking scarcely appear sensible of the kindness that is intended them, and I verily believe would be induced, for a very few Rupees to be paid to each, again to return to their original employments. Many of the convicts are notorious bad characters, and the Caffrees noted for their laziness and aptitude to drink, than any other quality.

4. I am not able in the present letter to state precisely the number of souls that I shall eventually take from hence: several that are now on board have no claims whatever upon the consideration of Government and will only tend if taken, to prejudice the public service, by rendering inevitable what I am most anxious to avoid. The touching at any port for wood and water. I was not at all prepared on my arrival here for the delays I have experienced, many of the individuals now embarking had property to dispose of, with debts to pay and collect, so that had I ever determined upon sailing many days earlier than the present one, they could not have been ready, and the benevolent intentions of Government would have been partially defeated for an object which

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21. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 994 P. 107

after all, might not have been considered comparatively important. The ship for want of boats to complete her wood and water, had only been ready for sea service yesterday, and it has occupied three whole days in embarking the people from the same cause.

5. My Accounts alone remain to be submitted, but as I could not prepare them in time for my departure, the ship being now in preparation to weigh, I shall have them made up during the passage and forwarded in on my arrival.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) R. IBBETSON.

H. E. Ship Hastings,

Bencoolen Roads, 22nd March, 1829.

TRANSLATION.

To His Excellency, (22)

The Governor-General of British India,

&c. &c. &c.

My Lord,

I should have thought that I left a debt unpaid to Your Excellency's Letter of the 16th June last, relative to the result which I now do, for the flattering expressions contained in Your Excellency's letter of the 16th of Juna last, relative to the result of Mr. Ibbetson's Mission, Your Excellency having entirely approved the course of proceedings which gave rise thereto. I feel the more gratified as I owe to Your Excellency the agreeable communications which have passed between us on the subject.

The measures adopted by Your Excellency for obtaining reimbursement of the sums paid by Your Government to the Netherlandish Pensioners being in conformity with what had previously been agreed on, I have no objections to offer on that head, and have issued the necessary orders so that the Bills of Exchange which will be successively transmitted to the Government of Java, may be immediately honored.

Having at my repeated instances, obtained permission from the King my Master to return to my native land, and being in daily exceptation of the arrival of the Governor-General Van der Bock to whom I shall make over charge of my administration, I can no longer hope to have opportunities of corresponding with

22. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 800 P. 219

Your Excellency, but if my official intercourse with Your Excellency appears to me to have been but short, it will at least be associated in my mind with the most pleasing recollections.

I have the honor to be &c.,

(Signed) Le Viscomte du Bus de Gesignes.

A true translation.

(Signed) W. Foresty—Transr.

A true copy.

(Signed) A. W. Prince,
Secy. to the Govt.

Buitenzorg, the 18th September, 1829.

The transfer of Malacca by the representatives of the Dutch Government to the Agents of the East India Company passed off rapidly and smoothly so far as the more formal matters of the transfer of stores, accounts, and adjustments of pensions were concerned. A grave difficulty arose over the interpretation of the Treaty with regard to the Dutch establishment at Rhio. The dispute was too important and deep rooted to be finally decided locally. After a somewhat scrappy correspondence conducted at cross-purposes of which the following letters give the general purport. The points in dispute were clearly summed up by the Governor and referred to the home Government.

Reading Article IX of the Treaty together with Article XII, it seems fairly clear that the local officers of the East India Company were endeavouring to give to the term, "The Town and Fort of Malacca and its dependencies", an extension which had never been contemplated by the Plenipotentiaries of the two Governments at the time the Treaty was under discussion. The Dutch local officers instead of frankly taking up the natural position that Malacca and its dependencies meant the "hinterland" of Malacca and that the last paragraph of Article XII clearly precluded the English from any settlement at Rhio; endeavoured with much less success to show that Rhio had never been an administrative dependency of Malacca.

To W. S. Cracroft, Esquire, ([23])
British Commissioner at
Malacca.

Sir,

I am directed by the Honorable the Governor in Council to transmit for your information and guidance the following observations in addition to the instructions already conveyed to you.

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1. In reference to the 10th and 12th Articles of the Treaty concluded between the British and Netherlands Authorities it appears by the former that Malacca and its dependencies are ceded to the British, and by the latter that we are to form no Establishment on any of the Islands named viz. Battam, Bintang, Lingin, &c. considering that these Islands have been from time immemorial viewed as dependencies of Malacca, Bintang in particular and by the Treaty are now actually regarded as such it becomes necessary to make a reclamation of these places from the Netherlands Representative at Malacca which you will accordingly be prepared to do in the event of their not being included voluntarily in the Act of Cession. It must be evident that the Treaty as regards the occupation of Singapore and the cession of Malacca must in a great degree be rendered nugatory if the Dutch hold Rhio which has ever been an acknowledge Dependency of that Settlement and the utility of which consists only in the exclusion of the other power without the stipulation of any benefit accruing to ourselves from occupation.

In the event of objections being urged by the Netherlands Representatives at Malacca against the above construction of the Treaty you will proceed no farther than to submit your proceedings to the Supreme Government and to acquaint the Dutch Authorities of your having done so.

2. I am desired to bring to your notice as a measure of careful investigation and future Report to the Supreme Government the state of landed property at Malacca, the title and tenure under which it is held by natives of India or Europeans—the rights confirmed and those reserved by the Government &c.

3. As it is probable that Malacca will immediately on our occupancy become the resort of British subjects, I am directed to caution you in respect to the line of conduct to be pursued by you. The Honorable the Governor in Council deems it advisable that notice should be given to all British subjects resorting to Malacca or shewing an intention of settling there, that their being allowed to remain as settlers must depend entirely on the occasion of the Supreme Government and of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors and it must be carefully made known to the persons above described that no purchase of land, no entry in compact or rents or other engagements will preclude their removal by virtue of the state in the case proivded in the event of the Supreme Government or the Hon'ble Court of Directors deeming it right to deny their sanction to the future residence of any individual British Subject.

I am &c.,

E. A. Blundell.

Ag. Secy. to Govt.

Fort Cornwallis, the 7th April, 1825.

W. S. Cracroft, Esquire, (24)
Acting Resident at,
Malacca.

Sir,

I am directed by the Honorable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th Instant and to acquaint you that the instructions with respect to Rhio were dispatched to you soon after your departure as a precautionary measure, lest from the subject not having been expressly mentioned in the first instruction it should have escaped your notice, and silence in the present occasion might possibly have been construed into acquiescence in the future occupation of Rhio by the Netherlands Government.

2. The Honorable the Governor in Council is well pleased however to find that the question was stated and left as a matter of reference exactly as intended by this Government.

3. It seems therefore, in the view of the Honorable the Governor in Council to be unnecessary to reagitate this question, except under the directions of the Supreme Government, to whom all explanations deduceable from the records of this Presidency will be transmitted by the earliest opportunity.

I have &c.,

(Signed) John Anderson.
Acting Secy. to Govt.

Fort Cornwallis, the 22d. April, 1825.

To E. A. Blundell, Esq., (25)
Acting Secretary to Govt.,
Prince of Wales Islands.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th inst. and in reply to the 1st point therein noticed, I have to request that you will acquaint the Hon'ble the Governor. That the subject of the Netherlands Establishment at Rhio occupied my most attentive consideration, at a very early period after my appointment as British Commissioner and enclosure No. 4 in my report to the Supreme Government of yesterday's date will show the view which in accordance with the 29th Paragraph of the letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council of the 4th August, 1824, I took of the Settlement in question, viz., that is was obtained and is held and engaged consequent on certain privileges and exemptions claimed in virtue of the

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25. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 979 P. 70

occupation of Malacca and consequently is renounced by the Netherlands Government in the 8th Article of the Treaty. In this view of the case I corresponded on the subject with the Netherlands Commissioner (in view of the abandonment) of the settlement by his Government.

But I did not make any reclamation of it on the part of the British Government to be ceded as a Dependency of Malacca.

([26])The 13th Article of the Treaty appearing to me to be equally at variance with such a claim on our part as the 8th Article is at variance with the continued possession of the place by the Dutch Government.

It appeared however that the commissioner had no power or instructions to settle the point with me, and as I could on no account waive it, we mutually agreed to leave it to the superior authorities to whom has been referred as will appear from the paragraph of my letter to Mr. Secretary Lushington..........

Malacca the 7th of April, 1825. ([27])

Sir,

In answer to your letter of today's date on the subject of the establishment of Rhio, I have the honour to inform you that it is not within my power to give any information on the subject.

The Establishment of Rhio is not a dependency of Malacca, my only instructions from my Government are to hand over to you Malacca with its dependencies in accordance with Article 10 of the Treaty.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Resident Commissioner.
Signature illegible.

To Mr. W. S. Cracroft,
Commissioner of the
British Government.

Malacca, the 7th of April, 1825. ([28])

Sir,

In answer to your letter No. 11 dated the 8th, I can only inform you that if the very clearly expressed terms of Article 8 of the Treaty between the Dutch and the British Government can be brought into question as regards the abandonment of Rhio.

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26. The 13th Article is probably a clerical error for the 12th.
27. Resident of Malacca's Office Records 1825.
28. Resident of Malacca's Office Records 1825.

An establishment which we have had in the island of Bintang for more than five years, and with which Malacca never had any connection, either in the terms of the return of Malacca by the British Government in September 1818, or in the terms of the above mentioned treaty.

I agree with you that the Settlement of this question should be reserved to our respective superior authorities and I shall not fail on my side to forward our correspondence on this subject to His Excellency the Governor General at Java.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Netherlands Commissioner.
Signature illegible.

(29) MINUTE BY THE GOVERNOR.

A reply having been received from Mr. Cracroft in respect to the Settlement of Rhio, and as the subject becomes a matter of reference to the Supreme Authorities, I have the honor to submit for record the sentiments and opinions I entertain thereon, drawn from an attentive perusal of the Documents that have passed on that subject.

The general question as to the dependency of Rhio on Malacca, will be found fully discussed in a Letter addressed by the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings Governor General, to Baron Van der Capellan under date the 26th June, 1829. The particulars may be stated thus—Rhio on the Island of Bintang is a part of the Kingdom of Johor. We find the Titles of the Sultan stated thus "Sultan of Johore, Pahang, Rhio, Lingin and its Dependencies".—Rhio, it appears, was overpowered by the Dutch about the years 1784 to 1787. We find Letters from the Emperor of Rhio in the year 1786 on our records applying in pressing terms for British assistance against the Dutch his expulsion seems to have taken place about the year 1788. In a letter addressed to Major Farquhar by the Dutch Commissioners receiving charge of Malacca dater 31st October, 1818, we find the subjugation of Rhio, Pahang and Johor by the Dutch expressly stated to have taken place about the year 1784, at which period the Sultan by Treaty dated 10th November of that year, is represented to have declared himself and heirs to be forever vassals of Holland.

This letter was written in consequence of Major Farquhar having notified to the Dutch Commissioners the conclusion of a Treaty in August preceding, between himself and the Sultan of Rhio, the validity of which the letter of the Dutch Commissioner was expressly meant to disavow. On the first cession of Malacca

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29. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 371½ P. 215

to the British Government during the war in 1795, we find it expressly stated that the Dutch had before the Cession withdrawn their troops and abandoned Rhio, declaring the sovereign entirely independent. We find that the Captors on desiring to know what then were to be the dependencies of Malacca were informed that Rhio was independent. The note addressed by the captors to the King of Rhio at the time of the Cession sufficiently shews that the independency of Rhio as a previous act of the Dutch Government was distinctly announced as such, and in consequence respected by us during the whole period of our occupation from 1795 to 1818. It was on the faith of such declared and admitted independence that our Government afterwards made the Treaty in August 1818 with the King of Rhio &c. &c. and on the same foundation that our Government determined on the occupation of Rhio with the assent of the King then considered to be entirely independent. And it was on the faith of the whole Kingdom of Johore, Pahang and its insular Appendages Rhio &c. being also independent, that in finding ourselves anticipated at Rhio, we took possession of Singapore. The Dutch Authorities it appears immediately on receiving possession of Malacca from us in October 1818, sent a Detachment of troops against Rhio, forcibly re-imposed their supremacy over that State, extorted a renewal of the treaty of vassalage of which in 1795, they expressly disavowed the existence, and by force annulled the one made by Major Farquhar only three months before. We find our right to the occupation of Singapore and adjacent Isles resisted expressly on the ground of the whole Kingdom of Johore having been in a state of feudal dependency on Malacca from 1784.

The course of policy pursued by the Dutch Government, may be abstracted thus. In the year 1795 in giving us possession of Malacca, they declare Rhio to be independent in order to prevent our deriving any advantage therefrom during our occupation of that Settlement. They do no sooner regain possession of Malacca by Treaty in 1818 than they disown their previous act, and deny us the right of obtaining Rhio from the King on the plea of its dependencies. Malacca and its Dependencies are now ceded to us by the Treaty of 17th March 1824, and it remains to be seen whether the Netherlands Government will abandon Rhio as a dependency of Malacca, or again resort to the reasoning of 1795, and retain it as the grant of an independent State.

The above are all the Papers in my reach bearing on the question, a question which can be decided only by the intent and meaning of the High Contracting Parties in Europe, and of those we can form an opinion only by attentive consideration of the stipulations entered into. By reference to those stipulations, the right of the Netherlands Government to maintain Settlements at Rhio or any of the Islands mentioned in the 12th Article, seems inadmissible on Two distinct grounds.

First. That all those Islands are dependencies of Malacca Bintang on which Rhio is, being one of them. They all belong to the Kingdom of Johor, Pahang &c. stated by the Dutch themselves to have been a vassal Government depending on Malacca. It was on that ground that the Netherlands Authorities preoccupied Rhio and opposed our right to settle either at the Carimons or at Singapore, and it was the question of that right which it may be preseumed brought on the negociation and the Treaty of 17th March, 1824. The dependency of Rhio &c. on Malacca can scarcely now be disputed by the Netherlands Government they have already acted upon it. The Treaty is made with the Sultan of Rhio acting on behalf of the Sultan of Johore, Pahang, Rhio, Lingin and dependencies. The Governor of Malacca is one of the Contracting Parties, and all the stipulations expressly refer to Malacca. If as stated by the Dutch Commissioner on the 31st October, 1818, Rhio had all along been a dependency of Malacca, then our rights to the corresponding advantages from 1795 to 1818, were clear and indisputable. If on the other as stated by the Dutch Government of Malacca in 1795 Rhio &c. were really independent, then our subsequent right to its occupation with the consent of the King was equally indisputable. Those advantages in the first case we have lost for the past, and without an express stipulation I can hardly conceive it to have been intended that Malacca having again become ours, we should give them up to the Netherlands Government for the future and thus allow them to reap the benefit of a position which they themselves all along disallowed.

It may be urged indeed that Rhio though once a dependency of Malacca ceased to be so before the completion of the Treaty. That the Government of Malacca was by the orders of the Supreme Netherlands Authority in India reduced to a Residency. That Rhio was transferred to the direct management of the Government of Batavia. If such a measure has, as understood, really taken place the evasive nature of its object is sufficiently obvious, but it must be evident that no internal arrangement or alteration made by the local Government pending reference to the European Authorities, can effect the relative and disputed rights of the respective state or be admitted in execution of the Treaty in India unless shewn to have been distinctly explained and understood by the high contracting parties in Europe. There is no evidence or proof whatever of such being the case on the contrary, the general mention of certain Islands, the complete silence and omission of the name of Rhio, the absence of any distinct provision respecting it, lead to the very opposite conclusion. That it was known only as a dependency of Malacca, and the right of its occupation by either party is set at rest by the reciprocal Articles 9, 10, 11 and 12.

Second. All those Islands including Bintang on which Rhio is situated are dependencies and appendages of the

Kingdom of Johore and Pahang a Kingdom situated on the continent of the Malay Peninsula. The Netherlands Government are by the Treaty precluded from holding Settlements on any part or from making Treaties with any State on the Malay Peninsula, and are therefore virtually excluded from the proximate insular dependencies, if otherwise they might claim the right of settling on any of the numerous Islands on its Coast from Junk Ceylon to Point Romania, on the same principle that the Political Stipulations of the British Treaty with the King of Acheen on Sumatra becomes null by Article 9 of the Treaty of 17th March 1824, so do those of the Netherlands Treaty with the Sultan of Johore, Pahang, Rhio and Lingin on the Coast of the Peninsula cease to have effect by Article 10,and it is by virtue of the Treaty with the Sultan of December 1818, that Rhio is now occupied by the Netherlands Authorities. With the exception of Singapore, the British Government are precluded from forming Settlements on any of the Islands noted in Article12, or forming Treaties with their Chiefs but as dependencies of Malacca and of the Malay Peninsula they cannot surely be open to the occupation of the Netherlands Government such right, indeed adverting to their proximity to Singapore, would destroy the whole object of the territorial exchanges made by the Treaty stated to be for the avoidance of all collision of interests, a collision which could hardly fail to be produced between two Settlements commercially rivals and only forty miles distant from each other.

But if the right of the Netherlands Government over Rhio exists by the Treaty the same right must apply to all the adjacent Islands the occupation of which, the Carimons for example would command the interior navigation of the straits and entirely defeat the main advantage expected from the occupation of Singapore. It is well known that even the stones used in the fortifications of Malacca have been removed to Rhio pending negociations for the construction of a Fort there, that to expedite its completion, the export of Bricks and Tiles from Malacca has been prohibited for Months past, and it is also well understood that a large European force is collecting there. It remains therefore to be considered how far the establishment of a Fortress and a strong Military Post so very near our Settlement of Singapore is admissable by the letter or consistent with the spirit of the Treaty, thereby inducing the necessity of corresponding means of defence, adding naturally to the charge of its maintenance, and commanding an overwhelming influence over all the Native Chiefs of the neighbouring Countries. According to the stipulations of the Treaty of 17th March 1824, the intention seems to have been, that with the exception of Singapore, the occupation of which by the British Authorities is expressly provided for, all these Islands were to remain independent, under Native Chiefs and not to be occupied by either of the respective Nations, Parties of the Treaty, and

consequently that Rhio ought to be evacuated by the Netherlands Authorities.

(Signed) R.FULLERTON.

(True Copy)

(Signed) JOHN ANDERSON.
Secy. to Govt.

25th April, 1825.

The further negociations between the two Supreme Governments with regard to the occupation of Rhio dragged on for some time without any very definite result. Meanwhile the Dutch position in Rhio became more securely established, and the further complications which Fullerton had forseen in his minute of April 1825 began to arise. The quarrels between the Sultan of Johore and the Sultan of Lingin led to attempts on the part of both Princes to establish their authority on the Karimon Islands. Major Elout the Resident of Rhio at once took advantage of the opportunity and opened the question with the following cautious and tentative letter, which the Resident of Singapore, John Prince, forwarded with certain further correspondence to the Governor at Penang.

READ the following correspondence between the Resident of Rhio and the Resident Councillor of Singapore relative to the Carimons.

([30]) Extract from Major Elout's letter, 18th August, 1827.

"But not to make this letter too long, I shall wait for that explanation, till I have the pleasure of meeting you. Another material point remains, and this requires much speed. I shall very likely be obliged to write in office about the Carimons and this most probably very soon. But I am glad our private correspondence affords me the opportunity of giving you, in the most sincere and frank way, my whole mind on the subject and you will allow me much more freedom, and so should I, in a private letter, than either of us could take in an official correspondence. I consider the line of demarcation between English and Dutch influence over these parts of the world, pretty well established by the late Treaty—the Carimons are nominally on our side—the English influence being prohibited there as the Dutch is on any part of the continent or Malay Peninsula.

Suppose, I against that Treaty, suffered a Native Chief under my Control to exercise influence over Pahang, which the Raja Moodah here would be very happy to do,—Suppose he established part of his own people with a Dutchman amongst them on the place—Suppose, you, after informing me and requiring the immediate withdrawing, but such in vain, ordered a detachment

30. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 945 P. 25

or any Naval Force to shew my Sultan's people the way back to Rhio, could I, in any way, take amiss your doing so, I believe, indeed I could not, nor should— as to forming an establishment yourself at Pahang and hoisting colours, that I know you would not, without previous orders from Europe, nor will you think me so ready of hoisting our Colours on the Carimons, as you will expect, that I shall maintain the Sultan of Lingin's rights on them. And I must be very much on my guard against the Sultan of Johore, because he already took so much. Thus, he now after his being made Sultan, considers himself to be so on the same footing as his father was? then he is Sultan of Riouw and all Islands as far as Southward as Banca—of a great many points of the East Coast of Sumatra.

But in my humble opinion, I believe, whatever he thinks, you and me, Sir, ought to follow the *letter* and the meaning of the Treaty, by which although not in so many words still "the Empire of Johore, i. e. the old Empire over which the Sultan's father ruled, is divided". We have two Sultans now instead of one,—Each of them reigning over a separate part—the one Sultan Hussein, residing at Singapore to be considered as Sultan of Johore and its continental dependencies, he being himself under the influence and control of the English Authorities in these parts of the World, the other Sultan Abdul Rahman residing at Lingin reigning over the Islands all around, he himself under the influence of the Dutch Authorities.

It is very true that the Tamongong of Johore under the old State of things had the management of the Carimons, I know that very well, and when Major Farquhar saw him, it was he that made that Gentleman go to Lingin and Rhio, to ask for the Carimons, if I am not mistaken, but I must forbear to reflect on those acts—for that question is now decided at home, and I have nothing to do but to submit to the Treaty. But if I must do so, I hope, Sir, you will the more willingly and generously do so, as that decision was, by far more advantageous to your Government and its agents at that time concerned with the dispute, than to any Government and myself—And I now undertake not only for myself to regulate me and all my actions after the Treaty, but to prevent any body under my influence from acting in a different way, I hope you will be disposed to do the same, and I am confident that your influence over Sultan Hoosein will make him withdraw from the Carimons, and prevent misunderstandings, and perhaps Acts of violence, from which I could not so easily detain the Chiefs under my Control, as their cause is a just one, and they have already been the sufferers a good deal from what happened before.

Allow me, in concluding this letter, to make once more an apology for my want of sufficient knowledge of your language, and to disclaim any word or expression that in the course of the

letter, that could be thought improper, for my intention is to be so polite and decent as frank and sincere.

A true Extract.

(Signed) J. P.

The following private and official letters which passed shortly after between The Residents of Singapore and Rhio show the Dutch position very clearly.

TRANSLATION.

([31]) Riouw, 14th September, 1827.
To The Resident,

....

I have been astonished at the little influence which had been exercised over some parts of the territories of the Sultan of Lingin, by his Vice Roy who resides at Rhio, and who is legally and for many years authorized and obliged to maintain his good right, throughout the whole of his empire of which he is declared Vice Roy the Grand Viser.—

The part which I have especially in view, are the Carimon Islands, I understand then, that the Brother of the Sultan of Lingin, who resided at Singapore had sent some of his people arrogating to himself a certain right over those Islands, and had given permission to some persons to establish themselves there, and consequently preventing thereby, the Vice Roy up to the present time, from exercising his superintendence and his jurisdiction over the said Islands.

This assumption however, did not appear to me in least valid.

But I have received within these few days a letter from a person, who I suppose belongs to the English Nation, by which it appears, that the Native Prince at Singapore wishes to engage Europeans to establish themselves on the Carimon Islands.

I have not thought it necessary to reply to this letter, a copy of which I have the honor to transmit.

Another circumstance has urged me to press the Vice Roy of Rhio to re-establish the legal authority of the Sultan of Lingin on the Carimon Islands.

Pirates are said to shelter themselves in these environs and an expedition of the Vice Roy under command of his son, is about to depart this day to clear the seas of these Pirates.

The Corvette of his Netherlands Majesty the Castor also proceeds on a cruize in the direction, but I have directed the commander to anchor abreast of Singapore to present you this letter and to

31. C. S. O. R. .. .. Vol. 945 P. 112

request any information which you may have to furnish him on the subject of these Pirates, of which I believe there is also some talk in your Residency.

I have etc.

(Signed) ELOUT.
Major Resident at Rhio.

True Copy.

JOHN ANDERSON.
Resdt. Counclr.

To The Honorable John Prince, Esqre., [32]
Resident Councillor,
Singapore.

Rhiouw 41th September 1827.

Honorable Sir,

I am sorry our private correspondence did not prove sufficient to settle a little our differences, the more so, as I think it convenient on me to enter now again, in this private letter, into more detailed explanation—whereas on the other hand, I forbear to do so in my official letter, which I hope you will approve of.

Had we ever had a personal meeting I dare say you would have found that in my acting as I do, I am far from being in any way immoderate, or inclined to encroach upon another man's right.

I do not know if you are aware of the circumstance altogether that have given occasion to the late Treaty and the stipulations thereby made.

But you have been too long in India for not knowing that jealousy in politics existed before, which it was as you justly stated the object of the Treaty now to prevent for the future.

The late Treaty between Great Britain and the Netherlands, made of course an alteration in the meaning of the Treaty between the Sultan of Lingin(before that time styled Sultan of Johor, Pahang, Lingin, Riouw, and its dependencies) and the Government of the Netherlands India, for as far as concerns those territories now considered to be ceded by him to his Brother, such as Johor and Pahang, but none of the Islands south from Singapore itself. We certainly will not sustain his (the Sultan of Lingin's) right to it—but any other part we are bound to maintain for him, and he is not allowed without our consent to part with it. The Treaty was certainly offered to the Government of Penang for a perusal. And by that Treaty you will see how the Dutch Government is concerned in the question of the Carimons and you will perceive, that I am in duty bound to give assistance to the Sultan of Lingin or his Plenipotentiary the Vice Roy here, in case he could not succeed himself alone, but I am happy my assistance cannot be

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wanted, if the Sultan Hoosein is not assisted in any way by Europeans, which I trust he will not be.

My Predecessor ought to have taken care before, that the Carimons were not occupied in any part by Sultan Hoosein, and I regret he left this to me to do. But highly desirous of entertaining an amical footing I cannot go so far as to abandon my duty,

. . . .

And I am confident that you yourself will not think me acting on any other principle than a fair and loyal one. And so far from reviving disputes and producing collision it will prove on both sides that we wish to follow the Treaty and its principal object.

I remain with the highest respect,

Honorable Sir,

Your &c. &c.,

(Signed) ELOUT.

True Copy.

(Signed) JOHN PRINCE.

Resdt. Councillor.

([33]) It not appearing that the British Authorities are authorized to interfere under present circumstances, Ordered that the Resident Councillor be informed the Board approve of his reply to the Resident of Rhio, and that he be requested in the mean time to keep Government informed of all the proceedings of the Dutch Authorities in respect to the Carimons which may come to his knowledge.

RESOLVED that the following letter to the Secretary to the Supreme Government in the Political Department in continuation of the previous correspondence submitted, and that copies of the whole series of papers connected with the subject of the Carimons be likewise transmitted for the information of the Honorable Court by the Brig Intrepid Packet.

To Geo. Swinton, Esqre.,
Secretary to Government
Secret and Political Department,
Fort William.

Sir,

In continuation of the correspondence of this Government respecting the Proceedings of the Netherlands Government at Rhio, touching the Carimon Islands, I am directed by the Honorable the Governor in Council to request you will submit to the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council the annexed copies of a dispatch received this day express from the Resident Councillor of Singapore.

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2. I am instructed to state for the information of His Lordship in Council that the Sultan of Singapore was previously warned repeatedly, that the English Government would not interfere in any manner with his differences, and the Honorable the Governor in Council has confined himself to recording a protest against the Dutch Government hoisting their colours on the Carimons.

3. It does not however appear that such for the present at least is intended the interference of the Netherlands Government being confined to the ostensible support of the claims of their dependent, the Sultan of Lingin, who seems however to have made over his right to that Government, and though it is probable ulterior views may be entertained by them, yet so long as no open infringement of the Treaty of17th March 1824 take place, it does not in the opinion of the Government in Council appear that the British Authorities can have any right to interfere except on the general ground stated in the Presidents Minutes of—April 1825, on which no decision has been yet received.

4. I am directed to add that no further measures will be taken and this Government will await the orders of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council.

I have &c. &c.

(Signed) John Anderson.
Secy. to Govt.

Adjourned.

Fort Cornwallis. The 27th September 1827.

John Anderson.
Transr. to Govt.

After some further information had been supplied by the Resident of Singapore the whole matter was again referred to the Supreme Government who had not as yet come to any conclusion on the question of the occupation of Rhio referred to them two years previously.

To John Anderson, Esqr., (34)
Secretary to Government, Prince of Wales Island.
Singapore and Malacca.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1453, underdate the 30th ultimo, transmitting enclosed a Memo. of the substance of a Communication eventually to be made to the Resident at Rhio, and copy of the Honourable the Governors Minute of the 25th April 1825.

I beg to state in extenuation of the lack of precision of information noticed, that I considered the Hon'able the Governor in Council

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might be much better informed than myself, of all the Native Chiefs in the Straits, and that it consequently was necessary to advent to them, and likewise with regard to the intentions of the Dutch to take possession of the Carimons, I was perfectly unacquainted till the receipt of the private communication from the Resident of Rhio, as already submitted to Government and since which period the 15th ultimo, I have had no further correspondence with the Resident of that place.

3. I shall take the liberty of extending this letter to particular replies to the several Paras: of the letter now under acknowledgement, and with respect to the claims of Sultan Hussein Mahomed Shah to the several Islands &c. noticed in the 2nd Para: of the Honorable Board's letter,I am not aware that such may be the extent of them, however, I have reason to think, had Sultan Hussein Mahomed permitted the son and heir of the late Tamoongong to succeed to the benefit and dignity of the Carimons, this question would not have been agitated, for it is evident that this young man has sought the assistance and Sultan of Lingin to place him in his hereditary rights which the rapacity of Sultan Hussein Mahomed appears unjustly to have deprived him of.

4. I have no information to deduce the inferences which the Honorable Board have drawn in the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Paras: of their letter, but consider them to be very possible and in a great measure borne out, by the tenor and contents of the Netherlands Resident's letter to me, of the eventual necessity of supporting the claims of the Raja of Lingin, and of requesting the Sultan Hussein Mahomed to withdraw from the Carimons.

5. To exert our influence with the Sultan to effect this object, might possibly expose the Government to many inconvenient applications and remonstrances on his part for the supposed losses and rights he might thereby eventually relinquish, besides leaving the matter quite open to the wishes and views of the Netherlands Government whatever they may be, and not that it would in my opinion be the means of satisfying or preventing the Netherlands Government from taking possession, hoisting their flag or forming a settlement on the Carimons..............................
I am happy to find that the tenor of the reply made by me to the Netherlands Resident of the 15th Ultimo, is not at variance with the spirit and substance of this document.

6. I beg to state that no further papers have passed between myself and the Resident of Rhio on the present subject than those which have already been submitted to the Honorable the Governor official copies of which I shall forward forthwith.

I have, etc.,
(Signed) JOHN PRINCE,
Resident Councillor.

Singapore, the 8th September, 1827.

Meanwhile events moved rapidly and after some show of resistance the Sultan of Lingin supported by some Dutch Guard boats obtained possession of the Karimon Islands.

The following extracts from letters of partisans of the Sultan of Lingin, show the fear of pressure from the Dutch as well as the prudent desire of the writers to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

COPY. (35)

the Jang de pertuan Muda of Rhio, to the Jang de pertuan of Singapore.

I send this letter to answer, the purpose of a personal interview, and to acquaint you that I can no longer oppose the wishes of Major Elout, the Resident of Rhio,......................... I shall not lengthen the present correspondence, as the execution of the measures of the Resident and the Jang de Pertuan cannot now be delayed. Moreover, it is determined between Major Elout, and the Jang de Pertuan of Linga, and myself to depute Syed Sherif Mahomed Zein, with his whole family, Pangaran Amad, and Shah Bandar Abdolla to hoist the flag at the Carimons, in execution of this decision. Wherefore I request your acquiesence in this affair, in order that a good understanding may continue to subsist between you and your younger brother at Linga. I feel persuaded, that between you and your Brother at Linga there can be no matter of dispute, as your diseased father left only you two—I therefore, recommend that before the arrival of the person mentioned above you order all your people to withdraw from the Carimons, and I do not anticipate that I shall see any bad feeling between your two families. Depend on God and his Apostle for the fulfilment of my word.

Written on Friday, 23rd day of the month of Saafar.

True Translation.

(Signed) JOHN PRINCE,
Resident Councillor.

COPY. (36)

From Syed Mahomed Zein, to the Jang de Pertuan of Singapore.

(After Compliments.)

Be it known that your father sends this letter to his son instead of a personal meeting, for doing which he is sorry that many difficulties present themselves at present. Your father acquaints his son that he is recommended by Major Elout, and the Jang de

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Pertuan Muda to proceed to the Carimons for the purpose of hoisting the flag of the Jang de Pertuan Besar of Linga on that Island. This takes place in consequence of the Jang de Pertuan Besar of Linga having made over by a written agreement those places to Major Elout, the Resident of Rhio, and the Jang de Pertuan Muda has given his consent to the measure. In this affair, your father has received orders, and he cannot disobey them as the Jang de Pertuan of Lingin has thought proper to make the cession to Major Elout. Your father also begs to say that after this matter is settled, should his son have any business of a similar nature to transact, he will undertake it in the same manner as that he now performs for the Jang de pertuan of Linga, no difference shall be made between them. Depend upon the words of your father, with the blessing of the Apostle of God, upon whom be the peace of God.

Your father will never change his present sentiments. He is accompanied on this occasion with his family, agreeably to the orders of the Jang de pertuan Muda, and by Pangeran Ahmad and Shah Bandar Abdullah.

Written 21st day of the month Saafar, Thursday 4 o'clock, 1827.

True copy.

(Signed) JOHN PRINCE,
Resident Councillor.

The rivalry between the two Sultans was based on more serious matters than the mere question of the occupation of the Kerimann Islands. The Resident of Singapore forwards a detailed, if somewhat one sided statement of the position.

Fort Cornwallis, the 15th October, 1827.

RESOLVED that copies of the above correspondence be communicated to the Supreme Government.

RESIDENT COUNCILLOR SINGAPORE.

To John Anderson, Esqr., (37)
Secretary to Government,
Prince of Wales Island,
Singapore and Malacca.

Sir,

I beg to state for the information of the Honorable the Governor in Council, the substance of a verbal communication made to me by the Vakil of His Highness the Sultan, whose indisposition prevented a personal interview.

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His Highness is stated to feel little the agitation of the question of Right to the Islands of Carimon, in comparison with the sensations of regret and indignation with which he has received certain information of a combination between the Sultans of Lingin and Rhio and the Bendahara of Pahang to eject him from his present title and authority of Sultan of Johore, upon the plea of his never having been regularly installed, and that consequently the election of a successor to his late father Sultan Mahomed, devolves in them, who have or intend to nominate the Sultan of Lingin, his Younger Brother, to that elevated Station.

His Highness the Sultan looks to the Company to support him in a station, to which he not only considers himself entitled to, by the right of Primogeniture, but more especially as he rose to it by their power.

I have the honor to transmit enclosed Extract of a letter under date the 12th February 1820, from the late Resident Col. Farquhar to the Supreme Government on the subject of His Highness situation and claims at the time of his being entitled by the late Sir T. Raffles, in the absence of more correct information.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) J. Prince,
Resident Councillor.

Singapore,

Fort Cornwallis, the 29th November, 1827.

RESIDENT COUNCILLOR SINGAPORE.

No. 5.

To John Anderson, Esqr., (38)
Secretary to Government,
Prince of Wales Island,
Singapore and Malacca.

Sir,

With advertance to the several allegations contained in the letter from the Resident at Rhio dated the 12th ultimo, reflecting on the illegality of His Highness, Sultan Mahomed Shah, to sustain the title and privileges of the Sultan of Johor, as Successor to the late Sultan Mahomed Shah, I thought it proper to call upon the former, to furnish me with a statement of particulars, exhibiting the basis of his claims, and I have now the honor to transmit enclosed, a copy for the information of the Honorable the Governor

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in Council, should the subject hereafter become a matter of discussion between the Courts of London and the Hague.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) JOHN PRINCE,
Resident Councillor.

Singapore, the 7th November, 1827.

Enclosure—TRANSLATION of a Malay Document submitted to the Resident Councillor at Singapore by Sultan Hussein Mahomed Shah.

Sultan Mahomed Shah first married the Daughter of the Bandara named Angku Puan, but having no issue by her, he took a second wife Incheh Maguh, the Daughter of a Bugis man of the Family of Diongs, whose name was Diong Matarang. Sultan Mahomed was regularly married to Incheh Maguh, and in the course of time she bore him a son, who was named Hussein. From his birth the Sultan's first wife took Hussein under her charge, brought him up and adopted him as her own child. When Tuanku Hussein had attained to man's estate, his adopted mother Angku Puan died. Sometime after Sultan Mahomed's marriage with Incheh Maguh, he took a third wife, the Daughter of one Hassan, a man of low degree; her name is Mariam, to whom also he was regularly married: she likewise brought him a son named Abdul Rahman. These are the two sons of Sultan Mahomed, now living the one at Linga, the other at Singapore. Their respective mothers Incheh Mariam and Incheh Maguh are still alive. The latter is married to Sulumatang. Imam Seid performed the Marriage Ceremony between the Sultan and Incheh Maguh which was witnessed by Haji Mohamed Tahir, and Sabei Mustafa, with five other respectable persons: the same was the case in the Sultan's marriage with Incheh Mariam.

Incheh Abu, Incheh Tan Buttal and Incheh Wali Brahim, descendants from the family of Bundhara, and of the rank of Datu, both on the part of the Sultan of Singapore, and the Sultan of Linga, in stating the following circumstances as they occurred from first to last, even to the present time, advance only the truth and nothing but the truth.

In the 1219 year of the Hejeira on the 18th day of the month Rabiul awal, the Datu Rajah Bandahara came from Pahang to visit Sultan Mahomed Shah at Linga. The latter on this occasion made known his wishes to the Bandahara regarding his successor by committing his son Hussein to his charge, the custom of the Malays begin that when the Rajah commits to the charge of the Bandahara the same is to succeed. The Sultan at the same time signified his desire that in the event of his demise, the Country of Linga only should be given to his son Abdul Rahman, and that all the other Countries composing the Dominions of Johor should devolve on his other son Tuanku Hussein, and his Legal Heir that is, that the

Country of Rhio, with all its Provinces, Bays, Coasts and Islands should revert to the Tuanku Hussein. This declaration was made to the Bandahara openly, before all the Chiefs and Elders, and in the presence of Rajah Muda Bangsa. After this, the Bandahara requested permission to return to Pahang promising in the following year to revisit Linga, but soon after his arrival at Pahang, he fell sick and died.

2. When the Palembang people were meditating an attack upon Linga, Sultan Mahomed Shah presented each of his Sons with a prahu that of Tuanku Abedin Rahman was called the Ghurab: that of the Tuanku Hussein the Buntal Mengidam Ishmail, the Shahbander of Pahang was on board the latter Prahu with Tuanku Hussein. The invasion of Linga by the Palembang people, did not however take place in consequence of an amicable adjustment of the difference.

3. The third circumstance relates to the Rhio War, i.e., the quarrel between Rajah Ali and Angku Muda. On this occasion Sultan Mahomed Shah proposed visiting Rhio in person, with a view of settling the grounds of dispute between these two Chiefs. He took with him his two sons, granting to Tuanku Hussein the privilege of carrying the Yellow Standard on his fore and main mast Abdul Rahmin carried a red flag. The Malay custom that he to whom the Royal banner is given, shall be accounted the heir and successor of the Sovereign.

4. From Rhio Sultan Mahomed went to Bulang in order to pay a visit to a relation there. His presence had the effect of putting an end to the quarrel between Rajah Ali and Angku Muda. The whole of the people of Bulang being assembled on the occasion of the restoration of peace between these two Chiefs, the Sultan pointing to the prahu of his son Hussein called upon the assembled to observe to whom he had given the Royal Standard, thereby publicly declaring that he had chosen Tuanku Hussein for his successor, and the people accordingly paid him honors as the heir of his Father.

5. After adjusting this affair the Sultan Mahomed Shah returned to Rhio, where he was married to Angku Putri. The Regalia were then deposited in her hands.

6. Sultan Mahomed Shah next proposed an alliance between his son Tuanku Hussein and the Daughter of the Tammugung at Bulang, which accordingly took place. Tuanku Hussein afterwards removed with his whole household to Rhio and Angku Muda and Rajah Ali both died shortly after.

7. The deceased Sultan Mahomed Shah sent for Rajah Jafar from Salangur and returned to Linga but previously thus addressed himself to Angku Putri who was by the title of Rajah Midah "Since, Rajah Medah, you have no child of your own, I recommend "you to adopt Hussein for your son." Angku Putri replied, "you have said well, it is usually esteemed a favour to be permitted to

adopt the children of inferior people, how much greater favour ought I to consider it to be allowed to adopt the son of a Sovereign Prince." It was on this account that the Sultan left the Regalia in the possession of Angku Putri on his departure for Linga.

8. In the meantime Raja Jafar arriving from Salangur went to pay homage to the Sultan at Linga when he was elevated by the Sultan to the rank of Rajah Muda. About this time Tuanku Hussein also visited Linga.

9. While on this visit to his father proposed to him a visit to Pahang recommending an union with the Daughter of the Bandahara of that place. Sultan Hussein proceeded accordingly to Pahang, taking with him his father's request that the Bandahara would give his consent to the marriage. Soon after Tuanku Hussein's arrival at Pahang, his nuptials with the Bandahara's Daughter took place, and it was during his absence on this occasion, that Sultan Mahomed Shah fell sick and shortly after died. On the intelligence of the Sultan's Death reaching Pahang, Tuanku Hussein was anxious to set out immediately on his return to Linga, but the northerly monsoon having set in, the Pahang Qualloe was closed, which prevented him moving out of the river.

10. The great festival occurring while Tuanku Hussein was waiting for an opportunity of getting out of the Pahang River, the Bandahara Elders and Chief people at Pahang, resolved to install him as Sultan and the Bandahara first, then the respectables and after them the multitude, made their obeisance and performed the Royal Ceremony, called by the Malays Menjunjung Duli.

11. Now, in regard to the Death of Sultans, the Malay custom requires that the successor should be raised, before the deceased can be regularly interred. The Sultan when on his death declared his will with regard to the Successor, before all who were then assembled, that his son Hussein should succeed him in the event of his disorder proving fatal.

When the funeral of the Sultan was about to take place, Raja Muda advised Tuanku Abdul' Rahmun, to make himself Rajah, but the latter rejected the counsel saying he could never be Rajah while his Brother was alive. Rajah Muda then endeavoured to persuade him to fall in with his views, and, partly by flattery, partly by force, aided by Sied Kooning, he was prevailed upon to be rajah only that the funeral rites of his father might be performed with due honors and solemnities. After this, Tuanku Abdul' Rahman again declined the honor of Rajah alledging his fathers will as a reason for not accepting the offers of Rajah Muda. At length Rajah Muda and Syed Kooning constrained him into a compliance with their wishes, he, however, consented to act only during his brother's absence.

12. Tuanku Hussein quitted Pahang as soon as the season would permit him and proceeded direct to Rhio. On his arrival at this place, Rajah Muda waited upon him and said to this effect

"what are your intentions? Will you be a Panglima, a Trader or a Priest? I have one request to take to you viz., that you will not think of becoming Rajah." To this Tuanku Hussein made no reply and here the matter dropped. Rajah Muda next demanded the Insignia from Angku Putri, but, she refused to give them up, saying that she could not deliver them to Rajah Muda, unless by the unanimous consent of the Bandahara, the Tammugong, Tuanku Hussein, and Tuanku Abdul' Rahman, whose consent was indispensably necessary and when that was obtained, she would deliver them to him on whom their choice might fall.

13. After Tuanku Hussein's return from Pahang, he resided in the house of Angku Putri, who then wished to surrender to him the Regalia, but, he declined the acceptance and requested his mother to retain them to his possession until they would be presented to him in due form by the Bandahara and Tammugong. About 5 years after this, the Dutch came to Rhio, and after them the English, who with Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles at their head invited Tuanku Hussein to join them at Singapore. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles and the Tammugung Abdul' Rahman, publicly installed him as Sultan, and he, with the Tammugung made over the Island of Singapore to the English, and he has ever since resided with them at their new settlement.

14. During the absence of Tuanku Abdul' Rahman at Trengganu wither he had gone with a view of forming a matrimonial connection, Rajah Muda ordered Syed Kooning to proceed to Batavia, and proposed to the Governor-General to obtain the Regalia from Angku Putri; and it is reported that Syed Kooning was authorised by Rajah Muda to promise and did promise, if they succeeded in getting the Regalia to cede to the Dutch Company the Island of Singep, and that in consequence the Governor-General directed the Governor of Malacca and the Resident of Rhio to take the Regalia out of the hands of the Angku Putri which by force and fraud, they gained possession of, and took to Malacca.

15. On Tuanku Abdul 'Rahman's return from Trengganu he put into Rhio, and the Regalia having recently been brought back from Malacca were given into his possession. Tan Battal accompanied Tuanku Abdul' Rahman on this visit to Rhio and he relates that in a conversation which he had with Rajah Muda at that time, the latter observed to him "We must rough the matter now, and when the Bandahara comes it will be easy to make all things smooth again" intimating by the expression that although Tuanku Abdul' Rahman had got possession of the Regalia, that alone was not sufficient to constitute him Rajah, so long as the consent of the Bandahara and Tammugung was not obtained.

16. At the time the Regalia were delivered to Tuanku Abdul' Rahman, Rajah Muda wished him to be invested, an honor which the former declined, where a Dutch man, called Rajah Laut (probably the Dutch Admiral) taking up the Regalia and holding them

over Tuanku Abdul' Rahman, cried out " Hail Sultan, the rightful King of Johor "!!!

17. These things being past, the Dutch began to press Rajah Muda for the performance of his promise, but this having been made entirely without the knowledge of Tuanku Abdul' Rahman, Rajah Muda, now found it dfficult to prevail on him to consent to the surrender of Singkep, and could obtain from him only the expression of his indignation. In order to extricate himself from this dilemma upon substituting the Carimons for Singkep, pretending that, as Tuanku Abdul' Rahman was in possession of the Insignia of Royalty, therefore he was Rajah, that in consequence these Islands could belong to no one else. But as the Regalia were obtained by fraud and force, the mere possession of them cannot convey any real right, for the custom of the Malays in raising their Rajahs, is not to invest them by stealth, but openly, and with the consel and consent of all the Mentries, and Ulubalangs, but this is far from being the case with respect to Tuanku Abdul' Rahman's elevation, and besides, it is well known that the Regalia were obtained from their present possessor by the Dutch craft and force.

(A True Translation)

(Signed) EDWARD PRESGRAVE,
Malay Translator.

Translated this 7th November, 1827.

The subsequent instructions of the Governor to the Resident at Singapore practically amount to directing him to prevent any collision between the two Malay Princes which might be used as an excuse for Dutch intervention. Whilst the Sultan of Johore makes a belated and pathetic appeal to the Governor asking that his grievances might be forwarded to the King of Europe. The Governor contented himself with a very reserved reply pointing out that under Section X of the treaty of friendship and alliance between the English East India Company and the Sultan and Temengong of Johore, there was no cause for interference.

ARTICLE X.

"The contracting parties hereby stipulate and agree that neither party shall be bound to interfere in the internal concerns of the other Government or in any political dissentions or wars which may arise within their respective territories nor to support each other by force of arms against any third party whatever."

To The Honorable J. Prince, Esqre., (39)
Resident Councillor,
Singapore.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th and 15th Instant and to intimate the regret of the Honorable

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the Governor in Council, that you have not entered more at length into the explanation of the circumstances connected with the subject of those letters namely, the relative claims of the two Sultans the sons of the last Sultan of Johor &c. and the transactions that have taken place in consequence of those claims.

2. Proceeding on the information derived at Singapore the Hon'ble the Governor in Council is led to conclude that the following is the plain and simple state of the case.

1st. Sultan Mahomed the last King of Johor left only two sons, both illegitimate the elder Tuankoo Hussain Yang di per Tuan, now residing at Singapore who ceded to us that Island, the younger Tuankoo Jumahat commonly called Rajah of Lingin, residing under protection of the Netherlands Government.

2nd. It would appear, although not so distinctly stated, that the elder brother at Singapore Tuankoo Hussain claimed by right of his father's possession of all the dominions of Johor, and these include Johor Proper and the Islands of Bentang, Battang the Carimons, Linggi &c.

3rd. Under the claim Tuankoo Hussain has actually sent people to take possession of the Carimon Islands.

4th. That the Construction put on the Treaty of 17th March 1824 by the Netherlands' Authorities in India is—that all the Island and Territories South of the Straits of Malacca belong to the younger brother the Rajah of Lingin residing under their protection.

5th. That under this Construction of the Teraty of 17th March 1824. The right of making treaties and establishing political relation with States South of the Straits of Malacca is vested in them.

6th. That by virtue of this construction they have made a treaty with the Rajah of Lingin whereby that Chief cedes to them all his rights and property over all places South of the Straits of Malacca. It is understood that a formal relinquishment of all claims on behalf of the Rajah of Lingin to all places North of the Straits of Malacca is a part of this Treaty.

7th. And lastly it appears that by virtue of this Cession the Netherlands's Authorities at Rhio contemplate the expulsion of the people of Tuankoo Hussain and the occupation of the Carimon Island by themselves. Such appear to be the premises on which we are called to give an opinion. It would have been more satisfactory had all the circumstances been clearly stated and ascertained, and any opinion now can be given only under presumption—that the above suppositions are correct.

3. Whether the construction put on the Treaty of 17th March 1824 by the Netherlands's Authorities be the correct one or whether a Treaty entered into between two European States binding each other to abstain from forming Settlements or maintaining political relation beyond certain limits necessarily determines the

hereditary claims of contending branches of the Johor Family is a question in which we are not interested by the Treaty of cession of the Island of Singapore made with Tuankoo Hussain it is expressly provided that we are not required to take any part in any disputes in which he may be engaged beyond the limits of Singapore. And it will be in your recollection that when the Sultan mentioned the circumstances of his having his people on the Carimon Island he was expressly warned that such was entirely at his own risk—but although we can have no right to dictate to the Sultan the course he is to pursue in respect to any claim he may suppose himself to have on the Carimon Islands, or to insist on his abandonment of such claim, still it would be desirable to exert our influence and offer our good advice to induce him to withdraw his pretentions, and thus remove all pretext for interference on the part of the Netherlands Authorities for we certainly have a decided and direct Interest in preventing the Netherlands's Government taking possession hoisting their flag or forming a settlement on the Carimon Islands, because such would be a direct infringement of the 6th Article of the Treaty of 17th March 1824. It appears therefore that in the event of the Resident of Rhio following up his notification to you by the occupation of these Islands or of your receiving authentic intimation of such an intention a declaration to the effect enclosed should forthwith be made.

4. It would be desirable that you should transmit copies of all the papers which passed on that subject. It may further be necessary to inform you that some doubts are entertained whether the Netherlands' Government are authorized under the Treaty of 17th March to occupy Rhio itself or any part of the Islands mentioned in the 12th Article. They were all dependencies of Malacca at the time the Treaty was signed, they only ceased to be such a few months before March 1825 the date fixed for the operation of the Treaty, the question has been submitted to the Supreme Authorities as you will perceive by the minute enclosed, and in any communication you may hold with the Netherlands's Authorities you will, without starting the question as matter for discussion, avoid any expression amounting to an admission of their right to settle on any of those Islands.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) John Anderson,

Secretary to Government.

Fort Cornwallis, The 30th August 1827.

P. S. The honorable Mr. Ibbetson having taken part in the discussion of this subject he will be able to communicate to you more fully the views of the Board.

Substance of Communication to be made by the Resident Councillor of Singapore to the Netherlands Resident at Rhio.

Having communicated to the Honorable the Governor in Council of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca, Copy of your private letter of 13th August 1827 also copy of a letter addressed by Tuan Seyed Kooning at Rhio to Sultan Houssein residing at Singapore and submitted to me by that Chief, I have their Instructions. The Honorable the Governor in Council takes no interest on the difference or disputes which may subsist between Sultan Hussein now residing at Singapore and the Rajah of Lingin, the two sons of the last Sultan of Johor respecting any claim each may by right of inheritance suppose himself to possess over any Portion of the ancient dominions of Johor, Insular or Continental, nor is it the intention of the British Authorities in this quarter to take any part in such disputes, to support one Party to dictate to either, the course they are to pursue in prosecution of those claims or to require from either their relinquishment by any means except those of persuasion and good advice. Adhering to this principle Sultan Hussein now residing at Singapore has already been urged to abstain from any forcible interference with places supposed to belong to his younger brother and has been distinctly informed that he will meet with no support whatever from the British Government in the occupation of the Carimon Islands. But the Honorable the Governor in Council considers it a point of public duty to object decidedly to the occupation of the Carimon Islands by the Netherlands authorities such being contrary to the spirit and meaning of the 6th Article of the Treaty of the 17th March, 1824 and I am instructed to convey to you this, their formal protest against the occupation of the Carimon Islands or the hoisting of the Netherlands' Flag on any part of those Islands.

I am further directed to convey to you the assurance of the Hon'ble the Governor in Council of Prince of Wales Island, Malacca and Singapore of their anxious desire to maintain at all times those relations of Amity and good understanding which formed an essential object of the Treaty of the 17th March 1824 and in that spirit to receive and consider any suggestions that may be offered by the Netherlands Authorities for the adjustment of any differences that may arise.

(Signed) John Anderson.

Translation. (40)

A letter from Sultan Hussein Mahomed Shah of Singapore to the Hon'ble the Governor of Pulo Penang, Singapore, and Malacca.

(After Compliments.)

I send this piece of paper in a manner however unsuitable as a substitute for a personal meeting and beg to inform my friend

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the Governor of Pulo Pinang, that I am very simple man and ignorant of forms, and when the treaty was formerly made I did not fully comprehend all the purport and intentions of my friend, and my friend did not understand all my intentions, but I received it, conceiving it all proper; for the Company engaged to protect me, to make me comfortable and not let me have any trouble whatever, I therefore placed reliance on the Company's attention to me, I now therefore in full confidence solicit the Company's compassion and assistance by all possible means, for I am involved in great trouble. It is true it is not so provided in the Treaty but at present to whom can I apply for assistance, for I have no family and no other friends but the English Company. The Company are like my own flesh and blood relatives, and nearest connections and friends and I am under the Company's protection, I have no desire to raise my own name, but to exalt the Company's name. It is not my own disgrace, but the Company's wherefore I request assistance by all possible means. I am aware that my friend will not assist me with Vessels of War or with arms, powder and Balls, for it is not so provided in the Treaty, but I request my friends assistance that he will advance me on loan for my expenses five or six thousand dollars which can be deducted from my monthly allowance in such proportion as may be proper to be deducted monthly for which an engagement may be given and receipts according to my friend's compassion for me. If I cannot obtain this money from my friend, I must request my friend to assist me in obtaining it by all possible means and I will conform to the custom observed by other persons in borrowing money; nevertheless I have great confidence that my friend will comply with my wishes and further if my friend has compassion towards me I request that he will let this letter be translated into the English language and the English translation of it, I request my friend will assist me by forwarding to the King of Europe; perhaps the great Man of Europe will assist me in altering the Treaty so that the Company may relieve me from my difficulties consistently with propriety.

Dated 5th Rabialakhu 1243 or 25th October, 1827.

(A true translation.)

(Signed) JOHN ANDERSON.
Malay Translator.

Penang, 21st November, 1827.

TRANSLATION.

A letter from Sultan Hussein Mahomed Shah at Singapore to the Hon'ble the Governor of Pulo Penang, Singapore, and Malacca.

(After Compliments.)

I send this piece of paper to inform my friend that I am at present involved in great trouble. I therefore send this notice to my friend the Governor of Pulo Pinang that the Rajah Mooda

of Rhio in concert with the Dutchmen have attacked me without any cause of offence on my part. To whom or what place then can I now represent my difficulties? I am now under the protection of the English Company, for it was the English Company which elevated me to the rank of Sultan. I have not committed any attack upon other people nor sought hostilities with them, but people have come and harrassed me and attacked me. How then am I circumstanced at present: for there is none other that I trust but the Company which may relieve me from my troubles and difficulties. For formerly and when the Company elevated me to my present rank and made a treaty, it was stated in the engagement that the Sultan should remain quiet and amuse himself, that the Sultan should not trouble himself about any affairs whatever and that all business would be carried on by the Company and Tamungong Abduakim such I beg to make known to my friend.

Moreover, I beg to acquaint my friend that I sent a letter to Major Elout, the Resident of Rhio and the Rajah Mooda requesting them to wait until I can consult with my brother at Lingin but they will not grant me any time they are resolved to attack me.

This letter at Singapore the 29th Rabialawal 1243 or 21st October 1827.

(A True Copy.)

(Signed) JOHN ANDERSON,
Translator.

Penang, The 20th November 1827.

The belated reply of the Directors to the questions submitted to them by the Governor in April 1825 was received in November, 1827. The letter of the Directors settled the interpretation of Articles IX and XII of the Treaty practically in accordance with the Dutch claims.

To the Honorable John Prince, Esquire, (41)
Resident Councillor, Singapore.

Sir,

Since writing my letter of the 6th Instant a Dispatch has been received from the Honorable the Court of Directors of which the enclosed is an Extract. Any claim which the British Government might be supposed to hold over Rhio by virtue of the Treaty of March 1824, as set forth in the President's Minute of 25th April, 1825, is thereby declared to be at an end, the whole of the Islands mentioned in the XII Article are situated similarly in relation to the Netherlands Government it becomes therefore the more imperative that the British Authorities should carefully abstain from

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giving any support or assistance to any Native State with which we are connected or attempting to interfere with the arrangements of the Netherlands Government in respect to Treaties made by them with any of these Islands. The Sultan Hussein Mahomed Shah now at Singapore, must therefore be enjoined by every possible argument to withdraw his People from the Carimon Islands, and effectually prevented from furnishing men or supplies from the Island of Singapore in prosecution of his plans against those Islands, and Corresponding assurances must be given to the Netherlands Government of Rhio, of the exertion of our Influence to the above effect.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) JOHN ANDERSON,

Secy. to Government.

Fort Cornwallis, the 15th November, 1827.

To the Resident Councillor,

Singapore.

Sir.

As it appears by your letter of the 10th November that the Rajah Muda of Rhio is in full possession of the Carimon Islands and the people of the Sultan of Johor expelled or withdrawn, the Board conclude all disputes are now at an end.

2. I am directed however to desire that you will take this opportunity of impressing on the mind of the Sultan of Johor the necessity of giving to the 8th Article of his Treaty a more extensive meaning than he appears to have done hitherto: by that Article he is bound to maintain no correspondence with any State without our knowledge and consent; on the same principle he must be made to understand that he is not to enter into any hostilities with any state while residing under our protection.

3. As to th assertions of Major Elout that certain Articles of Military Stores have been sent from Singapore in aid of the operations of the Sultan of Johor, the Board are aware that in the absence of a Custom house, and under the free intercourse allowed with the Port, it must be very difficult to prevent clandestine shipment of military stores imported freely for many years, and only prohibited since the Island fell under the management of this Government, but they entertain no doubt that every thing that could be done has been done for the maintenance of strict neutrality on the occasion.

4. As to the communication of Major Elout in respect to the persons designated as pirates, who appear to have been employed by Sultan Mahomed—as they were engaged in hostilities in which we had no part, and as the Major instead of awaiting the issue of our injunctions on the Sultan of Johor with a view to the peaceable

evacuation of the Carimons at once proceeded to action, it does not seem necessary that we should continue any correspondence regarding them, but leave him to follow his own course. That these persons are pirates the Board think very probable for the Pirates in these Seas are of much the same description as the Pindaries on the Continent of India, always ready to hire themselves to any Belligerent that may require their services.

5. It will be desirable therefore, to obtain all possible information regarding them, and their places of resort, with a view to future measures for the general suppression of piracy, the ruinous effects of which are severely felt in every part of the Straits, in none more than the neighbourhood of this Island. You are probably aware that the Sultan of Johore, as intimated by Major Elout, has on former occasions been suspected of some concern in piracy. It may therefore be necessary to exercise over his proceedings a more stirct watch than has hitherto been observed.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

John Anderson,

Secy. to Govt.

Fort Cornwallis, the 27th November, 1827.

Minute by the President. (42)

The circumstances stated in these letters are the natural, and to be expected results of the obstinacy and perseverance of Sultan Mahomed Shah, in opposing the proceedings of the Rajah Mudah of Rhio, supported as he is by the Netherlands Resident of that place; Sultan Mahomed was repeatedly advised to forbear from any attempts on the Carimons, he was distinctly informed that he would receive no support whatever from us, and he was distinctly told that he would not be allowed to make use of the Island of Singapore as a place of outfit for his Military equipments, under the terms of the Treaty made with him and the Tummagong (sic) jointly, we are bound to afford to them personal protection so long as they remain inhabitants of Singapore; but the 10th Article expressly provides that we are not bound to support them in any quarrels or disputes they may enter into with any neighbouring state whatever, by the 8th Article they are bound to enter into no correspondence or alliance with any state without our knowledge and consent, in other respects we admit the Sultan of Johore to be an independent Sovereign, at full liberty to remain at Singapore

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or go and reside in any part of his dominions, certain provisions being made in the Treaty for the latter event, on the principle of the 8th Article there should have been a stipulation binding the Sultan and Tummagong not to enter into any War with any neighbouring state. While residing at Singapore he must for obvious reasons abstain from hostile preparations there. Whether residing in our Territory and enjoying our protection to his person and property the Sultan can be at liberty to go on directing the conduct of War from other parts of his dominion against a state with which we are in peace and friendship is another question, and one which on the broad principle of the Law of Nations, independent of the Articles of our Treaty, I am clear, must be decided in the negative and on that principle the Resident at Singapore has been informed that the Sultan must quit our Territory or cease to be a belligerent against a state in amity with us, and to that principle we must adhere, the recall of his people from the Carimons. or his quitting our Territory is the alternative on which we must insist on the part of Sultan Mahomed Shah, for so long as he resides with us and carries on War in opposition to the Netherlands Government so long shall we be considered in some degree responsible for his acts. As to the relation on which we stand towards the Carimons the late letter from the Honorable Court removes all doubt. The Treaty of 17th March 1824 made between the Netherlands and the British Government, involves first our interchange of Territory, second a limitation of political relations to be observed by the contracting parties in respect of Native States; the British are to form no political relations on the Island of Sumatra, the Netherlands are to form none on the Malay Peninsula. The impart and meaning as to the Islands mentioned in Act XII. I considered as doubtful, those doubts were stated in my minute of 25th April 1825, to that an answer is now received, that it never was intended that these Islands should be ceded to us! from this I infer that those Islands stand to us exactly as does Sumatra, that we can form no Treaties, enter into no political relations with any state thereon, the negative against the one contracting party seems to be construed by the Dutch into positive right by the other—it is thence inferred that because we have not the right of making Treaties and Settlements on these Islands, that they have therefore it appears made a Treaty with the Sultan of Rhio or rather reempowered an old one whereby the Chief makes himself a Vassal of Holland and surrenders his right over the Carimons to the Netherlands Government. In the meantime it appears that Sultan Mahomed residing at Singapore had sent people to form a Settlement on the Carimons not only without the support but in direct opposition to the advice of the British Authorities; through the medium of communications from the Sultan of Rhio he was required to withdraw, and the whole discussion and dispute seemed to the Resident Councillor to be one between the two Native States,

in which neither of the European contracting parties had any interest whatever, one in which the British at least were not bound to interfere. It is certainly to be regretted if the Resident at Rhio considered the direct interests of the Netherlands Government involved that he did not intimate his sentiments on the first occupation of the Carimons by Sultan Mahomed and while the Seat of Government was at Singapore, or at least, that he did not satisfy himself in the first instance by reference to his Superiors. The Resident of Singapore on the one side, and the Resident of Rhio on the other, or even the Government of Prince of Wales Island might have differred on the construction of the Treaty of 17th March 1824, but these are only subordinate authorities and can act only under instruction from those above them. The construction of the Netherlands Officers might have been such as those of Great Britain could not admit without a reference to higher Authorities, in that case it would have been consistent with the professions of Major Elout to have awaited the decision of his own as well as the controlling powers of the British Government, instead of which he seems not even to have afforded time to this Government the immediate Superiors of the Resident of Singapore, to consider, or even to comprehend fully the object he had in view, but at once arms sends out a fleet under convoy of a Dutch vessel of war and involves the whole neighbourhood in war and confusion. It must be obvious that if the Acts of Major Elout had been met by similar intemperance on the part of the British Authorities the two Nations must have been involved in the most unpleasant discussion and on the other hand it must be obvious that in all probability every object of Major Elout would have been attained without measures of so volent a nature; he should at least have waited until he had ascertained whether the injunctions of the Government and the exertion of their influence with the Sultan of Johore were likely to produce all he required, the evacuation of the Carimons for he was all along informed that the Sultan had neither our support or authority for his proceedings and from the time it was clearly understood that he meant to make common cause with the Sultan of Rhio, the interference of this Government has not been wanting to induce the Sultan of Johor to withdraw his people. Neither is the letter addressed to Mr. Prince under date 17th October 1827 by any means calculated to maintain that degree of harmony which the writer professes himself so anxious to preserve; the Natives of these Countries, as observed by Mr. Prince cannot of course comprehend the nature and effect of our diplomatic arrangements they judge only from what passes before their Eyes and the forcible ejectment of people belonging to a Native Chief under our protection by another European power while we remain passive, must produce the effect of raising that state and depressing ourselves in their opinion, and when it is evident that all might have been brought about as desired by Major Elout without the alter-

native resorted to, we are warranted in believing that the exaltation of his own and the humiliation of our Government in the estimation of the surrounding states was at least one of the objects we had in view.

The letter lately received from England above alluded to arriving at this period certainly cleared away some difficulties in our way for until the intent and meaning of Act X and XII were explained, until it was clearly ascertained that the British Government were debarred from holding any political connection with any state in those Islands the absolute right of the Resident of Rhio to eject Sultan Mahomed could not be admitted. All these Islands are considered as portions of the Ancient Kingdom of Johor, the succession to which is disputed by the two sons the elder Sultan Mahomed residing with us, the younger the Sultan of Rhio residing with the Dutch the claims of the elder are set forth in the enclosures is Mr. Prince's letter of 7th November just received. The interpretation put on the late Treaty by the Netherlands Authority seems to be that all South of the Straits of Singapore is under their political influence, all North under ours; part of the Kingdom of Johor is north of that line part in South. The interpretation of the Dutch therefore divides the Ancient Kingdom of Johor between the disputing Chiefs by the same rule adopted by the two European states in the division of these political relations. All north of that line belongs to the Sultan of Johor under British influence all south to the Sultan of Rhio under theirs whether this interpretation be the correct one or not, whether a Treaty between the Two European states determines the relative hereditary claims of the disputing heirs remains to be determined, one thing is clear that we cannot now dispute it, and it must be left to the Superior Authorities to decide whether or not we are to adopt that construction, I strongly suspect that the period may arrive when we must also determine whether we are to act on it. The title to the Kingdom of Johor composed of the continued Territory of Johor, Pahang and the Islands of Lingin Battam Bentang (of which Rhio is the Capital) the Carimons and Singapore and its islets, is disputed by the sons of the last Sultan. As far as regards the Islands south of the Straits of Singapore, the Sultan of Lingin the younger son, has the decided support of the Netherlands Government in fact under his title they virtually support their own possession. For it is shown by Mr. Prince's letter that if left entirely to themselves no dispute could have arisen between the Native Chiefs, the inconveniences of the Netherlands Authorities holding possession or control over the Carimon state, are sufficiently obvious. It gives them complete command the southern entrance of the Straits for not a prahu can pass but at little pleasure the distance across being barely eleven miles; we have acknowledged the elder son as the Sultan of Johor only and under that title received from him an insular portion of that Kingdom (Singapore) but we have given him no

pledge of support even over the continental Territory on the Malay Peninsula, that portion of his dominion beyond the limits of the Netherlands political relations on the contrary we have inserted in the Treaty a clause disavowing all such support; by the letter from Mr. Prince of the 3rd October, 1827, and its enclosure it would appear that intrigues are set on foot at Rhio to acknowledge and support the claims of the younger brother at Rhio over the continental Territory on the Malay Peninsula also, there indeed the Netherlands Authorities cannot openly appear, but clandestinely and indirectly they may, and probably will support the pretensions even over Johor of the person who may properly be called their Sultan over whom they can always exercise a certain degree of influence, and if any intrigues are on foot in favour of that person we may be pretty well assured the Netherlands Authorities are the instigators. The political principles of the Dutch Government in these parts have always been encroaching, directed to the extension of their political influence generally rendered subservient to the purposes of their trade invariably conducted on a plan of monopoly and exclusion.

The political course pursued by us has been directly the reverse, ours has been a forbearing system, we have invariably abstained from all interference even when eagerly sought for, by the Malay States; from the first Settlement of this Island we were looked to as the interposing power between them and Dutch domination there is scarcely a state on the Malay Peninsula that did not eagerly seek our alliance and protection and had it suited our Policy we might have had Settlements where we pleased. In the year 1795, Malacca was ceded to the British Government and previous to the cession all the Native States, formerly connected with the Dutch Government had been declared free and independent from that date up to August 1818 when the Dutch assumed possession of Malacca there could have been no difficulty whatever in obtaining a settlement in any part of the Straits; for every Native State would have have eagerly embraced the opportunity of thus guarding themselves against future subjugation by the Dutch by alliance with us. The Government of Prince of Wales Island seemed to have abstained from every attempt of the kind for fear of another settlement more favourably situated interfering with the prosperity of their own, the cession of Java in 1811 and consequent removal of Dutch influence and Authority from these regions reduced comparatively the importance of a new settlement in the eastern part of the Straits, after the war had ceased and the restoration of Java to the Netherlands Government was known, the importance of a settlement of the S. E. end of the Straits and the expediency of counteracting the restoration of the Commercial preponderance of that Nation became obvious. Commercial Treaties were concluded under directions of Governor Bannerman with Perak, Salangore and the Sultan of Johore, containing a clause against the renewal of any

old or the conclusion of any new Treaty vesting exclusive privilege of trade in any European power the Treaty so made with the Sultan of Johor by Colonel Farquhar bears date the 19th August 1818 the control of the Carimon Islands might then have been obtained but unfortunately the Government of Prince of Wales Island were not authorized to ratify or conclude a Political Treaty involving cessions or rather acquisition of Territory without previous sanction; and the proposed occupation of the Carimons was not carried into execution, a Treaty purely commercial with a weak state was not likely to be of much avail without a pledge of political support and so it turned out, the Netherlands Authorities receiving possessions of Malacca instantly reimposed on Rhio and Johor the old Treaty of Vassalage of 1784 which they had in 1795 declared null, on imposition which the Sultan had no means of resisting; in January following, Sir Thomas Raffles under orders from the Supreme Government proceeded to take possession of a Settlement at the Southern extremity of the Straits, fixed on Singapore, but he came too late, the renewal of the old Treaty of 1784 between the Netherlands Government and the Sultan was considered by the former as giving them a right to object to the occupation of that Island and out of the consequent discussion arose the Treaty of 17th March 1824. The construction put on that Treaty by the Netherlands Authorities I have already stated, under that, they consider themselves at full liberty to impose such political relations on all the Native States on Sumatra and on the Islands mentioned in the 12th Article as they please, and that liberty they will certainly exert to the utmost of their power. The intention of introducing "the moderate exercise of European influence" over Acheen is expressly alluded to in the letter of the Netherlands Plenipotentiaries to those of Great Britain at the conclusion of the Treaty of March 1824. What the nature of that influence is and what the effect on our trade, we have the means of judging by reference to the conduct of the Netherlands Authorities on the Coast of Borneo and Java itself. Settlements will be made at the most favourable stations along the Coast, the Netherlands Flag will be hoisted, a right thereby acquired of levying duties, and trade with Sumatra will be completely at an end, the trade between this Island and the Northern part of Sumatra amounts to not less than Rupees 35,000,000 which would probably be entirely lost by the establishment of Dutch influence over the Countries from whence it is drawn, the disastrous state of the affairs on the Island of Sumatra has hitherto prevented the Netherlands Authorities in these Countries from carrying their plan into complete execution, but there can be little doubt that the first favourable opportunity will be taken for extending their influence by the imposition of Treaties and acquisition of Settlements at all positions best calculated for trade, I am aware that the Treaty of 17th March 1824 makes certain provision for the freedom of trade and limitation

of Duties but a reference to the Duties now collected at Batavia will shew the inadequacy of the Provision in question, Article 11 provides that "The subjects and Vessels of one Nation shall not pay upon importation or exportation at the ports of the other in the Eastern Seas any duty at a rate beyond the double of that at which the subject and Vessels of the Nation to which the Port belongs are charged". The Duty then imposed on the importation of British Manufacture at Batavia on Dutch Vessels is declared to be 16 per Cent thus giving the Authorities there the right of fixing the ruinous duty of 32 per cent on the import of British Piece Goods on British Bottoms levied besides on a most extravagant tariff. Whether British Manufactures are even imported at Batavia on Dutch Vessels to what extent, or whether the declaration of 16 per cent on themselves is only made to authorize the levy of 32 per cent on British Imports I cannot say. The next visit we pay to Singapore which will be almost immediately, I propose entering into a minute investigation into the state of Trade which the imperfect condition of the Records prevented on the last occasion.

From this degression I must here return to the proper subject before us, the subsisting relations between ourselves and the Sultan whom we have acknowledged as Sultan of Johor. We are precluded from any right to support his pretentions over the insular portion of the Empire of Johor, South of the Straits of Singapore, nor as already observed are we bound to support them over the Continental Territory or Islands North of that line of demarcation but it appears to me that every principle of Policy required that we should so support him—in plain words that we should adopt the construction of the Resident of Rhio as set forth in his private communication to Mr. Prince of the 3rd October 1827, that is to say without entering into any investigation as to the hereditary right of the contending parties to the whole admit to each the right over that portion which fall respectively under British and Netherlands Political relations. The confusion and interruption of Trade unavoidably resulting from any neighbouring States being engaged in warfare are sufficiently obvious but it is presumed that the orders already transmitted to Resident Councillor will have produced the recall of the people sent to the Carimons by the Sultan of Johore and the consequent cessation of hostilities and in reply to letters recently received little more is necessary than to repeat the contents of former communication, to induce the Sultan of Johor to withdraw his people and if he declines, to require his quitting the Island of Singapore are alternatives however which I am willing to hope it will not be necessary to resort to.

(Signed) R. Fullerton.

23rd. November 1827.

As far as the actual occupation of the Karimoun Islands was concerned, the local Government practically acquiesced to the "statu quo." The final minute of the Governor still shows a certain sense of grievance at the hasty manner in which Major Elout has acted and a marked suspicion that further aggressions were to be feared. Happily, since then, the clear definite division of the English and Dutch spheres of influence has removed all causes of friction between the two nations and, Anglo-Dutch relations have ever since been governed by the spirit of the note attached to the Treaty of 1824.

"The differences which gave rise to the present discussion are such as it is difficult to adjust by formal stipulations; consisting, in great part, of jealousies and suspicions, and arising out of the acts of subordinate agents, they can only be removed by a frank declaration of intention, and a mutual understanding as to principles between the Governments themselves. Under the arrangement which is now concluded, the commerce of both nations will flourish, and the two allies will preserve inviolate in Asia, no less than in Europe, the friendship which has of old times subsisted between them.

The disputes being now ended, which, during two centuries, have occasionally produced irritation, there will henceforward be no rivalry between the English and the Dutch nations in the East, except for the more effetual establishment of those principles of liberal policy which both have this day asserted in the face of the world."

The Kota Kapur (Western Bangka) Inscription.

By C. O. Blagden.

In Part 67 of the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* Professor Kern has edited and discussed the above-named document, which though discovered some 21 years ago had not previously been explained. It is on a stone pillar which was removed to the Batavia Museum shortly after its discovery. The writing, which is well preserved, is in an early Southern form of the Indian alphabet presenting no serious difficulty to the decipherer. The language is an archaic form of speech allied to Malay. The date, given in the inscription itself, falls probably in the year 608 Saka expired (A.D. 686-7); but the first of the numeral figures in which it is expressed is somewhat doubtful. The form of the alphabet generally is however quite consistent with this relatively high antiquity, and assuming the date to be correctly read, this inscription ranks among the oldest Indonesian records that have been discovered hitherto.

The interpretation offers many difficulties, for there are a number of words in the inscription which have not been identified with modern equivalents. But the general purport is pretty clear and amounts, in short, to this. Sri Wijaya, ruler of a country named Parāwis, wherever that may have been, after having as it appears punished or raided the rebellious land of Jāwa (which may be Java or else some part of Sumatra, perhaps), sets up this inscription to warn his subjects against treason, disobedience, and various other offences (including sundry forms of evil-working charms, poisoning, etc.). On those who do such things or who damage the inscribed stone he invokes a deadly curse. On his loyal and faithful subjects of the land of Parāwis he calls down various blessings.

The chief interest, however, of the document consists in the language in which it is framed. I extract a number of words by way of illustration, most of which may be readily compared with Malay. Of the spelling I need only say that *n* = our *ng*; *ñ* = our *ny*; *s* is a Sanskrit sibilant pronounced like the English *sh*; *h* = final *h*.

Nouns (simple): *hamba, kāyet* (= *kait*, "hook"), *uran* (= *orang*), *sumpah*, *dātu* (= *dato'*), *wātu* (= *batu*), *tuwa* (= *tuba*), *wulan* (= *bulan*); (in phrases): *di dalanña* (= *di-dalam-nya*), *wanuāña* (= *bĕnua-nya*); (compound): *kasīhan* (= "love-charm"), *kadatuan* (= "kingdom"), *parsumpahan*. Note the use of the formatives *-an*, *ka—an*, and *par—an* (modern *kĕ-an*, and *pĕr—an*). The prefix *ka-* is also used by itself, like the *kĕ-* of the modern *kĕhĕndak, kĕkaseh*.

Verbs (simple): *pulan, wuatña* (= *buat-nya*); (compound): in *m-, mulan* (from *pulan*, as modern *minta'* from *pinta', mohon* from *pohon*); in *ma-, masākit* (= "to make sick"); in *man-*, etc. (= modern *mĕng-*, etc.), *mañuruh* (= *mĕnyuroh*), *manāpik* (from a word *tāpik* also found in this inscription and apparently meaning "chastise" or something of that kind); in *man—i, manujāri* (= "to speak with"); in *mar—i, marjjahāti* (= "to do harm to." from *jāhat*, "evil," which also occurs; *mar—* is more or less represented by the modern *bĕr-*, which occasionally survives in the more archaic form *mĕr-*, as in *mĕrapi*, though here its force is rather adjectival); in *maka-, makagila* (= "to make mad"), *makamatai* (either from *mata* or else from *matai*, an older form of *mati*). Even more interesting are the passive verbs: in *n-, nwari* (probably a passive from *wari* modern *bĕri*);in *ni-, niujāri* (= "to be spoken to"), *nisuruh, nipāhat* (= "was chiselled"), *niwunuh* (= 'was killed," from *wunuh* = modern *bunoh*), *nigalarku* (= "were appointed by me"); in *-in-, winunu* (for *winunuh*, from *wunuh*).

Articles: *di, diy*, "in, to, at" (also *din* = *di* + the article *n*, which is found in Old Javanese, etc.); *ka; dnan* (= *dĕngan*)*; *tīda* (= modern *tidak*: apparently the *-k* in this word is not original, any more than in *datok* = *dātu*); *jānan* (= *jangan*).

Pronouns: *āku, -ku* (enclitic), 1st. person; *kita* (used apparently for the 2nd. person plural); *iya, ya, -ña* (enclitic), 3rd. person; *yan, iyan*, relative, the former also used as a definite article (*ya* appears to be similarly used); *ini*, "this," *inan*, "that."

Note also *sawañakña* (= *sa-banyak-nya*) which occurs in the phrase *tathāpi sawañakña yan wuatña jāhat*, "but as many of them as do evil"; and the word *gran*, which may be the stem of the modern *gĕrangan*.*

It will be noticed that many of the above words have *w* which modern Malay has replaced by *b*. Javanese often retains the old *w*, as in *watu, wulan*. Another point of interest is the shifting of the stress in consequence of the addition of a suffix (or even an enclitic), as shown by the long vowels of the forms *kasīhan, manujāri, wanuāña*, etc. This is an old Indonesian law which has been somewhat obliterated in modern Malay as spoken in the Peninsula, but the standard Malay spelling attests its former prevalence.

The inscription contains a large proportion of Sanskrit words, showing that Hindu influence was already pretty strong at this period. Some of these words are still current in Malay: the following are examples:—*bhakti, dewata, mahardhika* (now used in a modified form with the sense of "free"), *mūlāña* (= *mula-nya* with the enclitic pronoun), *drohaka, tathāpi, mantrā* (for *mantra*), *dosāña* (= *dosa-nya*), *tatkālāña* (= *tatkala-nya*), *wala* (= "army, forces," cf. modern *balatantĕra*), *bhūmi*. But perhaps the most

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* The Indian alphabet has no symbol for the Indonesian sound *ĕ* (by the Javanese styled *pĕpĕt*). Javanese had to invent one, but it is often omitted altogether in the old inscriptions.

remarkable feature of the language of the inscription is the peculiar passive in *ni-,* which is completely wanting or lost in Malay. The Malay passive in *di-* is however somewhat analogous, for both *di* and *ni* are found as prepositions in various Indonesian languages. The passive in *-in-,* though hardly traceable in Malay, has of course a very wide range in Indonesia and is evidently a very ancient formation.

Tan Tock Seng's Hospital, Singapore.

By Arthur Knight.

The early history of this valuable institution is briefly given by the inscriptions on tablets still to be seen in front of the new Hospital premises on Moulmein Road, as follows:—

This Hospital
for the
Diseased of all Countries
was built A.D. 1844
at the cost of
Seven Thousand Dollars
wholly defrayed by
Tan Tock Seng.

The wings were added
with large improvements effected
at a cost of
Three Thousand Dollars
wholly defrayed by
Tan Kim Ching
son of the Founder.

This tablet was erected by the
Committee of Management
1854.

The Hospital above referred-to was erected on Pearl's Hill. Mr. Tan Tock Seng was a prosperous merchant here, and had, it was stated, intended to make a sufficient endowment to provide for the maintenance of a given number of patients, but he died in 1850 without having made this arrangement.

In the early years of the Hospital it was mainly maintained by subscriptions, chiefly from Chinese, though Europeans also contributed, and European medical men freely rendered their services.

These Settlements were then politically under the Government of India, and the Military authorities in course of time thought it convenient to take possession of the Pearl's Hill buildings for Military Offices, and the establishment on Seranggong Road was provided in their place.

The tablets above quoted, which, of course, had been attached to the original buildings, were then removed to the front of the new premises, with the addition of another, setting forth—

The
Hospital
was removed from its original
site to the present
buildings in
1860.

Additional accommodation became necessary as patients increased in number; also wards built of materials not permanent had from time to time to be replaced, and the money for these purposes was commonly raised by appeals for subscriptions from members of the Chinese community. Mr. Tan Kim Ching by no means stopped at the liberality which is recorded on the tablet above quoted, and many Chinese gentlemen of means have from time to time freely contributed. In 1879 Mr. Tan Beng Swee, then a member of the Committee of Management,—son of Tan Kim Seng, in whose memory the fountain near the Exchange was built, and father of the Hon'ble Tan Jiak Kim,—built three wards at his own expense, one of which was of permanent materials, accommodating about 30 patients.

In process of time the expense of the Hospital has become so great that it has to be mainly supported by Government grant, but it still has an income derived from interest on invested money, from subscriptions and donations, and rents of property made over to the Hospital, which was incorporated by Ordinance No. VII of 1880.

The Corporation consists of the holders for the time being of certain high offices in the Public Service (the Colonial Secretary being President), of the eldest resident male descendant of the Founder, and of subscribers (generally Chinese) of not less than $12 per annum and donors of not less than $1,000. The late Mr. C. B. Buckley was also one of the original members of the Committee of Management.

While it is interesting to note that so far as the institution is and has been indebted to private support it is almost wholly to Chinese, there is one notable exception which should not be passed over—that is the gift of the property now known as Syed Ali's Land, by an Arab merchant, Syed Ali bin Mahomed al Junied. This property abuts on Victoria Street, Queen Street, and Arab Street, and contains an area of over five acres. It was taken by this Arab gentleman in 1857 on a lease from Government for 99 years, and he in the same year assigned it for a nominal consideration to trustees for the benefit of the Hospital. By the Incorporation Ordinance the property is vested in the Hospital, and it has

been leased out in lots at 99 years, yielding a yearly rental now amounting to $1,231.50.

For some years the question was discussed of removing the Hospital from Seranggong Road to a more favourable site. There had therefore been no building of new wards, except two experimental ones constructed by the Government a few years ago. The Government has now erected entirely new buildings, of a permanent nature, on Moulmein Road. For this new foundation no call has been made upon the general funds of the Corporation, but the Government expenditure was lessened by the generous gift by Towkay Loke Yew of $50,000, which, having been kept at interest for some time, swelled to $58,960.24; also by a legacy of $4,000 from Wee Boon Teck, who was at the time of his death, in 1888, a member of the Committee of Management. This remained on fixed deposit at cumulative interest until last year, when it reached a total of $9,073.18. This legacy having been made for the construction of a new ward, it was also handed over to Government to be used in the construction of one of the wards in the new buildings, which is inscribed with the testator's name. Similarly, five wards have been named after Towkay Loke Yew and one after Mr. Tan Beng Swee.

On the completion of the new Hospital (vested in the Corporation in exchange for the old property, which was formally surrendered), it was decided, with the sanction of His Excellency the Governor, that it should continue to bear the name of the Founder, Tan Tock Seng, and a new tablet was prepared for the entrance with the following additional historical inscription:—

Tan Tock Seng's Hospital
For the Sick Poor of all Nations
Incorporated by Ordinance VII of 1880, and supported by Government with the aid of Voluntary Contributions.

The original Hospital was built in 1844 by Mr. Tan Tock Seng at his own charges and was afterwards enlarged at the expense of his son, Mr. Tan Kim Ching.

It was removed to a new site, in Seranggong Road, by the Government of India in 1860, and additional wards were added in 1879 by Mr. Tan Beng Swee, and at subsequent dates by the Straits Settlements Government.

The present buildings, erected at a cost of $481,210 (including the cost of site), principally from Government funds, with the aid of a donation of $50,000 by Mr. Loke Yew and a bequest made by Mr. Wee Boon Teck, were completed in 1909, Sir John Anderson, K.C.M.G., being Governor of the Straits Settlements.

Then attention was drawn to the large number of Chinese inmates—nearly 40—who were incurably blind, most of whom were otherwise in good health, but who were occupying space which should be available for the sick. It was therefore desirable that a separate ward should be prepared for the blind, and this want was met by the munificent gift of $12,000 from Mr. Ong Kim Wee, of Malacca. The new ward was, by the sanction of His Excellency the Governor, erected on a site adjoining the new buildings, and named after the generous donor, his gift to be recorded by a suitable tablet.

ERRATA

in Mr. A. J. Sturrock's paper 'On the Kelantan Dialect' in Journal No. 62, pp. 1-7.

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p. 4. Omit the whole line 11 from top *viz.*, "to suckle" etc.

p. 4. Line 33 from top: after 'pronunciation' insert: "That of Kuala Kangsar is full of eccentricity," so that the whole paragraph would read:

"II. Pronunciation. I should be inclined to put the dialect of Pahang, Central Pahang at least, first as regards normality of pronunciation. That of Kuala Kangsar is full of eccentricity."

p. 5. Line 4 from top: for "the pronunciation of the final which" read "the pronunciation of the final—al which."

STRAITS BRANCH

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Some notes on a short collecting trip to Mt. Poi, Sarawak, undertaken recently by the Raffles Museum, Singapore, and the Sarawak Museum.

By J. C. Moulton, B. Sc., F. R. G. S.

Curator of the Sarawak Museum.

Mt. Poi rises on the extreme western border of Sarawak and is of some interest for two reasons; (i) it is the only granite mountain in Sarawak, (ii) it is the highest mountain in Sarawak Proper, the summit being 5,500 ft. above the sea-level.

Perhaps the earliest mention of the mountain is contained in Sir James Brooke's Journal edited by Captain Rodney Mundy and published in 1848. On page 16 of Vol. I. we find this (describing Sir James Brooke's first Journey to Sarawak):—"August 7th., 1839....the principal geographical feature of this bay is Gunong Poè, which here towers from the edge of the water." And again in a letter to John C. Templer Esqr. dated August 20th, 1839:—"The mountain of Poè (Anglice Poa) rises on the main of Borneo, close to its brink, not less than four thousand feet." (*Private Letters of Sir James Brooke*, K.C.B., edited by John C. Templer, 1853, Vol. I, p. 65).

Dr. Odoardo Beccari the celebrated botanist in his ever fascinating book "Wanderings in the Great Forests of Borneo" (1904, pp. 93-104) describes a journey to this mountain undertaken in August 1866 with His Highness the Rajah, then Tuan Muda of Sarawak; the object of the trip was to prospect for a suitable site for a coffee plantation. It is not stated whether they were the first Europeans to explore Mt. Poi (also written Poe) or not, but it seems that this is the earliest record of any European making the ascent. Since that date a few other Europeans have made excursions to the mountain, including in recent years, Mr. F. F. Boult of the Sarawak Civil Service, Mr. F. W. Foxworthy of the Bureau of Science, Manila, and Mr. Anderson of the Singapore Botanic Gardens.

Beccari comments on the paucity of the zoological collections he made there*[1] and since his day it seems that no further attempt has been made to examine the fauna of this mountain. It therefore presented all the charms of a *terra incognita* as regards zoological work, besides the additional interest of its granitic formation wherein Poi differs from all other Sarawak mountains.†[2]

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*1. "Wanderings in the Great Forests of Borneo 1904, p. 100. "Very little animal life was to be seen in the forest on Mount Poe, and I did not get a single mammal or bird. Even butterflies and other insects were very scarce."

†2. Tanjong Datu, the western-most point in Sarawak territory is also formed of granite; it rises to some 1,600 ft.

OnFriday afternoon, April 10th., of this year, Dr. Hanitsch, Director of the Raffles Museum, arrived in Kuching by the Singapore steamer. accompanied by his taxidermist Mr. P. M. de Fontaine and a native collector, in order to join forces with the Sarawak Museum for a collecting trip to Mt. Poi. For various reasons the trip had to be very brief, so no time was wasted in making final preparations before starting the following morning.

Leaving Kuching shortly after 9 a.m. on the ebb tide, the little Government launch "Chamois" soon brought us to the Santubong or western mouth of the Sarawak river, and thence further west across a wide bay, passing the mouth of the Lundu River, and so on to the Talang-Talang islands which lie directly opposite the little Simatan river; into this we slowly steamed over the shallow bar, anchoring opposite the Government bungalow a little before 4 o'clock. We put off in a boat for the shore where the Court Writer, Junan, an elderly Chinaman, in charge of the place met us and conducted us up to the house, which we found in a very dilapidated condition, occupied by a Malay policeman, the sole representative of the Law in this out-of-the-way spot. Our friend Junan soon gave us all the information we wanted about the mountain and the best way of reaching it. He proved an interesting character; told us his family were originally Sambas Chinese. who fled to Sarawak during the troubles between the Chinese and Dutch; they came to Kuching just after the Chinese rebellion in 1857. Junan being then a boy of 8 or 9; he remembered seeing the first Rajah, Sir James Brooke; later he became an S. P. G. catechist, but owing to 'youthful indiscretions,' as he put it, he had to relinquish that position and later he turned Mohammedan; he has been Court Writer at Simatan for the last 33 years and seems good for many more years in spite of being a great-grand-father and marrying again only three or four months ago.

Among the shore birds seen that evening was the Eastern Little Stint *Limonites ruficollis*, Pall., which was shot by a collector; on the beach we found several fragments of the Gastropod *Phorus solaris*, L., which is not often seen on the Sarawak coast. In the evening arrangements were made for the land journey to Poi. The northern end of the mountain range comes down quite close to the sea and for that reason Simatan had been selected for the starting place instead of Lundu whence other ascents had been made. However on inquiry it turned out that this end of the mountain was impracticable owing to the absence of water on the higher slopes, so we decided to go up river to the Dayak village of Rissen and make the ascent from the southern end of the range.

Collecting on Sunday morning on the jungle-bordered plain behind the house, where a large herd of cattle grazed peacefully, produced a pretty little Babbler *Pomatorrhinus borneensis* Cab., a specimen of the common bee-eater *Merops sumatranus*, Rafll. which was several times seen flying across the padang, the

common thrush, *Cittocincla suavis,* Scl., and the Swallow-Shrike, *Artamus leucogaster,* V., a common and widely distributed species. Among the beetles obtained were, a good Cetoniid, green and black blotched, *Heterorhina borneensis,* Wall., the typical coast Buprestid, *Chrysodema jansoni,* Deyr., and a nice little Longicorn, *Eodalis lepidus,* Pasc., with curious black gobular hind-femora typical of that genus.

Four hours by boat on Sunday afternoon and an hour's walk next day brought us to Rissen, where we found a fine Dayak house of 18 doors under the charge of a remarkably pale-skinned, well set-up Dayak, Mandan by name; he is the Pengara or sub-chief ("Orang Kaya" being the title given to the Chief) of the Slakau Dayaks of this region. He gave us a cordial welcome and a sociable evening was spent with the assistance of a bottle of gin and some tobacco from us, while our hosts performed sundry dances to the accompaniment of weird noises, produced on the "gambus" (home-made guitar), various gongs and tom-toms.

Some two dozen Dayaks were requisitioned to carry our baggage and collecting apparatus and we made an early start for the mountain on Tuesday morning (April 15th.). Less than two hours' walk through paddi fields, disused pepper gardens and secondary jungle brought us to the foot of the hill and then after some three hours of steady uphill walking we arrived about 2 p.m. at "a kind of grotto between two huge blocks of granite, which met above our heads and formed a good natural shelter from the rain," to quote Beccari, who reached this very place some 46 years ago.

Some Dayaks who knew this place suggested that Dr. Hanitsch and I would be more comfortable in a lancho built on the outside of the grotto, as the smoke inside would be intolerable; this was accordingly done and we were thankful for their suggestion as the coughing and sputtering that went on all night more than corroborated their statement; we had it too when the wind was in a certain quarter but not to the same extent.

Next day a party went to the summit, while others cut down some of the jungle in front of our hut, eventually affording us a magnificent view down the steep mountain slope to the wooded plain below and thence on out to sea where we could make out the tall casuarinas lining the shore, the white edging of sand and a little way out to sea, one behind the other, the two islets, Talang besar and Talang kechil. We were thus facing north north-east, and the delicate glow in the sky each evening from the more brilliant sunset in the west, or in the morning from the equally fiery sunrise in the East, enriched our view with all manner of wonderful,soft, ever-varying tints; the whole picture enframed by stately jungle, the continuous din of innumerable, but invisible, insects and the cool mellow air together form one of those experiences, which no pen can adequately picture, which the tropics alone can give.

A bare six days we stayed there, collecting what we could of every beast that crawled, ran, flew or swam— to escape our voracious selves. In spite of our whole-hearted attempts to gain a complete knowledge of the fauna of Mt. Poi in those few days, we must admit that the fauna had the best of us. Our joint collections comprised some 8 species of mammals, some 40 different birds, 3 snakes, a lizard, a few frogs, Myriapoda and land Mollusca, together with a small number of insects of various orders. A few notes on the more interesting captures are subjoined.

Among the mammals was a female *Semnopithecus femoralis*, Martin, from an altitude of about*[1] 4,500 ft.; it is a common species in Sarawak; of other monkeys, *Hylobates mulleri*, Martin, the Gibbon, and *Macacus cynomolgus* (*irus*), the "kra" or long-tailed Macaque, were seen. The binturong (*Arctictis binturong*), was seen and shot at, but not bagged. Only one species of Shrew was obtained, viz. *Tupaia montana*, Thos.; a beautiful red-tailed species was seen two or three times in the clearing near our hut, but not captured; it was probably *T. picta*, Thos., a local species. Perhaps the most striking squirrel obtained was a female *Ratufa ephippium*, Mull., a common species in Sarawak and always remarkable on account of its extremely long tail; other squirrels obtained were *Funambulus everetti*, Thos., from about 3,000 ft., *Sciurus tenuis*, Blyth, from altitudes of 2-5,000 ft., *S. prevostii*, Desm., *S. notatus*, Bodd. and *S. lowi*, Thos. on low ground at the foot of the mountain, all common species in Sarawak except *Funambulus everetti*, which is a typical mountain species in Borneo, previously known only from Mts. Kina Balu and Penrissen. One large rat *Mus sabanus*, Thos. with a very long tail was caught in a trap near our sleeping place the first night; this is a rare species, of which the Sarawak Museum has examples from Baram, Banting and Kuching district.

The seven Dayaks who remained on the mountain with us were told off to set traps for mammals and birds; 19 were accordingly made and set, but without success not a single animal being caught. Fresh traces of wild pig were seen in several places, but the animal itself was not seen.

The birds on the upper portion of the mountain were remarkably tame and frequently perched on branches quite close to us apparently as much interested in mere Man as we were in them; frequently they would remain so close that it was impossible to shoot them for fear of completely ruining the skins; then they would fly off and quickly disappear into the depths of the jungle, so the would-be collector was again prevented from increasing his bag. One bird in particular much excited and exasperated the older Dayak collector with us; he had seen it and failed to get it

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*1. These altitudes are not very accurate as they are calculated first from the records given by an aneroid, which made the summit out a thousand feet short of that generally accepted. These records were then altered roughly to agree with the correct altitude.

when on Poi some five years ago; this time he said it perched so close to him that he was able to note distinctly the bright yellow feet, legs and bill, the black-ringed eyes, yellow-green plumage, etc. He waited for it to get a reasonable distance off, but then again it escaped him, quickly disappearing into the thick scrub on the summit. A search through the Sarawak Museum collections gave us no clue to its identity.

A feather of the Bornean Argus Pheasant (*Argusianus grayi*, Elliott) was picked up, and the Crested Fireback (*Lophura nobilis*, Scl.) was said to occur there according to the Slakau Dayaks. Small pigeon (*punei*) were common among the fruit trees at the foot of the mountain, *Osmotreron fulvicollis*, Wagl., *O. vernans*, L., and *O. olax*, Temm., being obtained. One large pigeon belonging to the sub-family Carpophaginæ was shot on its nest; this was *Ducula badia*, Raffles, rather a local species in Sarawak; it also occurs in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula; to our surprise it was found to be a male; only one white egg was in the nest, unfortunately broken by the charge.

The Hornbills, fortunately for us, had found some choice fruit on some neighbouring "kayu ara" trees and the collectors stalked these trees twice or three times a day with some success, resulting in 7 specimens representing three species ; (*Rhinoplax vigil*, Forst., 2 males, *Rhytidoceros, undulatus*, two males and one young form and *Anorrhinus galeritus*, Temm. two males. The Solid Casqued Hornbill, (*R. vigil*) is always highly prized in Sarawak by the natives on account of the casque which is used by certain tribes for ear-ornaments, for belt fastenings and finger-rings. The long tail feathers of the male are also used to adorn war-caps of certain tribes, among whom one of these birds will fetch as much as $35. The stomach of one of the two contained the undigested remains of a beetle, some large Lucanid.*[1]

A beautiful kingfisher (*Halcyon concretus*, Temm.) was obtained by Mr. de Fontaine, the Raffles Museum taxidermist, on the low lying ground between Simatan and the foot of Mt. Poi; it is not a common species in Sarawak.

The bee-eater *Nyctiornis amicta*, Temm. was shot below the camp. Three Cuckoos were obtained, *Urococcyx microrhinus*, Berlep., *Penthotheryx sonnerati*, Lath. at an altitude of 3,300 to 4,000 ft.; this is widely distributed over Indo-Malayan countries, but rare in Borneo. The third species obtained was *Cuculus poliocephalus*, Lath. a great rarity in Sarawak, though widely distributed; it was thus identified by Mr. H. C. Robinson. The only Barbet was *Chotorhea mystacophanes*, Temm. from the foot of the mountain, a very common species in Sarawak. One woodpecker, *Chrysophlegma humei*, Hargitt, on the higher slopes above camp; and a common Broadbill, *Corydon sumatranus*, Raffl. at 3,300 ft.

*1. See "An Insectivorous Hornbill" by J. C. Moulton, in *Journ. Str. Br., Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, No. 54, p. 157, 1910.

Of the above 17 non-Passerine birds, the two pheasants noted are practically confined to Borneo,†[2] one Cuckoo occurs only in the Natunas besides Borneo, two pigeons (*O. vernans* and *O. fulvicollis*), one Hornbill (*R. undulatus*) and the other two cuckoos *P. sonnerati* and *C. poliocephalus* are widely distributed over Indo-Malayan countries; the remaining nine species are confined to Sumatra, Borneo and Malay Peninsula with an extension north to Burma in one instance (*Corydon sumatranus*) and to Java in one instance (*Merops sumatranus*).

The Passerine birds are more interesting in that many are typically Bornean mountain forms. Those collected were:— the beautiful little ground-thrush, *Pitta arcuata*, Gould. previously known from North Borneo, Mts. Dulit and Penrissen. This is therefore the westernmost record of the species. Five different Flycatchers, *Rhipidura javanica*, Sparrm., *R. perlata*, Mull., *R. atrata*, Salv. and *Philentoma velatum*, Temm. the first taken on the low-lying ground below Poi, the other three at altitudes of 3,000 to 5,000 ft. Mr. Robinson kindly identified *R. atrata* of which two specimens were shot by Mr. de Fontaine. It is a typical Indo-Malayan mountain species, rare in Borneo; and *Muscicapula westermanni*, Sharpe, a rare mountain species occurring on mountains in the Malay Peninsula, Celebes, Philippines and Borneo. I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Robinson also for this identification. One Cuckoo-shrike, *Pericrocotus xanthogaster*, Raffl. was taken near our camp; this species is often met with near Kuching. Two Bulbuls, *Hemixus connectens*, Sharpe and *Criniger ruficrissus*, Sharpe, were taken from 3,500-4,000 ft.; these are both confined to Borneo and are essentially mountain species, being known from Mts. Kina Balu, Derian, Dulit and Penrissen. Mt. Poi is the most western point now known for the two species. Seven different Babblers were shot; viz. *Pomatorhinus borneensis*, Cab., of which one male was found near the shore at Simatan and another on the summit of Mt. Poi, 4,350 ft.; it is not uncommon in Sarawak and also occurs in the Malay Peninsula; *Turdinus sepiarius*, Horsf. a rare mountain species in Borneo, also occurring in Java, and *T. atrigularis*, Bp. which is only known from Borneo; *Staphidia everetti*, Sharpe, another mountain species confined to Borneo; *Pterythius cameranoi*, Salvad. from 3,500 ft. This species is also known from Kina Balu, Sumatra and the mountains of the Malay Peninsula. *Alcippe cinerea*, Blyth, a common species also found in the Malay Peninsula, and *Stachyris borneensis*, Sharpe, which is confined to Bornean mountains.

The rare yellow Shrike, *Hyloterpe hypoxantha*, Sharpe, previously known only from Kina Balu; the little Bornean Nut-hatch, *Dendrophila corallipes*, Sharpe, a gorgeous red and purple Sun-

†2. *Lophura nobilis* occurs in the neighbouring island of Banka, and *Argusianus grayi* is replaced by *Argusianus argus* in Siam, Malay Peninsula and Sumatra.

bird, *Aethopyga temmincki*, Mull., at 4,900 ft., only known from Sumatra and Bornean mountains (Kina Balu, Dulit and Penrissen), and the Drongo, *Buchanga stigmatops*, Sharpe, also known from Sumatra, complete our list for Mt. Poi.

The distribution of the above 20 Passerine birds is thus more restricted, only three *Rhipidura* species and the *Muscicapula* having at all a wide distribution, in Malaya; eight species are confined to Borneo, one to Java and Borneo, three to Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and Borneo, two to the Malay Peninsula and Borneo and two confined to Sumatra and Borneo.

The occurrence of Kina Balu species so far west as Mt. Poi is of some interest in view of the great age of these two mountains and of the absence of most of the species on the mountains of more recent geological formation between the two. Of course our knowledge is still very incomplete, but I am inclined to think the fauna of Kina Balu has more in common with that of Poi than with that of any of the intervening mountains.

The Reptiles and Amphibia were conspicuous by their absence. Only three snakes were caught, two examples of *Tropidonotus sararacensis*, Gthr. a small snake measuring 19 inches, whose upperside colouring is beautifully protective; these were taken at an altitude of 4,000-5,000 ft. The third snake was taken at the foot of the mountain, a pretty red species measuring 16 inches, *Macropisthodon rhodomelas*, Boie, common in Sarawak. The only lizard captured was *Gonatodes kendalli*, Gray, a common species, and as far as we heard only one other was seen by the Dayaks near our lancho. We rather expected to see more running about the rocks in the sunshine.

Of landshells the following species were obtained, *Leptopoma sericatum*, Pf. and *L. undatum*, Met. at 4,500 ft., *Opisthophorus biciliatus*, Pf. at about 4,000 ft., *Ampullaria ampullacea*, L. common in the river below Poi.

The insects were on the whole disappointingly scarce, perhaps accounted for by the nature of the mountain, where conifers and palms were more noticeable than flowering trees, partly no doubt on account of adverse weather conditions generally prevailing during our stay there, thick white clouds rolling up several times each day and shutting out the sun. In the small clearing in front of our hut we often saw a beautiful green Cetoniid circling round at a great pace; some half dozen were caught: they appear to be a species near or identical with *Chalcothea planiuscula*, Bates, a typical mountain species in Borneo. A much larger species, possibly *Chalcothea auripes*, Westw., or *C. shelfordi*, Jans., escaped us, though it flew within reach of the net more than once, allowing us to admire its brilliant green colouring as it circled round the clearing in the morning sunlight. A small Longicorn with grey tomentose elytra *Polyphida modesta*, Gahan, occurred fairly often, also a little Cicindelid *Therates erinys*, Bates, which usually occurs high up on

Sarawak mountains. Beyond these few species the remaining Coleoptera obtained were usually solitary specimens, of which the following may be mentioned: a magnificent pair of Lucanidæ the male of which measures from tip of the mandibles to the end of elytra $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches, caught near the summit. Mr. G. van Roon kindly identifies this as *Odontolabis waterstradti*, Roth.; the elytra of the male are marbled dove colour, those of the female have the outer half the same colour, the inner half black. It was described in 1900 and then only known from Kina Balu. *Odontolabis castelnaudi*, Parry was another handsome Lucanid caught. Mr. van Roon writes that it is a rare species confined to Borneo and Sumatra. Two females of the more common *Odontolabis lowei*, Parry, were also caught. A jet black Rutelid identified by Dr. Ohaus as *Anomala morio* new to science. The big white Melolonthid *Lepidiota stigma*, L. common in certain localities in Sarawak, was picked up at the foot of the mountain. In the same locality, i.e., near the Dayak house of Rissen at the foot of Mt. Poi, the collectors brought in some specimens of the large handsome Buprestid *Chrysochroa opulenta*, Gory, and one of the much rarer mountain species *Chrysochroa lacordairei*, Thoms., which has hitherto been recorded only from Gilolo and Mts. Kina Balu and Matang in Borneo. We also found several small Cicindelids flying on the sand by the river, they turned out to be *Cicindela discreta*, Schaum.; the common *Cicindela aurulenta*, Fab. was also abundant. On the higher slopes above our camp we caught a large Melolonthid, *Exopholis lacordairei*, Wats., (kindly identified thus by Col. Moser of Berlin) and another species, *Lachnosterna leucophthalma*, Wied. We may close our list with notice of a fulvous Elaterid, *Hemiops flava*, Cast., (kindly identified thus by Mons. Fleutiaux), the curious Longicorn *Leptura conicollis*, lately described by Dr. Aurivillius and another small blue Longicorn, *Noemia flavicornis*, Pasc., a specimen of the common Cetoniid *Macronota diardi*, Gory, the Criocerids, *Lema femorata*, Germ. and *Crioceris binotata*, Baly, and the Cassid *Aspidomorpha fuscopunctata*, Boh. from Rissen.

Butterflies were very scarce, except one Danaine, *Danais crowleyi*, Jenner Weir, which I have previously taken on Mt. Penrissen at 4,000 ft. and Dr. Hanitsch has taken on Mt. Kina Balu; this was frequently seen flying lazily round our camping place, and, on the first day on the summit, was the only butterfly seen, apparently quite unmindful of the heavy clouds that had evidently sent all other insects home to rest. A large Euplœa (probably *E. bremeri*) and *Euplœa crameri* were noticed, also the Nymphalines *Terinos clarissa*, Boisd. (or it may have been *T. fulminans*, Butl.) at 4,300 ft., and *Cirrochroa bajadeta*, Moore, and once or twice in the clearing near our hut the fine day-flying moth *Eusemia conspicua*, Roths. On the summit I noticed three or four Lycænids, but was unable to catch them, also a gorgeous Geometer, *Milionia*

sp., probably *basalis sharpei*, Butl. Owing to the moonlight nights we caught no moths at light. The few Cockroaches caught were not of much interest being widely distributed or common species.

The only other insects worthy of mention were two curious luminous beetle larvæ, the one with two luminous spots in the preanal segment, the other with lateral luminous spots the whole length of its body. The first had been taken before by Dr. Hanitsch on Mt. Kina Balu;*[1] our specimen was found under a large rock near the foot of the mountain, the second in a similar place near our lancho. I brought them back to Kuching, alive, hoping to breed them out, but without success, as they died soon after.

Among other members of the Animal Kingdom, we met with an enormous earthworm over 10 inches long under some moss on a rock. Dr. Michælsen of Hamburg kindly examined it for me and pronounced it new to science. He proposes to describe it as *Pheretima poiana*. Two other small worms I found curled up on a leaf at an altitude of 5,000 ft. These also proved new to science and Dr. Michælsen will describe them as *Pheretima moultoni*. Then a curious black spotted red Planarian or Hammer-headed leech deserves mention, though unfortunately it escaped.

So much for the fauna of Mt. Poi as investigated by us in this short visit. In regard to the Flora we must refer the reader to Beccari's book.†[2] The most noticeable features, as already mentioned, were the presence of Conifers, oaks and rotan palms, particularly the latter whose long thorny streamers and thorny fronds were continually reminding us of their existence. On the summit I collected a few pitcher plants(*Nepenthes* spp.), which unfortunately were mislaid on the return journey, except one identified by Mr. Burkill as *N. tentaculata*, Hook. var. *imberbis*.

Near our camp there grew the curious fern *Cheiropleuria bicuspis* of which I found a few apparently double or "quadricusp" leaves. Professor Bower, to whom I sent them, kindly writes as follows:—"I make no doubt whatever that all are one species which is variable in this character. The more elaborate specimens form, however, a very convincing link to *Dipteris*, to which no fern is certainly related." The same species occurs on Mt. Lingga in Sarawak.

According to a small aneroid the height of our camp was 3,300 ft.; the summit, called Gunong Rumput, 4,350 ft. Both these altitudes are just a thousand feet less than those recorded by Beccari *[1] and Dr. Foxworthy, who made the ascent in 1908. I append

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*1. See *Journ. Str. Br., Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, No. 34, p. 79, 1900.

†2. *l.c.* pp. 98-104.

*1. *l.c.* p. 101 granite grotto 4,238 ft.; summit 5,520 ft.

in the foot note below an extract of the report on his expedition, which he was kind enough to send me ‡3

Each day the temperature was remarkably cool even, the thermometer in the shade only varying five degrees during the whole time of our visit viz 60°-70° Fahr.

We returned on Monday leaving our camp at 7:30 a. m. reaching the house at Rissen before midday; spent the night there (after a much needed wash in the river) and continued next day across to the southern end of Mt. Gading and round it thence to Lundu; the whole distance from our camp on the mountain to Lundu being covered in 8½ - 9 hours actual walking.

Our faithful Dayak bearers after being paid off, returned next day to their peaceful life at the foot of Mt. Poi. We found them a cheerful, willing lot apparently living a contented prosperous life, in spite of occasional bad years for their crops. This year they complained of swarms of rats with which they were totally unable to deal. Mandan told me that paddi was also liable to attacks of two or three kinds of insects, but that they could be certain of stopping them by calling in the witch-doctor and going through certain ceremonies—"siak", which were always successful; but no amount of "siak" seemed to affect the rats.

The ethnological affinities of these Slakau Dayaks seem very uncertain. According to Ling Roth, they are placed among the Land-Dayaks; Hose and McDougall, the latest authorities on Bornean natives, in their work entitled "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo" (1913), place them on the map of Borneo— and no more.

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‡3. "Ascent of Mt. Poi.

Mt. Poi is really a small range running east and south for many miles from Tanjong Datu, the western-most point of Borneo.

About the foot of the mountain and on its lower slopes is a magnificent forest, containing very fine large trees of Kapor (Dryobalanops sp.), Kumpas (Koompassia sp.), Billian (Eusideroxylon zwageri) etc. This bit of jungle appeared to have the greatest height of any encountered on the trip. This fine dry jungle continued up the slopes to several hundred feet above sea level. The mountain is not a difficult one to climb. We crossed Poi early in the afternoon and camped for the night at the foot of a steep slope, seven or eight hundred feet below the summit of Sabat. We were on top of Sabat at eight o'clock the next morning. The lowest temperature noted was 61° and the height of the peak, determined by the use of the boiling point thermometer, with the aid of corrections furnished by the Kuching observatory and the tables of the Royal Geographical Society, was 4,600 ft. The latitude of this peak is about 1° 30'N.

The upper part of this mountain is surprisingly free from the characteristic mossy and epiphytic vegetation which is so marked on high mountains in the Philippines. The trees on this summit do not show any conspicuous dwarfing. I think it probable that the statement can be safely made that the lower slopes of mountains in this part of Borneo get more and their upper portions less rainfall than is the case with most Philippine mountains. Probably for the same reason, the number of orchids seen in Borneo is relatively small.

At the summit of Rumput, the temperature at 3.00 P. M. was 62° with a very cool wind blowing. The summit was exposed, with grass, sphagnum moss, and moss-covered trees. The height was determined as 5,475 ft., which is about 50 ft. less than the height as estimated by Beccari."

Probably there is some Dutch literature discussing them, but I have not been able to consult it; if there is not, I can commend this tribe to the attention of Dutch residents living in their neighbourhood as material for an interesting ethnological study. The greater part of them live in Dutch Borneo in the Sambas district, whence those now living in Sarawak migrated not long ago. According to those we met, they are not related to the Land-Dayaks of Sarawak at all; their nearest relations (according to them) being the Lara Dayaks, who also live on the borders of Sarawak and Sambas, and none seem to know of earlier traditions suggesting their arrival from another country.

They differ from the Land-Dayaks in certain customs and general characters; burning the dead is rarely done, they are not allowed to eat crocodiles on any account, but there is nothing to prevent them eating deer's flesh. They have no head house ("pangga" or "pancha"); their houses are of a different type, the ruai or common hall running the whole length of the house was larger, seemed to be more in use than in the Land-Dayak houses; large fireplaces were made all down the centre of this common room, sleeping benches or cubicles (as in some head-houses) for bachelors and old men were ranged all along the outer wall.

Their language seemed to contain many Malay and some Sea-Dayak words; but the greater part seemed quite unlike either Land-Dayak, Sea-Dayak or Malay and they themselves said they were unable to understand the Land-Dayak language and had to resort to Malay as a medium of communication when conversing with a Land-Dayak. The Land-Dayaks of Sarawak are among the few tribes who eat crocodiles, but only a few houses allow themselves to eat deer's flesh.*[1] The Land-Dayaks of Sarawak have a tradition that they came from Sekong and before that from South Borneo and Java; we could hear of no such tradition among the Slakaus. Hitherto it has been stated over and over again that the Dayaks of Borneo consist of Sea-Dayaks and Land-Dayaks, two totally different races, the former comparatively recent arrivals in Borneo, closely related to Malays, the latter a much longer-established race in Borneo more nearly related to the less-civilized and long-established races in Borneo. It would be interesting to try and trace out evidence to show that the Slakaus are an intermediate race and so join up two races now regarded as very distantly related.

Probably they have been modified to a certain extent through mixture with Chinese who have also occupied the Sambas country for many generations.

The pretty little station at Lundu with its comfortable bungalow overlooking the river appeared a veritable haven of rest to us after our hot tramp from Poi. A little way up river on the right

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*1. *Sar. Mus. Journ.* No. 1, p. 140, 1911. "The Prohibition of Deer's Flesh among some of the Land-Dayaks" by F. F. Boult and J. C. Moulton.

bank there is a little mission station, now almost deserted. The Church we found in sad need of repair and the native caretaker, on the princely salary of $5 a month, pointed gloomily to the disheartening spectacle of the vicarage and garden, which he was supposed to look after, now in a dreadfully tumble-down, overgrown state. The Church had been built just 50 years ago (1863).

Our three days at Lundu were devoted to insect-collecting in order to try and make up for the deficiencies in this branch on Poi. There was a good collecting ground quite close to the bungalow on the hill behind and one or two good insects were obtained. We may mention a rare Bornean Cicada of which three examples were caught, *Tosena depicta*, Distant, a beautiful insect with olive green tegmina and black wings apparently only known from S. E. Borneo. Dr. Hanitsch secured a rare cockroach, *Panaesthia mandarinea*, Sauss., a species allied to the common world-spread *P. javanica*, but differing in the black and white banded elytra. Several common species of butterflies were taken, but none worthy of comment; three examples of a beautiful marbled green Phasmid, *Aschipasma annulipes*, Westw. may be mentioned and the following beetles are not by any means common in Sarawak, the Melolonthid, *Leucopholis staudingeri*, Brok., a pair of the Cetoniid, *Protactia acuminata*, Fab., the Cicindelids *Collyris diardi*, Latr. and *Cicindela versicolor*, Mc. L., a beautiful pair of red and blue Hispids, new to science and named by Dr. Gestro *Botryonopa moultoni*, and the commoner species of the same family, *Gonophora chalybeata*, Baly and *Dactylispa bipartita*, Guer., the bright little Cassid, *Metriona triangulum*, Weise, the Longicorns, *Glenea albomaculata*, Gah. and *G. adelia*, Pasc. and the big ochreous Heteromerous beetle, *Trichtenotoma doriae*, Deyr. kindly named for me by Dr. Aurivillius of Stockholm.

The common Pentatomids *Dalpada trimaculata*, Westw. and *D. oculata*, Fab. were also taken. The rather rare Nymphaline *Eulaceura osteria*, Westw. is worth mention.

On Friday afternoon the launch steamed in on the in-coming tide and next morning we left at 7 punctually, arriving in Kuching at 3.30 p. m. after just a fortnight's absence.

Two busy days were spent in naming up our captures in the Sarawak Museum, and then our Singapore friends left us on Tuesday (April 29th.) returning to Singapore by the s. s. "Kuching"; our joint expedition to the heights of Poi was a thing of the past.

Notes on a portion of the late Mr. Shelford's list of Bornean Butterflies, Part I, published in the Society's Journal No. 41.

By J. C. Moulton.

Curator of the Sarawak Museum.

In 1904 the first instalment of an article on the Butterflies of Borneo by Mr. R. Shelford, then Curator of the Sarawak Museum, appeared in the Society's Journal, No. 41. In 1905, a second part appeared in Journal No. 45, the two parts dealing with the Families Nymphalidæ and Lemoniidæ, comprising 256 species.

No further parts appeared until 1911 when the present writer dealt with the Family Lycænidæ in Journal No. 60. Since the publication of the first two parts, certain important works on Eastern Butterflies have appeared, necessitating to some extent a revision of portions of Mr. Shelford's list, in order to bring it up to date. While it is by no means necessary to re-write the whole list, certain portions are in need of more revision than others, and while it appears simpler to re-write certain groups, for the majority of the list it will only be necessary to add a supplementary page or two embodying the results of the latest workers.

The remaining parts dealing with the Papilionidæ and Hesperidæ are in preparation and it is proposed to add any supplementary information in an appendix at the end of the last part, while for the more lengthy revision of a group like the *Amathusiinæ* it seems best to devote a separate paper.

The order adopted in the following list is that of Stichel, in *Genera Insectorum*, Fascicles 31 and 36, 1905-6. For brevity's sake, the only references quoted are (i) the original description and (ii) the number given to each species in Mr. Shelford's paper.

Fam. NYMPHALIDAE.

Sub-fam. AMATHUSIINAE.

Genus, Amathusia, Fab.

*76. *Amathusia phidippus*, L.

Papilio phidippus, L., Cent. Ins. rar. Resp. B. Johannson (Amœn. Acad. Vol. 6.) p. 402, (1763).

Amathusia phidippus, Shelford, No. 82, Journ. Str. Br., Roy. Asiat. Soc. p. 107, (1904).

* This number is used by Mr. Shelford for the first species in his list of the Amathusiinae.

A common species in Sarawak.

The typical form occurs in Siam, Burma, Malay Peninsula, Natunas, Borneo, Java and Lombok; however Fruhstorfer and Stichel give names to most of these local forms of the typical form, thus *tania*, Fruhstorfer, is confined to Java, *diluta*, Fruhstorfer, to Borneo, *binghami*, Fruhstorfer, to Perak, Mergui and Billiton, *coriotincta*, Stichel, to Natuna Isles, etc., etc. The full name of the Bornean form according to Stichel is thus:-

Amathusia (section *Ategana*, cohort *Phidippiformes*) *phidippus phidippus* forma *diluta*, Fruhstorfer; and to lighten our burdens further we should remember that the genus *Amathusia* belongs to the tribe *Amathusiidi*, which forms part of the subfamily *Amathusiinæ*, which is one of the sub-families of the Lepidoptero-Rhopalocerous family *Nymphalidæ!*

Thus the modern form of "binomial" nomenclature!

Subspecies of *phidippus* occur in the Philippines, Palawan, Celebes, Nias and the Andamans. The range of the species is thus the Malayan Archipelago and Peninsula.

77. *Amathusia schönbergi borneensis*, Fruhst.

Amathusia schönbergi borneensis, Fruhstorfer, Deut. Ent. Zeit. Lep. (Iris), Vol. 12, p. 72, 76 (1899).

Amathusia schönbergi borneensis, Shelford, No. 83, *l.c.*

The typical form occurs in Perak and Sumatra; the above subspecies in Borneo only.

77a. form *gabriela*, Fruhstorfer,

Amathusia ochraceofusca gabriela, Fruhst. Soc. Ent. Vol. 20, p. 130 (1905)

Amathusia ochreofusca, Shelford, No. 84, *l.c.* *[1]

South Borneo.

78. *Amathusia perakana staudingeri*, Röber,

Amathusia staudingeri, Röber, Ent. Nachr. Vol. 21, p.202 (1900).

South Borneo.

79. *Amathusia masina*, Fruhst.

Pseudamathusia masina, Fruhstorfer, Deut. Ent. Zeit., Iris, Vol. 17, p. 155 (1904).

South-west Borneo and Sumatra.

Genus, AMATHUXIDIA, Staudinger,

80. *Amathuxidia amythaon ottomana*, Butl.

Amathusia ottomana, Butler, Ent. Mo. Mag. Vol. 6, p. 55 (1869).

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*1 *Vide* Stichel *l.c.* p. 59. footnote (1).

Amathuxidia amythaon ottomana, Shelford, No. 80, *l.c.*
Sarawak: Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

The typical form of *amythaon* occurs in Assam, Burma and Tenasserim, with subspecies in the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Nias, Philippines and Borneo.

Genus, THAUMANTIS, Hubner,

81. *Thaumantis lucipor,* Westw.

Thaumantis lucipor, Westwood, Gen. Di. Lep. Vol. 2, p. 337 (1851).

Thaumantis lucipor, Shelford, No. 87, *l.c*

A common species in Sarawak.
Distribution: Malay Peninsula, Java, Sumatra and Borneo.

82. *Thaumantis odana cyclops,* Röber,

Thaumantis odana var. *cyclops,* Röber, Soc. Ent. Vol. 19, p. 105 (1904).

Thaumantis odana, Shelford, No. 85, *l.c.*

A common species in Sarawak.
This subspecies is confined to Borneo: the typical form occurs in the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Nias and Java.

82a. form *depupillata,* Fruhst.

Thaumantis odana cyclops forma *depupillata,* Fruhstorfer, Soc. Ent. Vol. 20, p. 113 (1905).

South-west Borneo.

83. *Thaumantis noureddin chatra,* Fruhst.

Thaumantis noureddin chatra, Fruhstorfer, Soc. Ent. Vol. 20, p. 113 (1905).

Thaumantis noureddin sultanus, Stichel, Gen. Insect. Fasc. 36, pp. 19 and 59, taf. 3, fig. 49 (1906).

Thaumantis noureddin, Shelford, No. 86, *l.c.*

Common in Sarawak. This subspecies ranges as far as North Borneo. The typical *noureddin,* Westw., comes from the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Banka.

Genus, ZEUXIDIA, Hübner,

84. *Zeuxidia amethystus wallacei,* Feld.

Zeuxidia wallacei, Felder, Reise Novara, Lep. Vol. 2, p. 461, t. 62, f. 3 (1866).

Zeuxidia amethystus, Shelford, No. 76, *l.c.*

Zeuxidia wallacei, Shelford, No. 78, *l c.*

Common species in Sarawak.

This subspecies is confined to Borneo; the typical form occurs in the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Banca, with other subspecies in Mindanao, Palawan and Siam.

85. *Zeuxidia doubledaii*, Westw.

Zeuxidia doubledaii, Westwood, Gen. Di. Lep. Vol. 2, p. 329 (1851).

Zeuxidia doubledaii, Shelford, No. 77, *l.c.*

Zeuxidia pryeri, Shelford, No. 79, *l.c.*

Sarawak: Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

This species is known from Sumatra and Borneo; doubtfully recorded from Billiton and Java.

86. *Zeuxidia aurelia aureliana*, Honr.

Zeuxidia aurelius var. *aureliana,* Honrath, Berl. Ent. Zeit. Vol. 33, p. 162 (1889).

Amaxidia aureliana, Shelford, No. 81, *l.c.*

Sarawak: Lawas, Malinau and Paku (Sar. Mus.). A great rarity.

This subspecies is confined to Borneo; the typical *aurelia,* Cramer, occurs in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra.

Genus, THAURIA, Moore,

87. *Thauria aliris,* Westw.

Thaumantis aliris, Westwood, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond. Vol. 4, p. 176, t. 17 (1858).

Thaumantis aliris, Shelford, No. 88, *l.c.*

Sarawak: Limbang, Mts. Matang and Serambu (Sar. Mus.). Not uncommon. I have seen it feeding on remains of a dead mammal.

The typical form is confined to Borneo, subspecies occur in Burma, Malay Peninsula and Tonkin.

Genus, FAUNIS, Hübner,

88. *Faunis phaon,* Erichs.

Drusilla phaon, Erichson, Nov. Act. Acad. Leop. Vol. 16, Suppl. p. 401, t. 40, f. 1, 2a, ♀ (1834).

Clerome phaon, Shelford, No. 93, *l.c.*

Sarawak: Maropok Mts., Trusan and Limbang (Sar. Mus.). Philippines and Borneo.

89. *Faunis gracilis*, Butler,

Clerome gracilis, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (3) Vol. 20, p. 401, t. 8, fig. 7 (1867).

Clerome gracilis, Shelford. No. 94, *l.c.*

A common species in Sarawak.

Distribution: Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo.

90. *Faunis stomphax*, Westw.

Clerome stomphax, Westwood, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond. Vol. 4, p. 186, t. 21, figs. 3, 4 (1858).

Clerome stomphax, Shelford, No. 95, *l.c.*

A common species in Sarawak.

Distribution: Borneo, Billiton and Sumatra, with subspecies *plateni* in Palawan.

90a. form *besa*, Hew.

Clerome besa, Hewitson, Exot. Butl. Vol. 3, t. 1, *Clerome*, fig. 1 (1863).

Clerome besa, Shelford, No. 96, *l.c.*

North Borneo only.

91. *Faunis arcesilaus borneensis*, Fruhst.

Clerome arcesilaus borneensis, Fruhstorfer, Soc. Ent. Vol. 20, p. 34 (1905).

Clerome arcesilaus, Shelford, No. 97, *l.c.*

Common in Sarawak.

This subspecies is confined to Borneo; other subspecies occur in Java, Nias and Mentawei Isles: the typical form in India, Malay Peninsula and Sumatra.

92. *Faunis kirata*, de Nicév.

Clerome kirata, de Nicéville, Journ. Bomb. Nat. Hist. Soc. Vol. 6, p. 344, t. F. fig. 3 (1891).

Clerome kirata, Shelford, No. 98, *l.c.*

Sarawak: Limbang (Sar. Mus.).

Distribution: Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo.

Genus, TAENARIS, Hübner,

93. *Taenaris horsfieldii occulta*, Grose-Smith,

Tenaris occulta, Grose-Smith, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. Soc. (6) Vol. 3, p. 316 (1889).

Tenaris occulta, Shelford, No. 99, *l.c*

Sarawak: Marapok Mts., Lawas and Lingga (Sar. Mus.).

A rare species in Borneo.

Other subspecies occur in Palawan, Singapore and Sumatra; the typical form in Java. *T. horsfieldii occulta* is confined to Borneo.

Genus, XANTHOTAENIA, Westwood,

94. *Xanthotænia busiris burra*, Stich.

Xanthotænia busiris burra, Stichel, Gen. Insectorum, Fasc. 36, p. 57 (1906).

Xanthotænia busiris, Shelford, No. 100, *l c*.

Common in Sarawak.

This subspecies is confined to Borneo; the typical form is recorded from the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Java, with two other subspecies in Nias and Mentawei Isles.

Sub.-fam. DISCOPHORINÆ.

Genus, DISCOPHORA, Boisduval,

95. *Discophora necho cheops*, Feld.

Discophora cheops, Felder, Reise Novar. Lep. Vol. 2, (2). p. 462 (1866).

Discophora necho cheops, Shelford, No. 89, *l.c*.

Common in Sarawak.

This subspecies occurs in Sumatra and Borneo; the typical form in Java; other subspecies in Nias and Palawan.

96. *Discophora sondaica*, Boisd.

Discophora sondaica, Boisduval, Spec. Gen. Lep. Vol.1, t. 22, f. 3 (1836).

Discophora tullia sondaica, Shelford, No. 90, *l.c*.

Common in Sarawak.

Distribution: Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Celebes, with subspecies in Mindanao, China, Assam and India.

97. *Discophora amethystina*, Stichel,

Discophora amethystina, Stichel, Ins. Borse, Vol. 17, p. 69 (1900).

Discophora amethystina, Shelford, No. 91, *l.c*.

North Borneo only.

Genus, ENISPE, Westwood,

98. *Enispe euthymius milvus*, Staud.

Enispe milvus, Staudinger, Deut. Ent. Zeit. Vol. 9, p. 231, t. 5, f. 4 (1897).

Enispe milvus, Shelford, No. 92, *l.c*.

Mt. Kina Balu only.

The typical form comes from Sikkim, Assam, Burma and Tenasserim; a subspecies, *tessellatus*, Moore, from North India, Tonkin and Sumatra.

The Javanese Theatre: Wayang Purwa and Wayang Gedog.

BY DR. R. VAN BEUNINGEN VAN HELSDINGEN,

(WITH PLATES I-VI).

The following pages are mainly an abstract of the article 'Tooneel' (*i.e.* Stage, Theatre) in the 'Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indie.'

The Javanese have seven kinds of theatres:

1. *Wayang purwa*, in which the shadows of leather puppets are shown, for which reason it is also called *Wayang kulit, kulit* meaning leather,
2. *Wayang gedog*, differing from *Wayang purwa* principally in the *répertoire*,
3. *Wayang kĕlitik* or *karuchil*, in which flat wooden puppets are shown,
4. *Wayang golek*, in which the actors are represented by round dressed up puppets,
5. *Topeng*, acted by masked performers,
6. *Wayang wong*, in which the actors are without masks and speak their own parts,
7. *Wayang beber*, in which pictures are shown.

Of these seven kinds of theatres, only the first two will be dealt with here.

WAYANG PURWA.

In the *Wayang purwa* the shadows of leather puppets of peculiar shape are thrown on a screen (*kĕlir*) of white cloth, often having a red border, and stretched on a wooden frame (*panggung*). Behind the screen hangs a copper lamp (*blenchong*), under which the performer (*dalang*) is seated. Close to him is a chest (*kotak*), in which are put the puppets (*Wayang*), and accessory articles (*richikan*), as arms, horses, etc. To the chest are attached two or three little metallic plates, (*kĕprak*), against which the *dalang* beats with his right foot when a war scene is to be represented. In his left hand he has a small hammer of wood or horn (*tabuh kĕprak* or *chĕmpala*), with which he gives directions to the musicians seated behind him. The plays are taken from the parwa's of the Mahabharata and from the Ramayana. The close connection between the theatre and religion is shown by the fact that an offering to the spirits (*sayen*) takes place before the play commences. This is put in a cup (*bokor*), whilst incense (*dupa*) is

burning. The puppets are grotesque in form. They are generally cut in profile and have loose arms, which can be moved by wooden sticks (*chěmpurit*). The *dalang* throws the shadows of the puppets on the screen, and speaks for the persons they represent. In the intervals between the scenes, he sometimes gives descriptions and declamations (*suluk*). Now-a-days it is the custom for the men to sit on that side of the screen where the *dalang* is placed, and thus they can see both the puppets and their shadows, whilst the women are on the opposite side of the screen and see only the shadows. Formerly both men and women were on one side and the *dalang* on the other, and this is still the custom in Bali, Lombok and West-Java. Of all the forms of *wayang* the *wayang purwa* is certainly the oldest, and was probably an ancient shadow-play of Javanese origin, and was in existence before the Hindus came to Java. The following references to old Javanese literature prove that this *wayang* already existed there in the first half of the 11th century after Christ, Arjunawiwaha, strophe 59, Wrttasancaya, strophe 93 (dating from about the middle of the 12th century), Bharatayuddha, strophe 664 (written 1157 A.D.), Tantupang gelaran, fol. 34*a* of cod. 2212 Warn leg, (probably dating from the 1st half of the 11th century after Christ), Ramayana, Sarga XXIV, verse 112 (probably from the beginning of the 13th century), Brahmandapurana, Sumanasantaka XXVII, 1, and Ramawijaya, VII, 12. In a record on copper, found in Bali, of as early a date as 1058 A.D. *aringgit* = *awayang* (performing the shadow-play) is mentioned, and even in a record of Çaka 782 one finds *juru barata* (actor) spoken of, but it is not certain whether a performer of the Classical shadow-play or a buffoon is meant.

From the above-mentioned citations it is evident that as early as the first half of the 11th century shadow-plays were shown at Kediri, in which shadows of figures cut out of leather (*walulang inukir*) were projected on the screen (*kělir*), that they were so popular that they were referred to by the poets of the time, and that already in the 12th century A.D. these shows were accompanied by an orchestra, consisting of flutes (*tudung*), small cymbals (*kamanak*), etc. If regular plays were then being acted, the shadow-plays must have been indigenous to Java long before 950 Çaka. According to Dr. Brandes the *wayang* was known to the Javanese about 700 Çaka. An argument in favour of this is that the technical terms of the *wayang* are very old, and for that reason difficult to explain. Dr. Hazeu concludes that the shadow-play was known in Java about 800 Çaka (probably even earlier), and that the acting was technically the same as at present, that at that time they used leather dolls, a screen, a lamp, etc. (Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Javaansche tooneel, page 18). According to Dr. Hazeu it is almost certain that the *wayang* was invented in Java. All the technical terms are pure Javanese. The Hindus never had a shadow-play. The Chinese have a shadow-play, but

it was never popular with them. Dr. Hazeu thinks it very unlikely, if not impossible, that the *wayang* was borrowed from the Chinese. The Siamese *wayang* probably came directly from the Javanese, or from the Malays of Malacca. Like the Indian and Grecian theatre the *wayang* was developed out of the religious ceremonies in honour of the gods, or of forefathers represented as gods. Even now the *wayang* shows signs of having had originally a religious element. We have already seen that a sacrifice (*sajen*) was offered, that incense was burnt, etc. The fact that a *wayang* is often performed to prevent illness, misfortune, etc., points in the same direction.

Their original intention was probably to call the spirits of their forefathers in order to consult them in difficult cases. The grotesque figures of the *wayang* dolls were very likely intended not to represent human beings, but spirits. At first probably the head of the family was the person who called the spirits. Later on this became the work of priests, or the *pawang*, who are found nearly everywhere in the Indian Archipelago. Dr. Hazeu finds a trace of Shamanism in the information given by Raden Mas Utoyo, that in some cases before the show commences the *dalang* creeps with burning incense into a covered cage to hold converse with the spirits. These priests were called *widu mangidung* or *walyan*. These names are found in the Kawi records. Gradually the religious ceremony degenerated into a form of amusement. We find the same tendency amongst the Bataks and Olo Ngadju. According to Dr. Hazeu's hypothesis the shadow-play was a part of their ancestral religion, and the performer was the priest of that religion. The *wayang* dates in this case from the period previous to the introduction of Brahmanism and Buddhism, *i.e.* from the first centuries after Christ. The Javanese name for a theatrical performance is *lakon*, derived from the root *laku*, meaning to go, but also to act, just like the Greek word "drama." All *lakon* follow strict rules. They are to be found in the *Ugĕr pĕdalangan* or Rules for dalangs. The different kinds of acting have fixed technical names. They distinguish for instance between *janturan* (descriptive performance), *Suluk* (recitative), *pochapan* (dialogue), *pĕnantang* (challenge), *prĕnesan* (amorous talk) and *banolan* (farce). Such farces are mentioned in the records, and in these the same persons continually make their appearance, namely *Sĕmar* with Petruk and Nalagareng, or with Bagong. Probably these grotesque persons were originally the representatives of the ancient Javanese ancestors, afterwards supplanted by the Indian heroes (Pandawas and their followers). How a god can descend to the rank of a clown is shown in the case of Narada, who is to the Javanese a comical person, whilst originally he was a god with the Hindus. There are also fixed rules for what the *dalang* has to do and to know, and what he is forbidden to do. All this shows that the theatre as well as the pieces acted are technically pure Java-

nese. In *lakon jejer* (also called *lajĕr* or *lugu*), the subjects are directly derived from tradition and are to be distinguished from *lakon charangan*, in which the subjects are based on tradition but are fictitious, whilst *lakon sĕmpalan* are fragments of larger plays, abbreviated in order to be shown in one evening. The literature connected with these performances can be divided into two parts: (1) *wayang* tales in poetry, or sometimes in prose, describing fully the contests of the plays. They are recited at some feasts, as for instance the *tingkeb* feast and the *pupak-pusĕr* feast (celebrated respectively in connection with a premature confinement, and at the cutting of the umbilical cord) and are now called *Sĕrat wawachan* or *waosan*, formerly *Sĕrat kanda ringgit* (or *wayang*). Such *sĕrat kanda* are found in the manuscript collections at Batavia, Leiden and London. One of them is described under the title "Bandung" in Prof. Vreede's Catalogue of Javanese and Madurese manuscripts of the University Library of Leiden, and another contains a full history of Rama. The last mentioned belongs to the legacy of Van der Tuuk. To the new *wayang* tales belong the Bale-Galagala, about which one can compare the information given by Professor Kern in his treatise " Eene Indische sage in Javaansch gewaad," and of Professor Vreede in the " Feestalbum " offered to Professor Kern. (2) The proper manuals of the *dalang* (*Sĕrat pakĕm lakon ing wayang*). These manuals (*pakĕm*) are not very old. They distinguish between the *pakĕm balungan*, which gives only the outline of a piece, and the *pakĕm gancharan*, which is not so short, and gives a *résumé* of the play.

According to the Javanese the tales of the *wayang purwa* describe the primeval history of Java. They can be placed under two heads: (1) the old Javanese or real Malay-Polynesian myths. As examples of these we would mention the *Lakon Watu Gunung* and *Lakon Jamur Dipa*. The *Lakon Jamur Dipa* is derived from the *Manik Maya*, and so also the *Lakon Mĕngukuhan*. We should also mention the *Lakon Murwakala* or *Purwakala*, used at the *ngruwat*, which are *Wajang* performances given to prevent misfortune, and that *lakon* is derived from the *Tantu Panggĕlaran*. The Kandang-Kala is also used for this object. The *Lakon Budugbasu* or *Srisĕdana* is given at agricultural feasts. (2) Indian legends taken from Sanscrit literature, especially the Mahabharata and Ramayana. The greater part of these theatrical pieces treat of episodes from the history of the Pandawas and Kaurawas. Professor Kern compares the *Lakon Obong-obongan bale si galagala* with the Jatugrhaparwan of the Adiparwan. Dr. Hazeu compares *Palasara* with a part of the Adiparwan, and the *Lakon Arimba* with the Hidimbhawadhaparwan of the Adiparwan and the Hariwança. Besides these we have the *Lakon Pandu* and the *Wayang Pregiwa*. Derived from the Ramayana is the *Lakon Rama saweg wonten Mantilidirja*, the source of which is *Rama Keling*. At weddings the *Lakon Mintaraga* is performed, the

subject of which is the marriage of Arjuna and Subadra: at child-birth the Lahire Gatotkacha (birth of Ghatotkacha) is acted.

Literature of the Wayang purwa. In addition to the above mentioned books and treatises we have: C. Poensen, De Wajang in Med. Ned. Zend. Ch. te Mechelen. Een en ander over de Wajang in Tijdschr. Ind. T. L. Mr. L. Serrurier, de Wajang Poerwa. Raden Mas Oetoyo, Beantwoording der vragen, gesteld door Mr. L. Serrurier. Veth, Java. Van der Lith, Ned. O. Indie. Raffles, The History of Java. Wilken, Handleiding voor de vergelykende volkenkunde van Ned. O. Indie. Dr. G. A. J. Hazeu, Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Javaansche tooneel, Feestbundel, aangeboden aan Prof. Kern. Prof. Vreede's Cat. der Jav. en Mad. HSS. en Catalogi der Jav. HSS. te Batavia, Londen, Leiden en van het Nederlandsch Bijbel Genootschap.

Wayang Gĕdog.

After the *wayang purwa*, another kind of *wayang* came into existence under the rule of the princes of Majapahit, namely the *wayang gĕdog* (according to Dr. Serrurier). *Wayang* meant originally shadow, but later it came to mean puppet, and also theatrical performance. The meaning of *gĕdog* is not certain. According to some it signifies about the same as *gĕdug* (farthest boundary), or *gĕdeg* (wall, partition). In that case this kind of *wayang* would be so called because it forms the boundary or partition between the tales of the *wayang purwa* and those of the *wayang gĕdog*.

The *wayang gĕdog* is regarded as an offshoot (*talutur*) of the *wayang purwa*. For this reason the *wayang gĕdog* is also called *wayang tukul* (*tukul* is a Balinese word for prolongation, and the Javanese word *tukul* means to shoot out). According to others *gĕdog* signifies horse, and this *wayang* is so called because the hero of it (Panji) generally has a name, a part of which means horse, for instance *Kuda Wanengpati, Ini Jaran* in Javanese, and *Hundakan Wasengsari* in Balinese. Another explanation is that *gĕdog* has the same signification as the word *Kedok* (mask), but this is the least probable, for no masks are used in this *wayang*. In the *wayang gĕdog* leather puppets throw their shadows on a screen, just as in the *wayang purwa*. In playing the *wayang purwa*, however, the *gamĕlan salĕndro* is used, but in the *wayang gĕdog* the *gamĕlan peloq*. The *wayang gĕdog* is not nearly so popular as the *wayang purwa*. The hero of the *wayang gĕdog* is Raden Panji, Prince of Djanggala. The love adventures of this prince with Dewi Angreni, Chandra Kirana (Sĕkar-taji), and other princesses, and his fights with different princes, especially with the Kĕlana, or the prince from over the sea, are the principal subjects of these tales. Often they begin with the abduction of the heroine, or with the disappearance of the hero, who only find each other again after

many adventures. Whilst the *répertoire* of the *wayang purwa* is principally taken from Indian literature, that of the *wayang gĕdog* is originally Javanese. Panji is the type of masculine beauty, invulnerability and invincibility (*digdaya*), the darling of the gods and of women. He is looked upon as the incarnation of Arjuna, and his intended, Sĕkar-taji, as that of Subadra. Sĕmar and his sons appear here as clowns just as in the *wayang purwa*. Giants are in attendance on Kĕlana, but the monkeys of the *wayang purwa* are wanting. The way the hair of the *gĕdog* puppets is dressed differs from that of the *purwa* puppets: the satriyas do not wear the hair here in a coil, but combed upwards at the back. The way the hair is worn in the *wayang purwa* (*supit urang*) is not used here. The *kris* is not used in the *wayang purwa*, and first appears in the *wayang gĕdog*. The lances used by the heroes are sometimes without iron points (*lawung*). The Kĕlana has an army of Bugis soldiers with cylindrical headdresses. The technical differences from the *wayang purwa* puppets are, however, slight. The chief difference between these two kinds of *wayang* is the *répertoire*, which for the *wayang purwa* is principally taken from the parwas of the Mahabharata, and for the *wayang gĕdog* is derived from the Panji tales. Of these stories the best known is the Panji tale edited by Roorda in 1869 (the three wayang tales: Palasara, Pandu and Raden Pandji). Of another Panji story, the poem Jaya langkara, Dr. Cohen Stuart gave an analysis.

Literature of the wayang gĕdog: Bydr. T. L. en Vk (Nieuwe Serie, Prof. Vreede's Catalogue of Jav. and Mad. Manuscripts, Dr. H. H. Juynboll's Cat. of Mad. and Sund. MSS. Poensen, Med. Zend. Gen., Te Mechelen in T. I. T. L. Vk, Serrurier, Hazeu, Raden Mas Utaya, Wilken, van der Lith.

GAMELAN.*

The *Gamĕlan* is the Javanese orchestra, a collection of musical instruments, played at different feasts and ceremonies. The various kinds of *gamĕlan* are distinguished by the key in which the instruments are tuned, namely the *Gamĕlan salendro*, with clear and high notes, compared by the Javanese with the sound of glass; the *Gamĕlan pelog*, with lower notes, which they compare with the sound of metal; and *Gamĕlan miring*; this last one is not tuned in a different key, but is a *salendro* with a different pitch, that is to say one of the five notes is put a little higher, and this is only the case with a few instruments.

The musical instruments of the *Gamĕlan* are stringed instruments, wind instruments and instruments of percussion, or according to their place in the orchestration, instruments for the melody or accompaniment, and bass instruments. The *rĕbab* is a stringed instrument, and is a violin with two strings, usually introducing

* See Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indië, Gamĕlan.

the melody, and played on by the bandmaster (*lurah genong*). The wind-instruments are the *suling*, or flute, and sometimes the *sělompret*, a kind of trumpet. The instruments of percussion are as follows: (1) the *kĕndang* and the *kĕtipung*, conical drums with which the player produces a variety of dull tones by striking the big end of the drum with the palm or fingers of the right hand, while with the left hand he strikes the small end, the drum being on his lap or on a wooden trestle before him. (2) The *tjĕlĕmpung*, a kind of horizontal harp, the chords of which are struck with the thumb nails, whilst the tones are muffled by placing the fingers under the brass strings. Another class of instruments of percussion, struck with little hammers or sticks (*tabuh*) wrapped in cloth or covered with twine, is as follows: (1) the *bonang*, metallic kettles, placed mouth downwards on cords stretched across a wooden fourlegged frame (*ranchakan*), these have a boss (*pĕnchu*) on the top, which is struck by the musician, who holds a *tabuh* in each hand: if the orchestra is tuned in *salendro*, the *bonang* consists of two rows of five kettles each: if it is tuned in *pelog* then the *bonang* consists of two rows of seven kettles each. (2) The *saron*, a kind of xylophone with six or seven metallic bars, diminishing in length from left to right resting on the edges of oblong wooden cases (*grobogan*) between pins, and played on with one *tabuh*: a complete *gamĕlan salendro* has four *saron*. (3) The *gambang*, two in number, one with wooden bars (*gambang kayu*), and one with metallic bars (*gambang gongso*): these instruments are like the *saron*, but have bigger bars. The *gambang kayu* is struck with two *tabuh*, and the *gambang gongso* with one. (4) The *gĕnder*, consisting of flat short sounding bars, which rest on cotton cords like the links of a necklet. These cords are attached to a frame resting on long legs (ranchakan). Under each bar is a tube of bamboo, which acts as a sounding board. A *Gamĕlan salendro* of some importance has three *gĕnder*, a *gamĕlan pelog* six. They are played on with two *tabuh*. (5) The *gong*, metallic basins with hemispherical bosses (*pĕnchu*) in the centre, hanging on a trestle (*gayor*). Usually two gongs of the same size are attached to one *gayor*, or one big *gong* and a smaller one (*kempul*). (6) The *kĕnong* and the *kĕtuk*, a large and a small cymbal, in the shape of a *bonang*, resting each separately on two crossed cords in a square frame on short legs; (7) the *rojeh*, *kĕtjer* and *tjĕluring* thin bars slightly bent or metallic dishes, attached to a cord, hanging round the neck of the player, or fixed on a *grobogan*. These are not always used; (8) the *bĕdug*, a big wooden drum, hanging in a frame, (9) the *kĕmpyong*, kettles like the *bonang*, resting as they do on cords, in a wooden frame or case; (10) the *bĕnde* and the beri, sounding cymbals, hanging in small *gayor*, the *beri* having no *pĕnchu*.

The above mentioned string and wind instruments, and the instruments of percussion 1-4 are the instruments which produce

the melody, the others are the instruments for the bass and accompaniment.

A complete *gamĕlan* requires about 24 players (*nyogo*). They are seated near their instruments, or with them on the ground. Except at the courts of Soerakarta and Djocjakarta such a complete *gamĕlan* is seldom seen in Java. The kind and number of the instruments, however, depends upon the occasion. The *wayang purwa* and solemn ceremonies require a more complete orchestra; whereas for repasts, processions, and the performance of an inferior kind of *wayang*, a smaller number of instruments is sufficient. The *gamĕlan* music has reached a great development at the court of Djocjakarta, and the instruments there, which are of considerable antiquity, are held in great veneration. Among the most ancient and auspicious heirlooms (*pusoko*) at Djocjakarta is the *salendro*, having the name of *kangdjeng kiahi munggang*, and dating from the Hindu period; next follow the *pelog kangdjeng Kiahi Guntur madu*, said to have come originally from the State of Demak, and *Kiahi nogo*, and the *Salendro*, *Kiahi sulak* and *Kiahi kodok ngorek*. These orchestras, with some others, are always used for a definite purpose.

Literature. J. Groneman en J. P. N. Land, De Gamelan te Djokjokarto. D. de Lange. Over Jav. muziek.

A Wayang Performance.

Vide Dr. Serrurier. De Wajang poerwa.

A few hours before the show commences cheerful *gamĕlan* music announces to the people that a *wayang* performance will take place. In the meantime the screen (*kĕlir*) is stretched out, and the *wayang* puppets are put in a plantain stem between the performer (*dalang*) and the screen. The puppets are arranged in it according to their size, the biggest on each side, whilst the centre is free for the performance. The lamp (*blenchong*) is lighted, and the *dalang* seats himself on a mat under it. He looks to see if the incense under the screen is burning well, if all the *wayang* puppets which he has often to use are close to him, and if his opium and coffee are at hand. Formerly when it was necessary to give him a *sayen* (a meal offered to his good genius) and when the oil remaining in the lamp after the performance was for himself, he looked carefully to see that the quantity of the *sayen* and the oil were sufficient.

The *dalang* has before him in the centre of the screen nothing but the *gunungan* (mountain) a piece of leather in the shape of a heart, on which are outlined a conical tree and two wild animals. This *gunungan* is placed in the centre as a sign that the performance has not yet begun. On his left hand the *dalang* has the *kotak* (chest), the contents of which are nearly all removed; to his right is the cover of the chest, on which are the *wayang* puppets, which

he uses only occasionally; behind him are his opium and his coffee. A little farther away the musicians are seated. At a scarcely perceptible sign from the *dalang*, the *talu* (a cheerful *gamĕlan* piece) begins, which announces the commencement of the performance. Not until then does the *dalang* take the required attitude, *i.e.* he crosses his legs, the right leg over the left, to enable him to touch the *kĕprak* with the sole of his right foot. This *kĕprak* consists of two or three metallic plates, attached to the *wayang* chest, and the sound of it not only expresses war scenes but also serves as a cue for the musicians. In his left hand the *dalang* holds the *chĕmpala*, with which he beats against the inside of the chest when a *wayang* has finished talking, or when the music has to stop. To show that the performance will begin, the *dalang* takes the *gunungan* from the plantain stem, moves it so that a magnified image of it is thrown on the screen, and afterwards puts it in the plantain stem on his right. Now follows the *jejer*; the loud music of the beginning gradually changes into a charming air, the tune of which depends upon which prince will make his appearance. The female *wayang* puppets, who have to represent the *bedajo* and *srimpi* (dancers) dance a little and prepare seats for the prince and his suite, which seats are, however, invisible to the spectator. Now the prince makes his entrance, followed by two women servants. The *dalang* puts these wayang puppets in a bigger plantain stem, which is parallel to the one already mentioned, but stands higher owing to its being thicker. One after another the councillors of the prince appear, make their obeisance (*sembah*) and are put on the lower plantain stem in the same respectful posture. Whilst the conference is going on, the *dalang* praises warmly the riches, the power and the importance of the prince, and the security enjoyed by his subjects. After that he gives a sign to the musicians with his *chĕmpala* for the music to stop, and speaks for the puppets with the accompaniment of the *saron*. The right arm of the *wayang* who is supposed to be speaking, is moved, to show who is the actor at the moment. Besides this the change of the *dalang's* voice, and of the rapidity with which he speaks, indicate different actors. If a war scene is to be acted, the generals leave to give the necessary orders to their armies, which are represented by *wayang* figures on a broad piece of leather; these figures have umbrellas (*payong*) and spears in their hands, besides large guns of the latest pattern! This *rampog* (army) is also called *baris*, when it belongs to a *ratu sabrang* (prince from over the sea). This army has to make a way for its prince through impenetrable forests, to level mountains to the ground, and in short has to overcome terrible obstacles. The above-mentioned *gunungan* is used to represent such an obstacle. Of the princes of the *wayang* only the Pandawas are without armies. They do not want them, the Javanese say. A travelling satria (nobleman), generally one of the Pandawas, always meets a troop of giants, who obstruct

the road, but through his courage are forced at last to retreat. These titans, both before and during their battle with the satria, are the butt of the satirical remarks of the three clowns, who accompany him. Their names are Sĕmar, Petruk (called in Pekalongan also Dawala from *dawa* = tall and *ala* = ugly) and Gareng. Bagong, the fourth one, is not always present. In Pekalongan these three servants are already present at the beginning of the performance. In Bagelen, however, they first appear at midnight to keep the spectators awake with their jokes. A noisy gamĕlan piece is heard, and Petruk and Gareng appear fighting with each other. Their jokes are generally vulgar. Arjuno does not appear before midnight, according to the rules at the court of Soerakarta, and it may be that the jokes of the three clowns serve to while away the time before Arjuno can appear. Even by introducing new parts the spectators are kept busy till the time has arrived that Arjuno can appear.

When the morning dawns and the performance is nearly finished, the *gamĕlan* makes a great deal of noise, one fight follows another, and when the Pandawas have completely defeated their enemies, they meet and give a dance or *tandak* party. The *dalang* takes the *gamblong*, representing a *ronggeng* (female dancer), the only *wayang* puppet in his chest which is made of wood, and not flat like all the others. He makes it dance for a while, and afterwards takes it away again, orders the *gamĕlan* to play a noisy piece, puts the *gunungan* amongst the assembled Pandawas as a sign that the spectators must imagine that they do not see anything more, and the *wayang* performance is finished.

In closing this account I wish to express my best thanks to Rev. Dr. Shellabear for having kindly revised the MS. for publication.

Explanation of the Plates.

The illustrations are photographs of specimens in the Raffles Museum, Singapore, taken under the supervision of the Director, Dr. R. Hanitsch.

Plate I. Fig. 1: Arjuno; fig. 2: Gunungan or Gunong; fig. 3: Subadra.

Plate II. Fig. 4: Bagong; fig. 5: Petruk; fig. 6: Gareng.

Plate III. Fig. 7: Semar; fig. 8: Srikandi; fig. 9: Gulpamanang.

Plate IV. Fig. 1: Gong; figs. 2 and 3: Gendang. These instruments are used by either sex.

Plate V. Fig. 1: Rĕbab; fig. 2: Bonang; fig. 3: Gambang; figs. 4, 5 and 6: Saron; fig. 7: Kĕnong; fig. 8: Kĕtok. These instruments are used by female players.

Plate VI. Fig. 1: Bonang; fig. 2: Jengglong; fig. 3: Gambang; figs. 4 and 5: Saron. These instruments are used by male players.

FIG. 1. ARJUNO.

FIG. 2. GUNONG.

FIG. 3. SUBADRA.

PLATE II.

FIG. 4 BAGONG

FIG. 5. PETRUK.

FIG. 6. GARENG.

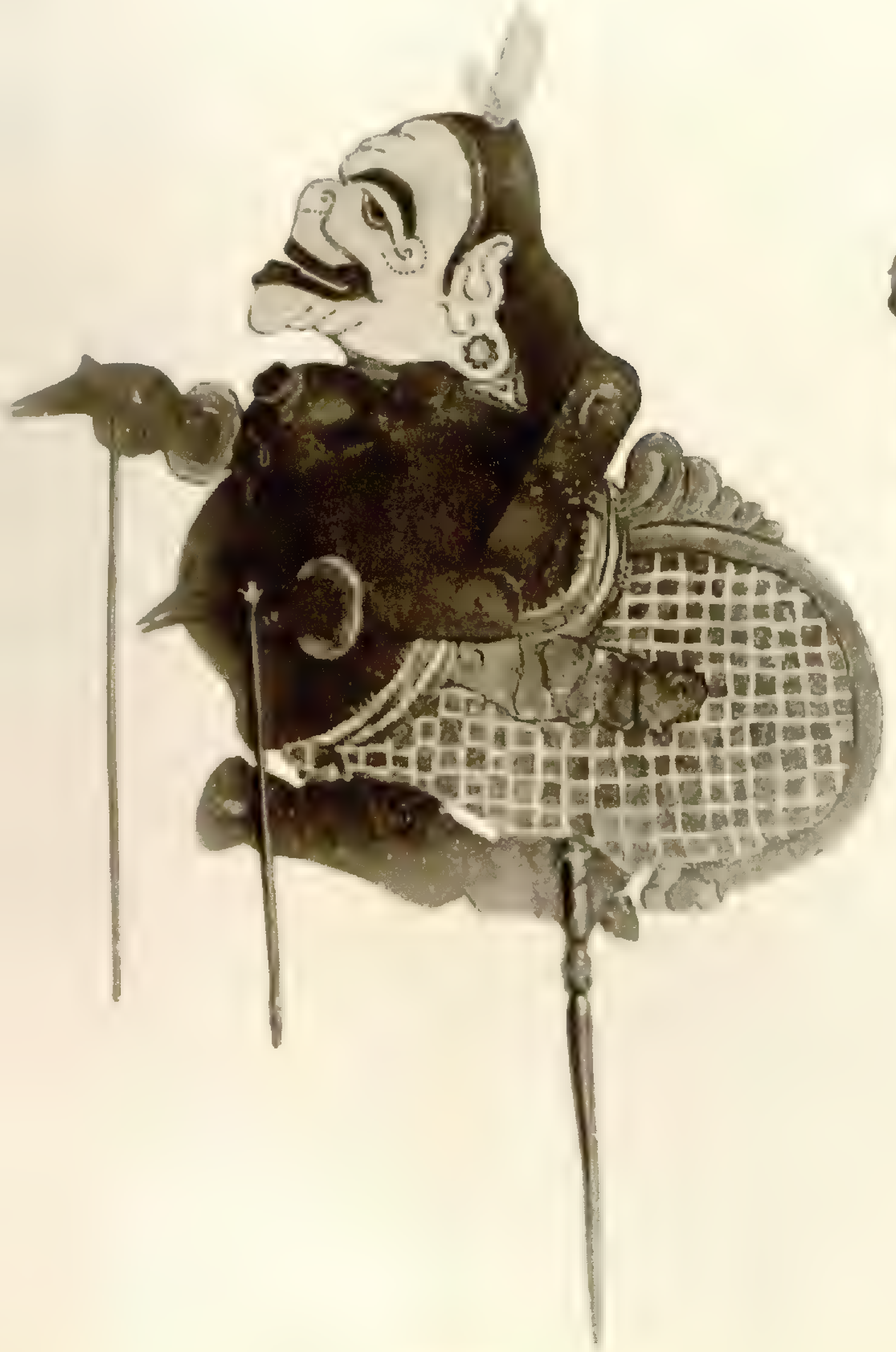

Fig. 7. Semar.

Fig. 8. Srikandi.

Fig. 9. Gulpamanang.

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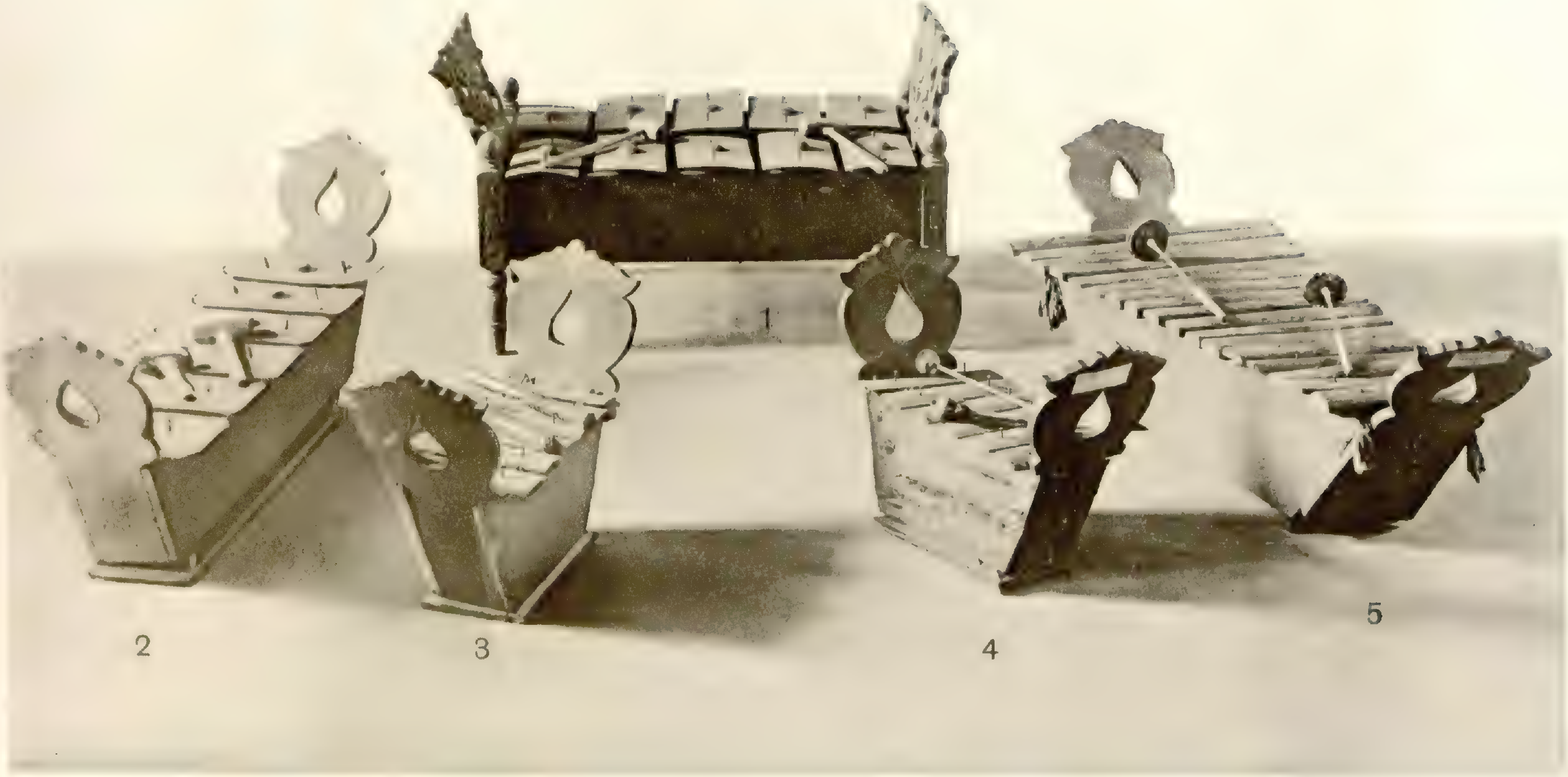
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Some Superstitious Beliefs occurring in the Theory and Practice of Malay Medicine.

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(WITH PLATE VII).

My notes are confined for the most part to the doings of an ordinary Kelantan "bomor" or medicine-man; the extraordinary practices of the "pawang" or wizard are described at length in W. W. Skeat's book on Malay Magic, published by Messrs. Macmillan and Coy., London, 1900.

Both terms are, however, often used as though they were interchangeable. In Kelantan the title of "pawang" is seldom used, the "bomor" is the general practitioner in medicine as well as a specialist in witch-craft and Malay folk-lore.

Without any intention of causing serious harm it is not unknown for Malays to trade on the fears and superstitions of others. For instance, in 1910, a handful of earth was sent to me by the Kelantan police for investigation: it contained some small bones, probably those of a goose, a bit of wax candle, a sprinkling of broken shells and a rusty nail: these had been put into an old metal bowl (bokor), and buried under the bed chamber of H. H. the Sultan to act as witch-craft against the Sultana. A "bomor" from the interior (darat), was implicated and some anxiety was displayed as to whether he had employed the bones of an animal or those of a dead child. Impelled by jealousy a lady of the palace is reported to have persuaded the "bomor" to annoy His Highness in this way.

Sometimes the motive is quite different. A little time ago at Temerloh in Pahang, a small bamboo cylinder was buried on the path leading from a man's house to the river. The cylinder (tabong), contained an addled egg, some porcupine quills, and some other things. It was placed there at the suggestion of a "bomor" attending the son of a head-man. The "bomor" was baffled by the ailment (malarial fever), and seeking to explain by supernatural agency what he could not cure by his own skill, told the head-man that a certain Malay, indicated to him as a personal enemy of the head-man, was responsible for the son's sickness. Thus the "tabong" was buried near the man's house.

Transfixion by porcupine quills is part of a curse invoked by the "pawang" upon wild dogs: two kinds of porcupines are found in the Malay Peninsula, the "landak kawan," *Hystrix longicauda*, and "landak batu," the brush tailed porcupine, *Atherura macroura*. Penetrating wounds made by the quills of both of these are rightly

held by the Malays to be serious from their failure to heal. It is thought by the Malays in Province Wellesley that it is necessary, not only to pluck the quill from the wound as soon as possible, but to plant it, (tanam-kan duri landak), in the ground immediately after extraction so as to ensure a speedy union of the wound.

The magic "bezoar" stone is found inside the porcupine, but more often perhaps in the monkey.

In regard to the theory of Malay medicine, taboo is very common among Malays: it is sometimes forbidden by the "bomors" for anyone to enter the house occupied by a sick man or even to approach the dwelling by a particular path. A string (tali), with coco-nut leaves hung on it, is often drawn across the path as a notice of "pantang" or prohibition, and fines are levied by the "bomors" for breaking this quarantine.

These native quarantine restrictions are of value in preventing the spread of epidemic disease, more especially Asiatic cholera. In 1910, cholera was epidemic in Kelantan, and I am indebted to Mr. W. H. Mackray, who was Assistant Adviser to the Government at that time, for the following notes. Mr. Mackray says: "I found native quarantine restrictions in full swing in the interior and of two kinds, the "pupoh kampong" and the "pupoh rumah."

The "pupoh kampong" is established for a period of 30 days either in favour of outsiders to an infected "kampong" (village), or in favour of the inhabitants of a kampong that has escaped infection in an unhealthy area.

A "tali pupoh" is stretched across the main path entering the kampong and twists of leaf depend from the string. At either side of the path is stuck a bamboo, the upper end of which is split into a bowl-like shape and contains a young coco-nut and to the stem is tied a fold of betel (sireh), and a cigarette (rokok).

These are not, as might be thought, offerings to the "hantu penyakit" (spirit of disease), but gifts to the "hantu" (spirit), invoked by the "bomor" to combat the "hantu penyakit," who is not always to be recognized.

The spirit called in to help was in each instance in which I enquired the "hantu raya" (an evil spirit of great power and savagery).

On the near side of the "tali pupoh," a hollow bamboo clapper is hung, and all persons wishing to enter and pass through the village must beat at the clapper and wait for the "bomor" to admit them after a muttered incantation and the scattering of a handful of rice over the passengers. As the "bomor" is not in constant attendance a troublesome delay is caused to travellers, but I thought it well to observe the restriction closely even at the cost of some lost time.

The "adat" payable to the "bomor" by any one found to have disregarded the quarantine (langgar pupoh), is cash, two dollars; nasi kunyit (rice cooked with saffron), sa'chupak, ($1\frac{1}{4}$

lbs.); kain puteh panjang (white cloth), lima hasta, (2½ yards); pitis sa'kupang (10 cents), and benang puteh (white thread), sa'tukal, (3 skeins).

This "adat" I was obliged to pay on one occasion at Kampong Labu through the stupidity or self assertion of the two police I took with me from Perdah who, (when with the baggage carriers), walked through the Labu "pupoh." Passers-by are not permitted to stay the night in a village under "pupoh kampong."

The "pupoh rumah" (house quarantine), lasts for three days only and excludes all out-siders from the infected house. I induced the "bomors" to lengthen the period to five days.

A curious example of the worst kind of poly-pharmacy is contained in a native prescription for "puru" or "Yaws," a disease which is very prevalent in Kelantan: Take the knee-cap of a tiger, the bones of a duyong, (the dugong), the bones of a goose, the bones and horns of a kambing gurun, *Nemorrhaedus sumatrensis* (a rare wild goat), the horns of a rusa, *Cervus unicolor* (a wild deer), when full grown, (lembong); add belerang bang, or realgar (one of the sulphides of arsenic), and chendana janggi (red sandal-wood), and mempus harimau (a kind of wood). Grind these ingredients down with some boiling rice water (ayer dideh); take a small amount of ashes from the hearth, mix, and administer the draught by the mouth.

A "bomor" to H. H. the Sultan of Kelantan, tells me that a universal cure for any native poison can be prepared from the wing bone of a goose, the horn of the wild goat, the spine of the sea porcupine, and various unidentified jungle roots and barks. These are to be rubbed down in hot water and carefully strained before administration.

In the case of snake bite this medicine is to be applied first to the top of the head and then to the wound before the sovereign remedy is swallowed by the patient.

The wearing of a turquoise ring is considered to be a sort of talisman for warding off poisonous snakes. A magic wood from Mecca, the "kayu rajah naga," is sometimes worn with the same idea; it is a light brown, friable stem which is also applied to the wound as a medicine for snake bite.

A preposterous antidote for poisoning by "ringut" in combination with other poisons, is prepared much in the same way as the universal antidote: it is to take the bones of a whale, the solid casque of a horn-bill (mentua, also burong lilin), the sea porcupine's spine, with a stag's horn and the horn of a rhinoceros.

For poisoning by Cyanide of Potassium, the Malay antidote is somewhat similar and is hardly likely to be at hand in an emergency: take the helmet of the horn-bill (mentua or burong lilin), the tusk of an elephant, the bones of a dugong (the sea pig), and rub them down with the root of "bunga raya puteh," the white flowered variety of the Shoe Flower, *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*, L.,

(Malvaceae). Cyanide of Potassium is used by Malay goldsmiths, along with the carbonate of soda and "aqua regia," for the purpose of gilding brass and silver. It is known as "potas" or "obat berchelup mas."

A few days ago misadventure with "potas" occurred in the house of an astute Malay noble who bought a few ounces of it in Kota Bharu with the idea of turning an oxide of iron into an oxide of tin and so possibly of "salting" a mine. During the course of his experiments a fowl pecked at the cyanide, spun round and apparently died, but was saved by an antidote. This was prepared, on the spot, by the wife of the noble in the form of a draught, by rubbing down part of the beak of a small pied horn-bill (paroh burong tebang mentua), with fresh coco-nut milk.

The supposed virtue of the antidote seems to depend mostly on the properties of a solid, yellow, wax-like stuff which is found on the top of the helmet of this particular horn-bill, *Rhinoplax rigil*, (Bucerotidae). The bird is found only in Malaya and is nicknamed by Malays, mentua or "mother-in-law"; the solid part of the bill is sometimes fashioned by them into the form of a small ring and treasured for use in the emergencies of native poisoning. In the case I have recorded the antidote acted as a direct emetic. Broaches and buttons are also made from the solid part of the bill. Skeat refers to the latter as a talisman: "the horn is of a yellow tinge and is made into buttons, which, the Malays say, turn to a livid colour whenever the wearer is about to fall sick, and black when he is threatened by the approach of poison." (Malay Magic, p. 125).

Sometimes one poison is used to counteract another. A genus of fish with very poisonous fins, the "ikan sembilan," (*Plotosus canius*, *P. unicolor*, *P. lineatus* and, perhaps, *P. horridus*), occurs in Malayan waters and curiously enough it occurs as an antidote which is made by steeping the fish bones along with those of a goose in a bowl of water. This antidote is intended to cure baldness caused with criminal intent. The poison for this purpose is smeared over the victim's head during his sleep and is a gummy fluid made by the admixture of an oily decoction obtained by boiling down a cobra, *Naia tripudians*, (Colubridae), in water with a similar decoction obtained by stewing a tortoise in water. The application is said to cause death if untreated by the "bomor."

The use of the "ikan sembilan" among Dyaks as a medicine is recorded by Bishop Hose in his article "The Contents of a Dyak Medicine Chest," (Journ. Straits Branch, R. A. Soc. No. 30, June, 1903, p. 65).

Goose bones are also used, along with the root of the coco-nut poisoning. They are ground down and given together as a draught palm, *Cocus nucifera*, (Palmae), as an antidote to datura in water.

MALAY CHARM

Bile or gall (ampedu), stated to be obtained from various animals, is a common ingredient of many of the cruel and repulsive poisons that are concocted by Malays and which are referred to in another paper entitled, "Notes on Malay Poisons."

The "gall" of a fish, the "ikan buntal," *Tetrodon oblongus,* of a frog, "katak pisang," *Rana erythraea*, Schleg., of two toads, "katak lembu" or "bertandoh," *Megalophrys nasuta,* Schleg., and "katak puru," *Bufo melanostictus,* Schn., the sun bear, *Helarctos malayanus*, a green snake, *Dryophis prasinus,* Boie, the gall of the porcupine, *Hystrix longicauda*, and of two birds, the crow, "burong gagak," *Corvus macrorhynchus*, Wagl., and the racquet-tailed drongo, "burong chawi," *Dissemurus platurus,* are all used in Kelantan as poisons along with many others in different combinations.

Skeat refers to the strange use of the "ikan keli" (Cat-fish, *Clarias magur*) as a poison and antidote combined.

A quaint "adat" or custom occurs in Kelantan for the nefarious collection of datura seeds. It is to light a candle, in mid-day, underneath the plant and separate the seeds from their capsules, (buah buah kechubong), with a split bamboo stick, (perangan), which has already been used in roasting fish over a fire, and so become scorched and charred.

Sir Hugh Clifford has described the horrible wraith of the lying-in-room, in his book, "In Court and Kampong," and illnesses attributed to evil spirits are described by several other authors, especially Blagden and Skeat; the latter describes the ceremony of marking the forehead of the new born infant to preserve it from convulsions and the use of a bracelet called "gelang bajang" to protect Malay children from a familiar spirit in the shape of a pole-cat.

Illnesses attributed to evil spirits are described by several authors, especially Blagden and Skeat; the latter describes the ceremony of marking the forehead of the new born infant to preserve it from convulsions as well as the use of the bracelet called "gelang bajang," to protect Malay children against a demon in the shape of a pole-cat.

Among other amulets which are worn to ward off disease, the "azimat," or written talisman, is the most common, but I found a curious old charm in use in Kota Bharu, only a few days ago, of quite a different character. It was used in the following circumstances as a medicine.

During the "bulan puasa" or fasting month, when no meal is allowed during the day-time until even-tide, a fairly well-to-do Malay went, with his son, a youth, to dine at the house of a friend in Kota Bharu. The two were living alone, because the man's wife was sick and was staying at the sea-side for a few days; in the interim his married sister prepared their evening meals and sent them to the house.

They returned home about 10 p.m., and found a sweetmeat (pisang sira), that had been brought at dusk by a strange girl. The young woman came in a hurry and said the married sister had sent it; the man ate it all except for a small piece that he gave to his son who enjoyed it, but noticed a peculiar earthy taste. They then lay down to sleep and quickly became stupefied; they found they had lost the power of moving their legs, their throats got parched and their heads giddy.

About 4 a.m., thieves broke the door open and plundered the house while their victims, although awake, were unable to rise and protect themselves. The boy managed to strike a match, but stumbled and fell on attempting to get up; the thieves escaped, but the man was able to recognize one of them.

I saw the patients in the morning; both had dilated pupils, inactive to light and there seems little doubt that a preparation containing datura and gadong had been used. The man was still dazed and was lying down on a mat. A bowl of water containing the charm was at his side and he was sipping the water as it was given to him by his mother from time to time.

The charm belonged to an old woman, (the man's mother), who told me that it had been in her family for many years, having been bought a long time ago from an Arab for fifty dollars. The general appearance is reproduced in the photograph which was taken in Kota Bharu with her permission. An imperfect specimen of a fossilized crab and a piece of what appears to be some other sort of fossil were lying loose in the bowl along with the charm.

On examination the charm appears to be mainly a collection of curiously shaped pebbles cleverly strung together by means of silver wire. Taking them from left to right they are described by the owner, in Malay, as follows, from below upwards: (1), "batu buteh nangka," a stone not unlike the pip of the Jack fruit, *Artocarpus integrifolia,* (Urticaceae), (2), "batu dalam prut buaya," a stone probably taken from the stomach of a crocodile, (3), "isi lokan," apparently a fossilized cockle, (4), "buah beluru," a stone not at all unlike the seeds of the big creeper, *Entada scandens,* L., (Leguminosae), in appearance, (5), "batu dalam otak buaya," a stone from a crocodile's brain, but which looks like an ordinary pebble, (6), "buah beluru," a stone similar to No. 4, (7), "buah pinang," a stone shaped like a dried areca nut, (8), "batu dalam prut buaya," the same as Nos. 3 and 5, (9), "batu mata pirus," a greenish blue stone which may be a turquoise.

The fossilized crab, "ketam jadi batu," had been borrowed from a friend for the occasion. The name of the other fossil was unknown; it was purchased by the man's father for seventy dollars many years ago from an uncle of the present Sultan. In colour and appearance it somewhat resembles a bit of candied angelica, *Angelica archangelica,* (Umbelliferae).

None of the stones have the appearance of a phosphatic calculus and none of them conform with the usual description of a "bezoar" stone.

The old woman told me that the charm (obat), was also a sovereign remedy for sterility and that it was used in the same way, namely, by steeping the stones in cold water and then swallowing the magic diluent. It is curious that such an immaterial specific should be credited with such potency.

Kota Bharu, Kelantan.
21st September, 1913.

A further note on the Kota Kapur Inscription.

By C. O. Blagden.

In my note on the above in No. 64 of this Journal the printer was unfortunately unable, for want of suitable type, to differentiate between the ordinary letters *n*, *s*, and *h* and their dotted varieties. As this may possibly have tended to mislead some readers, it seems desirable to add the following remarks.

All the words ending in *h* quoted from the inscription were in the original written with the Indian symbol named *visarga*, which is usually represented in transcription by an *h* with a dot under it. In the case of Indonesian languages this point is of no particular etymological importance and may in practice be neglected. I only mention it here for the sake of strict literal accuracy. The *s* with a dot under it (representing our sound *sh*) occurs in the word *dosa*, which is therefore to be regarded as if written *dosha*. That again is a small matter of detail. The distinction between simple *n* and *n* with a dot over it is, however, important. The latter stands for the guttural (or rather velar) nasal which we usually in Romanized Malay write *ng*. It seems worth while, therefore, to repeat here the words quoted from the inscription which exemplify the use of it, substituting our Romanized *ng* for the more strictly scientific symbol. They are the following: *urang* ("man"), *di dalangña*, *pulang*, *mulang*, the prefix *mang-*, the compound prefix-and-suffix *mang—i*, *mangujāri*, *ding* (compounded of the preposition *di* and the arteile *ng*), *dngan* (for *dĕngan*), *jāngan*, *yang*, *iyang* and *grang* (probaly for *gĕrang*). Thus spelt, these words display even more plainly their close connexion with the corresponding Malay equivalents.

Letters of Nathaniel Wallich relating to the Establishment of Botanical Gardens in Singapore.

By Dr. R. Hanitsch.

The following letters by Nathaniel Wallich having reference to the establishment of Botanical Gardens in Singapore have been copied from those preserved in the Library of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, by kind permission of the Superintendent, Major A. T. Gage, I.M.S., on the suggestion of Mr. H. N. Ridley, C.M.G., F.R.S., formerly Director of the Botanical Gardens, Singapore, whose attention was drawn to them during his visit to Calcutta after his retirement early in 1912. At the request of this Society, Major Gage kindly caused the letters to be copied, and they are given below.

Dr. Nathaniel Wallich* was a Dane by birth. Born in Copenhagen on January 28th 1786, he joined the medical service of the Danish settlement at Serampore as surgeon in 1807, and when the place fell into the hands of the East India Company in 1813, he entered the English service and became Superintendent of the Botanic Gardens, Calcutta, in 1815. He was invalided home in 1828, but returned to India some years later. He finally retired to England for good in 1847 and died there, in Gower Street, Bloomsbury, on April 28th 1854.

His extensive travels of exploration in Nepal, Western Hindustan, Ava and Lower Burma, and his numerous and important publications brought him scientific distinction so rapidly that in 1829 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. His most important work was his "Plantæ Asiaticæ Rariores," 3 Vols., Folio, London, 1830-1832. There is a portrait of Wallich by Macguire, 1849, in the Raffles Museum, presented by Mr. Ridley some years ago. Mount Wallich, Singapore, for many years a striking landmark between Tanjong Pagar and the town, but now mostly removed and ignominously dumped into the sea to form the Teluk Ayer Reclamation, is called after him.

Wallich's first visit to Singapore was more or less a matter of chance, as on account of his health he merely intended to proceed to China on six months' leave. The letter in which he applies for leave, and which is given below, is dated July 19th 1822. So we may presume that he arrived in Singapore towards the end of August of that year. However, Wallich never went to China. He

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* See Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. Lix, p. 135.

spent all his leave in Singapore, and as appears from the last of the four letters here published, he returned to Calcutta soon after November 21st 1822.

His application for leave to proceed to China runs as follows:

To

C. LUSHINGTON, ESQ.,

Acting Chief Secretary to Government

in the General Department.

Sir,

It is with extreme regret that I beg leave to address you on this occasion soliciting, his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General in Council will please to grant me leave of absence for six months, to proceed to China for the recovery of my health. The state of the latter has ever since the severe fit of jungle fever, which I suffered, in November last, on my way down from Nipal, been very precarious; and during the latter two months I have been completely exhausted, in consequence of repeated, and at present almost daily attacks of fever, which have rendered a voyage to sea indispensibly necessary, as will be seen from the Medical certificates of Dr. Nicolson and MacWhirter, which I have the honour to enclose.

2. Adverting to the most distinguished consideration, which his Lordship in Council has always been pleased to bestow on the affairs of the establishments under my superintendence I venture humbly to solicit, that Mr. W. Leycester, the chief judge of the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut, may be permitted to officiate in that charge during my absence, that gentleman having most politely offered his valuable services to me on this occasion.

3. In order that, if life be spared, I may benefit the botanic garden in some manner by my voyage I request permission to take two of the apprentices attached to it, Julius Pigeot and George Huddart, with me for the purpose of assisting me in collecting such objects as I may meet with, especially such plants, as it may be desirable to introduce into Bengal and lastly I beg to appeal to his Excellency in Council in behalf of George Porter,† the head overseer of this garden, whose state of health as will be seen from the accompanying certificate of Dr. MacWhirter, is such, as to make a voyage to sea very necessary to save his life. An opportunity now offers itself for his accompanying me part of the voyage on the Honble Company's ship Sir David Scott, and it is gratifying to me to add, that such has been his conduct in the discharge of his

† Mr. Burkill, the present Director of the Singapore Gardens, tells me that George Porter, on the recommendation of Wallich, subsequently became Headmaster of the Free School, Penang, and was also put in charge of the Government Botanical Gardens there.

duties, as to render his services very valuable at the garden and to deserve my best testimony in his behalf. Another person duly qualified has been obtained who will do his duties during his absence should the Supreme Govt. be pleased to grant him permission to go to Penang and return from thence by the first opportunity. Of course there will be no possible extra-expenses on account of the overseer and apprentices above mentioned.

I have etc.

(Sigd.) N. WALLICH, M.D.
Superintendent.

Botanic Garden, 19th July, 1822.

P.S. I request also an order for the reception of my two Mussalman servants on board the Sir D. Scott.

(Sigd.) N. WALLICH.

(*N.B.* The above postscript was kindly added by Mr. Secy. Lushington according to his note to me of the 26th July).

Though only a visitor to Singapore, Wallich rapidly came into prominence, and took part in the public affairs of the town which was then only in the fourth year of its still youthful existence. As we see from Raffles' "Memoirs,"* especially from a letter of his, dated Singapore, June 17th 1819, and addressed to Wallich, the two had known each other for several years previous to the latter's visit to Singapore, their common interest in Natural History having no doubt brought them together. So we cannot be surprised that Raffles availed himself of his friend's scientific knowledge and appointed him, together with Dr. Lumsdaine and Captain Salmond, Harbour-master of Bencoolen, to form a Committee to report on the southern bank of the Singapore River, and its suitability, from a hygienic point of view, for building purposes. Buckley, in his "Anecdotal History of Singapore," Vol. I, p. 73, shortly refers to this, but somewhat prematurely speaks of him then as "Dr. Wallich, of the Gardens." Of course, there were no Botanic Gardens in Singapore at that early date.

The Report of the Committee is as follows:

The Honble
SIR TH. S. RAFFLES.

Honble Sir,

We have the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your letter under date the 17th instant nominating us to be a Committee for the purpose of considering and reporting upon a plan therein proposed for the construction of a range of warehouses for the accommodation of the European Merchants on the opposite or Southern bank of the Singapore river.

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* Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles F. R. S. By his Widow. London, 1830, p. 382.

2. In conducting our enquiries relative to a subject so materially connected with the commercial interest of this most enterprising factory, we have deemed it our duty to consult every source of authentic information that appeared in any shape to bear upon the main question or to lead to a just and rational conclusion on the various consideration which it embraces. The points which appear to have the most imperative claims on our attention are the practicability of the plan, on an efficient scale, the salubrity of the site of the proposed buildings and the general expediency of the measure in contemplation.

3. The tract of land on the back of the Southern bank of the river is in general lower than that of the opposite side, and for want of a proper embankment is commonly overflowed during the height of the spring tides. There can be no doubt however that, on raising and draining it, and by defending it by means of a strong piece of masonry along the river side, not only will those extensive ground be rendered permanently dry and salubrious but they will become available for all purposes of building and cultivation. The healthy appearance of the numerous Chinese settlers under various circumstances of exposure and the total absence among them of diseases peculiar to low and marshy situations are to us convincing proofs, that the grounds have continued hitherto as perfectly salubrious as any other part of the settlement. At all events the proposed measure, combining as it does the most important advantages to the mercantile community with those of effectual draining, seems to be called for in every point of view.

4. From a careful personal examination of the site of the proposed buildings we feel warranted in giving it as our decided opinion that the plan is fully practicable; and it may be proper to observe in this place that, owing to the peculiar nature of the river the bank in question, forming the concave side and receiving the greatest force of the tides, will necessarily continue the deepest and consequent better adopted for merchantile purposes than even the Northern side; while on the other hand the necessity of securing it by a durable embankment becomes more obvious.

5. The general expediency of the measure is unquestionable not only on account of the decision of the Supreme Government, adverted to in the letter under reply, but also on account of the greater facilities which it offers for the operations of commerce and the improvement which it would effect in the appearance of the Settlement, with the greater certainty of preserving its salubrity even under the prospects of a considerably denser population, from the comparative ease with which the small branch of the river in question might be made to drain the adjacent ground: a measure, which we beg most particularly to recommend. Finally we take the liberty to observe, that it would be impossible to select any other site, combining all the advantages that which have been detailed above. Upon the whole therefore we are of opinion, that the

projected plan of constructing warehouses on the South bank of the river and of draining the low ground in the rear of it, is not only highly expedient and perfectly practicable, but under existing circumstances the most advantageous and fittest that could be adopted in accomplishing the grand objects in view.

We have the honour to be,

Honble Sir,

Your most obedient servants,

(Signed) JAMES LUMSDAINE.
N. WALLICH, MED. & PH. D.
FRANCIS SALMOND.

Singapore, 23rd October, 1822.

Wallich's third letter is a recommendation, addressed to Raffles, to establish Botanic and Experimental Gardens in Singapore, but we may feel sure that, previous to the date of this official letter, the two men, together with other leading residents of the place, had fully discussed the matter. The letter requires no explanation, except a short reference to Dr. William Jack, to give him his full name. Jack was born in Aberdeen, in 1795, entered the Bengal Medical Service as surgeon, devoting all his spare time to botanical researches. Raffles met him in Calcutta in 1818, and took him to Sumatra to assist in the study of the flora of that Island. Jack's chief work was his "Malayan Miscellanies," 2 Vols., printed in Bencoolen 1820-1, which were reprinted by Sir W. J. Hooker some years after. Jack died in September 1822, in Bencoolen, on board the boat on which Raffles had already embarked for Singapore and which reached Singapore on October 10th.

The letter runs as follows:

The Honble
SIR T. S. RAFFLES, KT.
Lieut. Govr. of Sumatra,
etc., etc., etc.

Honble Sir,

I request your indulgent attention while I take the liberty of submitting for your consideration some ideas, which have occurred to me relative to the expediency of establishing a Botanic and Experimental Garden on this Island.

It would perhaps be impossible to picture to the mind a situation better calculated in every respect to accomplish the ends of such an institution than that, which Singapore represents in reality, placed under circumstances the most favourable for indigenous as well as foreign vegetation and forming part of the

richest archipelago in the world—its soil yielding to none in fertility, its climate not exceeded by any in uniformity, mildness and salubrity. It abounds in an endless variety of plants equally interesting to the botanist, the agriculturist and the gardener, with unrivalled facilities and opportunities of disseminating these treasures and exchanging them for others. To form a just estimate of natural curiosities would require the labours at least of some years, exclusively devoted to its investigation: an undertaking, which the infancy of the settlement, together with various other concurrent circumstances have naturally prevented from being hitherto accomplished. Fortunately the researches of barely a few weeks, instituted by my only predecessor in this interesting field and amply verified by my own personal observations are more than adequate to examplify what has been advanced above, both as to the wonderful resources of the Island and the ease with which they might be still further augmented.

Here may I hope to be forgiven while I indulge a few moments in rendering a feeble tribute of respect to the memory of a departed friend, to whose lot it would have fallen and who would have been by far the best able to address you on the present occasion, had he not thus early sunk a victim to the most ardent pursuit of knowledge. During Mr. Jack's short and unostentatious but highly useful and meritorious career, his comprehensive mind extended to every branch almost of moral and physical science with a degree of success, of which none can be a better judge than yourself, Honble Sir, who was pleased to honour him with your distinguished friendship and confidence, and which the world has ample opportunities of appreciating from his numerous valuable contributions to the common stock of information both printed and in manuscript. To his family and friends the untimely loss of such a man is indeed irreparable: nor can it be replaced to the public but by an equally fortunate combination of first rate talents, with the utmost suavity of temper and urbanity of manners.

I return with pleasure from this painful digression to the magnificent and novel productions which adorn this delightful Island. Scarcely a dozen of these are known to the world beyond what have been published by my departed friend in the Malayan Miscellanies and the Linnean Transactions, perhaps not one of them had ever found its way into any botanic garden in Europe. In this view alone the proposed establishment would deservedly claim every attention which could be bestowed on it by a liberal Government, independent of the numerous other advantages which it would possess in common with all similar institutions and which it would be perfectly unnecessary to take up your valuable time in enumerating here. It will be presently seen, however, that there are considerations of an agricultural and commercial nature of such importance to this most flourishing settlement as to render an experimental garden an object of no common interest to its

prosperity. I allude to a vast number of trees, constituting the bulk of these primeval forests, which fully deserve the trial of an extensive cultivation. Among them there are many, which yield timber fit for ship and house buildings and for all purposes of carpentry and joinery; if the Teak is not among their number, others will be found, so closely resembling it in its principal features, as to be little inferior to that celebrated wood. Indeed I have no hesitation in asserting that the spontaneous productions of the Island would afford abundance of every material for the construction of Ships of every description and size, and that the Teak, Sisso, Mahogany, Bamboo and a great variety of others, might with the fairest prospects of success be introduced and cultivated here. The experiments which have already been made by the Resident, Lieut. Col. Farquhar, to whose unbounded hospitality and most cordial cooperation I am indebted for whatever success has hitherto attended my enquiries on the Island abundantly prove, that the Clove and Nutmeg thrive here uncommonly well; nor is this to be wondered at since the wild species of the latter are so numerous, that I have been able to discover no less than five distinct ones in the immediate vicinity of the Cantonments alone. In fact there are neither mountains, ravines, ferocious animals, or any other impediments in the way of cultivating these valuable trees; on the contrary the frequent hills which lie scattered over the whole of the Island, none of them, probably, exceeding 150 feet in perpendicular height, present the most advantageous situation for their growth. How well the Pepper, Gambier, even the Sugar-cane succeed is obvious from the number of their flourishing plantations, and that the best cotton in the world, the Permambuco sort, thrives luxuriantly may be seen from the individuals that have been raised from seeds, imported by yourself a few years ago at the very commencement of the Colony. The Coffee shrub promises to succeed as well here as it does in Java; even Tea grows freely and seems to lose nothing in luxuriance of flower and fruit by the change from its natural climates. Similar observations apply to a vast number of Malayan and exotic fruits and vegetables cereal grains and other objects of husbandry and horticulture, which offer themselves as well deserving of a judicious and efficient trial. In short wherever the eyes are turned, we behold a most enchanting scene of nature bountiful almost without a parallel and holding out unfailing reward and success to every one, who may choose to draw on her riches.

With reference to these facts and deeply impressed with the conviction, that the cause of science and the arts will always continue to derive the utmost support and encouragement from your enlightened Government I beg leave to recommend that a suitable piece of ground may be appropriated in the neighbourhood of the European town for the purposes of a botanic garden and for the experimental cultivation of the indigenous plants of Singapore

and the adjacent Islands, as well as of such others of foreign growth, as it might be desirable to submit to a skilful trial, previous to encouraging their general introduction. The expenses of such a garden would, I imagine, be moderate; that they would in the event be infinitely compensated by the beneficial results, which the public at large would derive from its influence, I am certain. They would be limited to the support of an efficient establishment and to a few monthly contingencies, and might be defrayed by a number of spice trees expressly cultivated for that purpose. I am confident that the Supreme Government would willingly authorize my supplying some botanical apprentices and a couple of experienced gardeners from the Honble Company's botanic garden at Calcutta and finally I should feel the highest pride and satisfaction in being honored with the general superintendence of an institution which promises to prove so ornamental and so beneficial to this settlement.

I have the honor to be

Honble Sir,

Your Most Obedient and Humble Servant,

(Signed) N. Wallich, M. & Ph. D.

Supt. Bot. Garden, Calcutta.

Singapore, 2nd November, 1822.

Wallich's fourth letter, a reply to one of Raffles, gives particulars about the site of the proposed Gardens, but I am not aware whether the plans mentioned therein are still in existence. However, we can roughly trace the extent of those Gardens. "The Government or Singapore hill" mentioned in the letter, is, of course, Fort Canning Hill; "the small rivulet," at the time apparently a picturesque water course, is the present prosaic Stamford Road Canal; "Salegy road" is in its modern form Selegie Road; "Bukit Salegy" must, according to an old plan of Singapore preserved in the Raffles Library, dated Calcutta, 1836, be what is now called Mount Emily where the high level Reservoir is situated. "Cantonment Road" I have not been able to trace; it can, of course, have nothing to do with the road of that name running at the present day from the Sepoy Lines Police Station to Neil Road. Perhaps it was what is now called Armenian Street, or the town end of Fort Canning Road. So the old Botanic Gardens would have covered the N. E. slope of Fort Canning, the old Cemetery there, the present site of the Raffles Museum, the Ladies' Lawn Tennis Ground, Dhobie Ghaut, Mount Sophia and Mount Emily. On the Northern and N. W. slope of Fort Canning they probably also included the far end of Fort Canning Road, Tank

Road and Penang Lane, and the site of those old Gardens has certainly preserved something of its former rustic character up to the present day.

The letter runs as follows:

The Honble

Sir Thomas S. Raffles, Knight

Lieut. Govr. of Sumatra,

etc., etc., etc.

Honble Sir,

I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant replying to the application I had the honor of addressing you on the 2nd of this month.

In conformity with your instruction I have carefully examined the ground suggested by you as the most eligible site for the proposed botanic and experimental garden and I have to state, that the result has been in the highest degree satisfactory, they appear to be in every respect calculated to answer the ends in view. In order to enable you to form a clear idea of the situation and extent of the land which I take the liberty to solicit may be added to the government garden, I beg to submit to your approbation the accompanying sketch made at very short notice by Lieut. P. Jackson, Assistant Engineer, to whose ready and valuable aid I stand greatly indebted on this occasion.

You will be pleased to observe that the government garden forms the points from whence we have proceeded and that, together with the proposed additions, it forms an oblong tract, occupying a proportion of the eastern part of the Government or Singapore hill and the adjacent low grounds, extending in a N. W. direction, where it is terminated by Bukit Salegy. From thence in a S. E. direction it is bounded by the Salegy road; the cantonment road forms its S. E. boundary and the road leading round Singapore hill close to the government garden defines its S. W. side. By thus extending and defining the garden it will be made to comprise an area of about 48 acres (or 144 Bengal biggahs) of land, enjoying all the advantages specified in your letter, of soil and aspect, elevation and depression, dryness and wetness, a constant supply of water from a small rivulet running nearly through its middle, besides those of easy access, and such as must necessarily result from its situation immediately under the eye of the chief authority.

The accompanying plan refers, however, only to the garden, in as far as it is suggested that this should be surrounded by an appropriate enclosure; but I request that I may by no means be understood as intending to exclude from the objects of the garden the other parts of the government hill, which you have been pleased to recommend as available. On the contrary, I beg to propose, that

they should be laid out as a park by the superintendent and ornamented with a variety of trees and shrubs, indigenous and foreign, that they should form part of his charge and thus be rendered essentially contributive to the general objects of the Singapore botanic and experimental institution.

The immediate departure of the 'John Adam,' on which I proceed to Bengal, unfortunately precludes my entering at present into any detail of the internal arrangement of the garden; I shall however, take the earliest opportunity of submitting my views in this respect for your consideration. In the meantime I have the pleasure to report that Mr. Asst. Surgeon Montgomerie at this station, to whom I applied according to your permission, will be extremely happy to undertake the temporary charge of the garden. I have accordingly had the honor of consulting with him on the most material points to be immediately attended to, and we have agreed on the necessity of devoting the whole of the monthly sum of 60 Dollars, which has been allowed for the cultivation of the garden, to the support of a permanent establishment of ten labourers and one overseer; and we propose reserving your splendid donation for such purposes, as will at once eminently benefit the institution, and perpetuate the name of its munificent founder and first patron.

In conclusion I respectfully solicit to be permitted to render you my warmest and most grateful thanks for the flattering manner in which you have been pleased to accept and notice my humble endeavours: a distinction which I value more than I can possibly express and which I shall always exert myself to the utmost to merit.

I have the honor to be,

Honble Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servt.

(Signed) N. WALLICH, M.D.

Supt. Bot. Garden.

Singapore, 21st November, 1822.

These Gardens were discontinued after June 30th 1829, possibly for reasons of economy. We can only surmise that the then Director extravagantly exceeded the vote of $60 monthly, which Raffles and Wallich had considered sufficient for their upkeep. From that date for the next thirty years Singapore was without Botanical Gardens, and the present world-famed Gardens, with their matchless site in Tanglin, were established only in 1860.

Baba Malay.

An Introduction to the Language of the Straits-born Chinese.

By Rev. W. G. Shellabear, d.d.

The terms High and Low Malay, which appear to have originated with the Dutch, have given rise to a great deal of controversy, and to some confusion and misunderstanding.

As used in Java and other parts of the Netherlands Indies the term

HIGH MALAY

means the language of Malay literature, and as the classical literature of the Malays was written when Malacca and Acheen were the great centres of Malay power and learning, it is not surprising to find that the language of Malay literature is the language which is spoken to-day all along the sea coast on both sides of the Straits of Malacca, with only this difference, namely that a few words of foreign origin used in the classical literature never became assimilated in the spoken language, and therefore continue to be purely literary words, and are not understood by the common people. It is a remarkable fact that the Malay language in the Straits of Malacca has remained practically the same for centuries. The English of the time of Queen Elizabeth is now almost unintelligible to those who have not made the literature of that time a special study; but the letters written from the court of Acheen to Queen Elizabeth and King James I. of England could to-day be read and thoroughly understood by any 4th standard boy in the Malay vernacular schools of the Straits Settlements. In the Dutch Indies, however, the only parts where this language is now spoken are the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago and the East coast of Sumatra; hence to the vast majority of Dutch residents in the East the Malay of the Straits of Malacca is an unknown tongue, and those who have studied for the most part know it only as the language of Malay literature, and look upon it as being practically a dead language, whereas it is really a very live language in those parts of the Archipelago where it is spoken.

On the other hand the term

LOW MALAY

is used in the Netherlands Indies to describe the language employed by Europeans, Eurasians, Chinese, and other foreigners in Java as a common means of communication between themselves and the Javanese, Sundanese and other inhabitants of that most populous

of all the islands of Malaysia, which contains probably more than three-fourths of the entire population of the Archipelago. The immense numerical preponderance of the Javanese and Sundanese has resulted in the admixture of a very large proportion of the words of those two languages in the "Low Malay" of Java, so that the Malays of the Straits of Malacca have difficulty in understanding it. On the island of Java there are very few people of the Malay race properly so called, and the "Low Malay" of Java is not the spoken language of the Malays at all, but merely a jargon concocted by the mixed multitude of various tongues who live together in that island, and must necessarily have a common language as a means of communication. Having been made the official language of the Dutch government, Low Malay is fostered by the strong arm of the law, newspapers are published in this bastard dialect, and it promises to be the permanent colloquial language of the southern part of the Archipelago.

In the British possessions on the Malay Peninsula the linguistic conditions are entirely different. Here the strongest native race numerically is the Malay, and there is absolutely no other native language to compete with the Malay language for the ascendancy. There are, however, two very distinct dialects of the Malay language spoken on the Malay Peninsula, namely, (1) The pure Malay as it is spoken by the Malays among themselves, with its peculiarly terse idiom, its grammar of prefixes and suffixes, and its immensely rich vocabulary of words of pure Malay origin; and (2) The so-called colloquial Malay of the Settlements, the common means of communication between Europeans, Chinese, Tamils, Malays, and all the other nationalities of these great trading centres, which has comparatively a very small vocabulary, and makes but little use of those grammatical changes in the form of words which make the pure Malay language so expressive.

Of these two dialects we will first deal with

THE SPOKEN LANGUAGE OF THE PURE MALAYS.

As already stated above in our remarks on what the Dutch call "High Malay," the spoken language of the Peninsula Malays is in fact the language of Malay literature, and has undergone practically no change whatever in the past three centuries. This is due very largely to the fact that the Malays hold themselves almost entirely aloof from the peoples of other races who come here to trade and to develop the natural resources of the country, leaving the heavy manual labour of the mines and plantations, and all the wholesale and retail trade to be done by the Chinese. The only important changes which have taken place in the spoken language of the Malays in the past 300 years appear to have been through the addition of those Arabic words required to express the religious ideas which have come to them through the teachings of Mohamedanism. Even when the Malays are in the closest pro-

ximity to the busy life of our great trade centres their speech is only very slightly affected, so little do they come in contact with people of other nationalities: hence it comes that the Malay language is spoken with practically the same purity at Telok Blanga, or in any of the other outlying villages of Singapore as it is in the villages of the interior of Malacca or Johor. Those who have dealings with the Malays, and desire to speak their language correctly, as they themselves speak it, must study Malay literature, and especially such modern works as the writings of the famous Munshi Abdullah, or the recently published Riddles written by Guru Sleiman of the Malay College at Malacca, which are in an excellent conversational style.

From what has just been said, it is plain that throughout our British possessions the pure Malay language is the language of the villages. On the other hand the language of the great Settlements and large towns and of the markets and shops everywhere, in fact the business language of the Malay Peninsula, is

BABA MALAY,

that is to say, Malay as it is spoken by the Malay-speaking Chinese. This is quite a distinct dialect, the prevailing characteristic of which is its tendency to follow the Chinese rather than the Malay idiom. It is true that the number of Chinese words which have become assimilated with this dialect is not very large, and that many words have been borrowed from English, Portuguese, Dutch and Tamil, and from other neighbouring tongues, but it is rightly called "Baba Malay," for it is largely the creation of the Baba Chinese, and is their mother tongue, so that it belongs to them in a sense that no other people can or do claim it as their own. In this respect it differs greatly from the so-called "Low Malay" of Java, for though those Chinese who are born and live in the Dutch Indies all speak that language, yet they have not by any means had the strongest influence in its formation, for "Low Malay" has a very much stronger affinity with Javanese and Sundanese than it has with Chinese, and has not been so much affected by the Chinese idiom as the Baba Malay of the Malay Peninsula, the Chinese in the Dutch Indies having always been few in number as compared with the natives of the country. In the British Settlements, on the other hand, the Chinese have always had a commanding influence in all business affairs, and in a proportionate degree have left their impress upon the language in which the business of the Settlements has always been transacted, and in which it will probably continue to be carried on long after the present generation has passed away. The fact that Baba Malay is now, and is likely to be for an indefinite period, the business language of Singapore, Penang, and the Federated Malay States, would in itself be a sufficient reason why it should be studied as a distinct dialect; but a still more weighty reason is found in the fact that it is the

mother-tongue of the majority of the Chinese women and children in the Straits Settlements, and of a considerable and increasing number in the Federated Malay States. It is the language of the homes of the Straits-born Chinese—the most highly educated and the most influential section of the Chinese community in the British possessions, and therefore it is the language in which the women and children of this important class can most readily and most successfully be educated. The pure Malay language, as the Malays themselves speak it, the Babas will never learn, for they despise it, calling it *Malayu hutan*—the language of the jungle. Their dialect—Baba Malay—they look upon as the language of the refined and wealthy class of Malay-speaking Chinese. That being the case it is hopeless to try and force upon them what others consider to be "Classical Malay," however much superior it may be from the view-point of the scholar and the historian. Baba Malay is the language of the man of the street; it is a strong and virile tongue, more easily acquired than the pure Malay, and sufficiently expressive for all ordinary purposes; moreover it has a remarkable capacity for borrowing and assimilating such words as it needs from other languages. It is sure to live. When the principles of its grammatical construction are better understood, when those who speak it are able also to read and write it correctly, and when it has a literature of its own, Baba Malay will prove itself to be an adequate medium for conveying thought and for imparting instruction.

The Evolution of Baba Malay.

Malacca, being the oldest foreign settlement in Malaysia, is the most favourable place to study the history of Chinese immigration to this part of the world, and the origin of the dialect which they now speak. It is now nearly 400 years since Europeans first made their appearance at Malacca, but the Chinese were there some time before that. *Bukit China,* the burial ground of the Chinese from time immemorial, was so called before the time when the Malay history "*Sjarah Malayu*" was written, which is more than 300 years ago. The first immigrants were probably from Amoy, for nearly all the words of Chinese origin which have come into the Malay language approach more closely to the sounds of the Hok-kien than to those of any other dialect, and the Babas of all the old families claim to be Hok-kiens. There is also very little doubt that the Chinese who came to this part of the world in the early days were exclusively males, that they married Malay women, but brought up their children as Chinese. Even to the present day the marriage customs of the Baba Chinese approximate more closely to those of the Malays than to those of the natives of China, but intermarriage between the Babas and the Malays has entirely ceased, and probably for hundreds of years past the Babas have married exclusively amongst their own people.

The Baba community, however, is still growing by the same process which must have been going on for centuries, something after the following manner:—An immigrant comes from China, and as soon as he has saved up enough money he opens a small shop in a Malay village, where he soon learns to make himself understood in the Malay language. When he is able to support a wife, he looks out for a girl from some of the poorer Baba families, or perhaps a daughter of one of the numerous concubines to be found in the homes of the wealthy. Baba women of this class are to be found to-day in all the villages of Malacca, married to small shopkeepers, who were born in China, and speak Malay very imperfectly; their children, however, are Babas pure and simple, and in many cases know nothing whatever of the Chinese language. They have learnt the Malay language from their mothers, and from constant association with Malay children in the village where they live; in fact they know much more Malay than they are generally given credit for. Nevertheless there is a marked difference between the Malay spoken by these Chinese children and that spoken by the Malay children with whom they seem to mix so freely; but this is of course easily accounted for by the influence of the Chinese parents upon the language spoken by their children, for however intimately the children of different nationalities may be thrown together in their games, the language of the home must necessarily have the strongest influence upon them. As time went by and the Babas became more numerous, they would begin to form a community by themselves and would not come so much into contact with the Malays; this would be especially the case in the town of Malacca rather than in the villages, in fact it is noticeable even at the present day that the Babas in the villages speak much more like the Malays themselves than those who live in the town. As the Babas in the town ceased to associate with the Malays, their peculiarities of idiom would tend to become fixed, and their speech would be influenced less and less by the Malay standards of pronunciation, grammar or the use of words. The Malays have had a literature of their own for hundreds of years, and a considerable proportion of the population have been able to read and write for probably at least 300 years, and their literature has undoubtedly tended to maintain the purity of their spoken language; the Babas on the other hand have never learned to read and write Malay, hence their knowledge of the language has always been purely colloquial, and therefore the more liable to be corrupted.

The differences between the Malay language as spoken by the Babas and the colloquial language of the Malays themselves are principally as follows:—(1) They have introduced a number of words of Chinese origin most of which are wholly unknown to the Malays; (2) They are entirely unacquainted with a large number of Malay words which are in common use among the Malays themselves; (3) They mispronounce many Malay words, and in some

cases have altered the pronunciation so much that the word is almost unrecognisable; and (4) to a great extent they use the Chinese idiom rather than the Malay, putting their sentences together in a way which is quite different from the colloquial language of the Malays. We will consider these different points one by one.

(1) *Words of Chinese origin.*

In dealing with the question of the Chinese words used by the Babas it must first be remarked that their pronunciation of such words is Malay rather than Chinese. The Hok-kien Chinese in the pronunciation of their words use seven very clearly defined "tones," and the meaning of a word depends entirely upon the tone of voice in which it is pronounced. Of the use of these tones the Babas for the most part know absolutely nothing, and if they ever pronounce a Chinese word correctly as far as the tone is concerned, it is by accident rather than by design. I am referring of course to those Chinese words which have become incorporated with the Baba Malay language; many of the Babas can speak Hok-kien Chinese with some fluency, and when doing so must of necessity use the tones, though usually very imperfectly, yet when speaking Malay they use Chinese words without attempting to give the correct tones, and in some cases Chinese words have been so much corrupted that it is difficult to recognise their derivation. This we will illustrate later on.

The Chinese words which are most frequently used in Baba Malay are undoubtedly the pronouns *goa*, "I," and *lu*, "you." In speaking among themselves the Babas never use the Malay pronouns *aku* and *angkau*, but curiously enough for the pronouns of the 3rd person singular and 1st person plural they invariably use the Malay *dia* and *kita*, and never use the Chinese equivalents. It is well known that in polite conversation the Malays avoid the use of pronouns as far as possible, whereas the Chinese use pronouns with much greater freedom; in this respect the Babas conform to Malay usage. Children would never think of using the pronoun *lu* to their parents, and in conversation with their seniors the greatest care is taken to use the proper form of address, so that all the little children know the proper titles to be given to all their relations; it is a remarkable thing, however, that these relationships are expressed by Chinese and not by Malay words, exceptions to this rule being the words for mother (*mak*) and younger brother or sister (*adek*) and elder brother (*abang*). The Chinese words for the various relationships have in most cases the prefix *ng* which is used by the Chinese in addressing relatives, but this is corrupted sometimes to *n* or *m* by the Babas: for instance for father the Babas do not use the ordinary Hok-kien word *pē* or *lāu-pē*, but the more unusual word *tia-tia* in the form *'ntia*; for grandfather, *kong* has become *'ngkong*; elder sister, *tōa-chí* has become *tachi*; father's elder brother, *peh*, is *'mpek*; father's younger

brother, *chek*, is *'nchek*; sister's husband, *chiá-hu*, is *chau*; and so forth.

Another very large class of words which the Babas have borrowed from the Chinese language are those relating to household affairs. The construction of their houses is Chinese in plan rather than Malay, and they have given Chinese names to the different parts of the house—the front room or hall where the idols are placed is called the *tia*" (Chinese *thia*"); the central court open to the sky is *chimchi* (*chhim-chí*"); the upper floor is *loteng* (*lâu-téng*); the inside balcony is *langkan* (Chinese *làng-khang*, open space); bedroom is *pangkeng* (*pâng-keng*); the outer balcony open to the sky is *la-pe*" (? *lâu-pî*"); a lamp is *teng* or *tanglong* (*teng-liông*); a carpet or rug is *tanak* (*thán-à*); paint is *chat* (*chhat*); and even a cockroach is *kachuak* (*ka-tsoàh*). Kitchen utensils are called by Malay names, but anything peculiar to the Chinese receives a Chinese name, as, tea pot, *tekuan* (*tê-koàn*); soup spoon, *tngsi* (*thng-sî*); kettle, *teko* (*tê-kó·*); chopsticks however are known as *sumpit*, presumably a corruption of the Malay *spit*; the table at which they eat their meals is invariably known by the Chinese name *toh*; to cook by steaming is known by the Chinese name *tim* (*tīm*), but Malay words are used for all other cooking operations; many kinds of food are known by Chinese names, such as, *bami* (*bah-mī*), *taugu* (*tāu-iû*), *kiamchai* (*kiâm-chhài*), *kuchai* (*ku-chhài*), *pe-chai* (*peh-chhài*), *chaipo* (*chhài-pó·*), *kueh chang* (*ké-chàng*), *kueh tiau* (*ké-tiâu*), etc. Several articles of clothing have names of Chinese origin, that which is most familiar being of course the queue, *tauchang* (*thâu-tsang*); also we have Chinese mourning, *toaha* (*toà-hà*); a child's binder, *oto* (*io-tó·*); a man's purse, *opau* (*io-pau*); a woman's purse, *kotoa* (*khó·-toà*); stockings, *boek* (*bèh*); to adorn one's self, *chngkan diri* (*tsng*); and we might here mention the flat-iron, *utau* (*ut-táu*).

As might be expected, nearly everything connected with the religious ceremonies of the Babas is known by names of Chinese origin: the Chinese temple is *bio* (*biō*), the Buddhist priest is *hoe-sio* (*hê-siū*"); the idol is *topekong* (*tōa-peh-kong*), *sio-hio* (*sio-hiu*") is to burn incense, *kui* (*kūi*) is to kneel, and *teyan* (*tôe-iên*) is to give a subscription.

Business affairs, medicine, and games (gambling) also contribute a number of words of Chinese origin, such as, *toko* (*thô·-khò·*) for shop, *kongsi* (*kong-si*) association or company, *taukeh* (*thâu-ke*) head of a firm, *jiho* (*jī-hō*) shop sign; *koyok* (*ko-iòh*) plaster, *po'ho* (*pòh-hô*) peppermint, *pekak* (*poeh-kak-hiu*") aniseed, *sinse* (*sien-si*") teacher; and the following games, *pakau* (*phah-káu*), *susek* (*sù-sek*), *chki* (*chit-ki*), *kau* (*kau*), *tan* (*tán*), etc.

The Babas also use a good many words of Chinese origin to express abstract ideas, but not always to express the same meaning that the word conveys to the Hok-kien chinaman. For instance, for ungrateful the Babas use *bo-jin-cheng* (*bô-jîn-chêng*), for a

sarcastic or ironical remark they use *siaupi* (*sau-phî*), to be satisfied *kam-guan* (*kam-guān*), nice, *homia* (*hó-miâ*), etc.

It should be remembered that for nearly all the ideas and objects mentioned above the Malays have their own proper words, which they would use among themselves. Those Malays who come frequently into contact with the Chinese are of course well acquainted with such words as *goa* and *lu*, *loteng*, *tekuan*, *kuchai*, *pechai*, *toaha*, *taukeh*, and so forth, but with many of the words of Chinese origin given above even the Malays in the town of Malacca are quite unfamiliar. Similarly the Babas are utterly unacquainted with the Malay equivalents of nearly all these words.

2. *Malay words which are unknown to the Babas.*

From what has been said above it is evident that the Babas are unfamiliar with those Malay words of which they are accustomed to use the Chinese equivalents, but there are also a large number of other words in common use among the Malays of which the Babas are entirely ignorant. It is of course well known in European countries that those who cannot read their own language use but a very small number of words in ordinary conversation; we can only hope to acquire a large vocabulary in our own language by constant reading. With few exceptions the Babas read absolutely nothing in the Malay language, and consequently their knowledge of Malay words is very limited. The Malay language is rich in synonyms, and has words to express the finest shades of meaning; but where a number of words have somewhat similar meanings, the Baba uses only one or two to express them all. For instance, for looking and seeing the Malays use the words *lihat*, *pandang*, *tengok*, *nampak*, *tampak*, *tngadah*, *mnoleh*, *tilek*, *belek*, etc.; but the Babas hardly ever use any of these except *tengok* and *nampak*, and occasionally *lihat* and *pandang*. Similarly they make the one word *taroh* serve the purpose where the Malays use *taroh*, *buboh* and *ltak*; and the word *angkat* is used by them where the Malays would say *pikul*, *kelek*, *tatang*, *kandong*, *kendong*, *junjong*, *dokong*. Many of the Babas would know some of these words if they heard a Malay use them, but they for the most part do not know the exact shades of meaning which they express, and consequently they do not attempt to use them. Where the Malays use two words of somewhat similar meaning, the Babas generally use one to the entire exclusion of the other, for instance they use *berjumpa* and not *bertmu*, *tuang* and not *churah*, *pegang* (for *pgang*) and not *chapai*, *tngkar* and not *bantah*; *spak* and not *tampar*, *kosong* and not *hampa*, *panas* and not *hangat*. Of the formation of derived words from roots by means of prefixes and suffixes the Babas as a rule know nothing whatever; in many cases however they use derived words, but do not seem to understand their connection with the root word: as for instance the word *pnyapu*, broom, is well known, but they would not understand its connection with *sapu*,

to sweep and if one use the form *mnyapu* they would probably not know what was meant. In some cases they use only the derived form, and do not know the root at all: *mnangis*, to weep, and *mnari* to dance, are of course in common use, but the root words *tangis* and *tari* are utterly unknown. On the other hand if a Baba knows the root word it does not at all follow that he will understand the derivative, he knows *suroh*, but knows nothing about *pnyuroh; tunggu* he uses, but *pnunggu* is practically unknown. All the prefixes and suffixes are used by the Babas in connection with certain words, but not with others, in fact they use them without knowing why or how they should be used. The suffix *i*, however, which forms transitive verbs, is practically never used, and in the one word *mula'i* in which they do use it, they have no idea that they have a derivative from the well-known word *mula*, for they pronounce it simply *mulai*, and then go so far as to make it a transitive verb over again by adding the other similar suffix *-kan*, making the extraordinary combination *mulaikan*. In the same way the Babas make other derivatives of their own manufacture which are never used by the Malays, and sound to them exceedingly barbarous; for instance I have actually seen in print such forms as *kbersehan*, *bharukan* for *bharui*, *mmbikinkan*, etc. Even some of the simple prepositions are never used by the Babas: instead of *k-*, to a place, they always use *di*, which properly means "at:" *bagi*, for, is almost unknown, and *dngan*, with, is very little used, *sama* being made to do duty where the Malays use *dngan*, *pada* and even *akan*. Such words as are used in the polite phraseology of the Malays are never used by the Babas, and few of them would even know the meaning of such words if they were to hear them: I refer particularly to such words as *bonda*, *adinda*, *kakanda*, which the Malays of all classes use in their private correspondence, and also to forms of address to persons of superior rank, and pronouns used by inferiors to superiors, the various words for speaking, such as, *firman* of God, *titah* of a king, *sabda* of a prophet or person of high rank, *kata* of equals, *smbah* of inferiors addressing a royal person. This whole system of phraseology is practically unknown to the Babas, and so is also the great bulk of the religious phraseology of the Malays. It is however unnecessary to go further in these matters, for enough has been said to show very plainly how much of the Malay language is a sealed book to the Babas.

3. *Malay words mispronounced by the Babas.*

The Babas have no difficulty in pronouncing every letter in the Malay language. In this respect they are entirely different from the immigrant Chinese, who find it utterly impossible to sound the letter *r* or *d*, and who always change final *s* into *t*, and make sundry other changes to suit their own peculiarities of speech. The Babas mispronounce Malay words either because they find

their own way easier, or because they think it more elegant. They have no difficulty in sounding the letters *b* and *l*, but instead of *ambil* they say *ambek* or even *amek*, and for *tinggal* one sometimes hears *tinggek*. Final *ai* is always toned down to *e* and *au* to *o*, as *sunge* and *pulo* for *sungai* and *pulau*. Final *h* is never sounded at all, so that *rumah* becomes *ruma*, *bodoh* is *bodo*, and *boleh* is *bole*: thus they make no distinction between the sound of final *ai* and *eh*, both being *e* to the Baba. On the other hand final *a* is generally sounded as *ak*, and sometimes final *i* becomes *ik*: thus instead of *bapa*, *bawa* and *pula*, we have *bapak*, *bawak* and *pulak*. These corruptions of the sounds of the final letters cause a great deal of confusion in some words; for instance the Babas always pronounce *chari* as *charik* or *charek*, and have no idea that this is quite a different word, and means to tear; there is also a similar confusion between *bawa*, to bring, and *bawah*, below. The Babas also frequently drop the *h* in the middle of a word, as *baru* for *bharu*, *saja* for *sahaja*, *saya* for *sahya*; and they have a slight tendency to drop the *h* at the beginning of a word, as in the words *hati*, *hanyut*, etc. The Malays sometimes fail to sound initial *h*, but they never fail to sound the final *h*, and sometimes go so far as to carry the *h* over to the beginning of the next word, as *rumah horang*, *tlah hada*, etc. Other corruptions can hardly be classified, so it is best to give a few examples at random, for instance, *bergitu* for *bgitu*, *ktawa* for *tertawa*, *rti* for *arti*, *kreja* for *kerja*, *piara* for *plihara*, *pegang* for *pgang*, *sumpit* for *spit* (chopsticks), *mnimpi* for *mimpi*, *kmantin* for *pngantin*, *smunyit* for *smbunyi*. Words of Arabic origin are generally corrupted more than pure Malay words, for example, *pe'da* for *fa'idah*, *jerki* for *rzki*, *akérat* for *ákhirat*, *masohor* or *mersohor* for *mashhur*.

4. *The Baba idiom is Chinese rather than Malay.*

Perhaps the most striking peculiarity in the way that the Babas make up their sentences is the very frequent use of the possessive particle *punya*, which they use precisely as the Hok-kiens use the particle *ê*; but *punya* being a longer word is much more cumbersome, and produces awkward sentences, thus, "*Dia punya mak-bapa ada dudok makan di sblah punya meja.*" Such phrases as "*tiga bulan punya lama*," "*sperti macham itu punya kreta*," are in constant use, and sound ludicrous to a Malay. These sentences are all taken from the writings of the Babas themselves. Here is another typical sentence, "*Ini macha m punya orang fikir apa yang banyak salah ta'patut buat, dan apa yang sdikit salah boleh buat. Apa punya bodoh satu fikiran ini?*" The redundancy of the "*punya*" is not, however, the only peculiarity of this sentence, the writer of which, though he is unable to speak Chinese, has given us a very close approximation to the Chinese idiom, and the whole sentence is absolutely unlike anything that a Malay would say. In the first place such expressions as *ini macham* and *apa*

yang are never used by Malays; instead of *ini macham punya orang fikir,* a Malay would say *pada fikiran orang yang dmkian;* and instead of *apa yang banyak salah*, a Malay would say *ksalahan yang bsar;* a Malay would probably say the whole sentence somewhat as follows:—*Pada fikiran orang yang dmkian, ksalahan yang bsar tiada patut di-perbuat, dan ksalahan yang sdikit boleh di-perbuat.* The last clause "*Apa punya bodoh satu fikiran ini?*" is even more utterly foreign to Malay idiom. It will be noticed that in the above sentence as reconstructed in the Malay idiom, the passive form *di-perbuat* is used; the Malays of course make a great deal of use of this construction both in writing and in conversation, but the Babas hardly ever use it at all. Another peculiar of the Babas is that they almost always make the adjectival pronouns *itu* and *ini*, that and this, precede the noun which they qualify instead of following it, as it should be according to Malay idiom. Again the Babas use the verb "to be" quite differently from the Malay idiom; take such sentences as, "*Ini ada btul salah;*" "*ini macham punya orang ada bodoh*"—no Malay would ever use *ada* in such a connection at all. They also follow the English idiom of placing the verb "to be" at the end of a sentence, thus, "*brapa chantek dia-orang ada,*" "how beautiful they are." Another Chinese idiom is the use of *datang* for "here" or "hither," as the Chinese use *lâi*, as, "*knapa t'ada bawa dia datang?*" and "*Kalau lu jalan datang.*" *Pernah* is used in the sense "at some time," as opposed to *ta'pernah*, "never," in the same way that the Hok-kiens used *bat* and *m̄-bat*, as, "*kuda yang sudah pernah tanggong seksa,*" "a horse which has suffered at some time;" "*kuda yang sudah pernah jatoh,*" "a horse which at some time has fallen;" these quotations are from the translation of "Black Beauty" by Mr. Goh Hood Keng, who speaks very little Chinese. The following may also be given as examples of phrases which are distinctly Chinese—"*Di-piarakan sampai mnjadi orang,*" "taken care of until he grew up" = Chinese *chiâ^n-lâng; tengok rengan*, instead of the Malay *pandang mudah* = *khoà^n-khin;* "*orang yang kna dia pukol,*" "the man who was beaten by him" = *hō· i phah.*

The following list of words, though not by any means complete, will be useful for reference.

WORDS PECULIAR TO THE BABAS.

Being principally corruptions of Malay and Chinese words.

Baba.	*Chinese.*	*Malay.*	*English.*
Ajat		ajak	to incite
Amek		ambil	to fetch
Baik			in good health
Balek			on the contrary
Bio	biō		temple

Baba.	*Chinese.*	*Malay.*	*English.*
Bami	bah-mī		maccaroni and pork
Ba'sat	bȧt-sat		bed-bug
Bikin			to make
Boek	béh		stocking
Bo-jin-cheng	bô-jîn-chêng		ungrateful
Buntut		ekor	tail
Busa		bueh	foam
Cha	chhá		fry
Chat	chhat		paint
Chau	chiá-hu		sister's husband
Changkir			small cup
Chaipo	chhài-pó·		turnips salted and dried
Chek-m	chek-'m		brother's mother-in-law
Chek-m-po	chek-'m-pô		uncle's mother-in-law
Chiang	chiāng		ride a horse
Chimchi	chhim-chí^{n}		central court in a house
Chinchu	tsûn-tsú		supercargo
Chin-ke	chhin-ke		relation between parents of husband and wife
Chio	chiò		taoist rites
Chki	chit-ki		a card game
Chikeweh	chit-ke-ê		family
Chngkan diri	tsng		to adorn one's self
Cho	cheng-tsó·-bú		great grandmother
Chokin	chho·-kun		bathing cloth
Chongpo	tsóng-phò·		cook
Datok	kong	berhala	idol, god
Dlaki		laki-laki	male
Feshen			fashion
Goa	goá		I
Gumpal		gumol	wrestle
Hia	hia^{n}		elder brother
Hio-soa	hiu^{n}-soà^{n}		incense stick
Hoe-sio	hê-siū^{n}		Bhuddist priest
Homia	hó-miā		fortunate, nice
Hu, kertas hu	hû		magical charm, amulet
Hun	hūn		one-tenth of an inch
Jamut		nyamok	mosquito
Jiho	jī-hō		sign over the door
Jerki		rzki	food
Jijit		ejek	tease
Jose	jiàu^{n}-se		shiny silk (crape)
Justa		dusta	false
Kachuak	kā-tsoȧh		cockroach
Kalot			reprove
Kamguan	kam-goān		willing
Kau	káu		a game

Baba.	*Chinese.*	*Malay.*	*English.*
Kaudu			malicious
Kek-ki	kek-khí		irritate
Kek-sim	kėk-sim		broken-hearted
Kiam-chai	kiâm-chhài		salt vegetables
Kiasai	sin-kiá^{n}-sài		bridegroom
Kichiak	khit-chiȧh		beggar
Kimpo	kīm-pô		wife of maternal grand-mother's brother
Kimpocho	kīm-pô-tsó·		ancestors of above
Kioŋhi	kioŋ-hí		congratulations
Kitaŋ	kí-tāŋ (?)		tea cup
Kmantin		pŋantin	bride or bridegroom
Ko	ko·		father's sister
Komba (Port.)			dove
Koŋsi	koŋ-si		company, firm
Kopo	ko·-pô		great paternal aunt
Kotoa	khò·-toà		woman's purse
Koyok	ko-iȯh		medicinal plaster
Ksiat		khasiat	power, virtue
Ksian		kasehan	pity
Kuchai	kú-chhài		leeks
Kueh tiau	ké-tiâu		vermicelli
Kueh chaŋ	ké-tsàŋ		rice in bamboo leaves
Kui	kūi		to kneel
Kuli po	ku-lí-pô		female servant
Kuntau	kûn-thâu		boxing
Kupiŋ		tliŋa	ear
Kusin	ku-sîn		aphis
Lanchak		anchak	offerings to spirits
Laŋkan	làŋ-khaŋ		space round chimche
Lape^{n}	lâu-pî^{n}		terrace roof
Lŋkat		lkat	to stick
Locheŋ	lô, cheŋ		bell (in Chinese two kinds of gong)
Lo'chuan	liȯk-chhoàn		a silk fabric
Loki	ló·-kí		Cantonese prostitute
Loteŋ	lâu-téŋ		upstairs
Lsiŋ		ali-ali	sling
Lu	lú		thou
Mek	méh^{n}	nadi	pulse
Mertua		mntua	father-in-law, mother-in-law
Miŋkin		makin	more
Mnimpi		mimpi	dream
Mnjela		jndela	window
'Mpek	ŋ́-peh		father
Ng-chek	ŋ́-chek		uncle

Baba.	*Chinese.*	*Malay.*	*English.*
Ng-chim	in-chim		uncle's wife
Ng-kim	in-kim		elder brother's wife
Ng-ko	ńg-ko		elder brother
Ng-koa	ńg-koa^n		father-in-law
Ng-kong	ńg-kong		grandfather
Ng-ku	ńg-kū		mother's brother
Ng-so	hia^n-só		brother's wife
Nio	niû (lady)		mother-in-law
N-tia	ńg-tia		father
N-tio	î-tiū^n		aunt's husband
O-pau	io-pau		man's purse
O-to	io-tó͘		child's binder
Pakau	phah-káu		a game
Paksui	phah-sǹg		think, consult
Pale		bla	nourish children
Pangkeng	pâng-keng		bedroom
Pechai	péh-chhài		white cabbage
Pekak	poeh-kak-hiu^n		aniseed
Pegang		pgang	hold
Pingjak		pijak, injak	tread
Po'ho	póh-hô		peppermint
Pongkis	pùn-ki		basket with handles
Popi	pó-pì		protect (of idols)
Popia	póh-piá^n		thin cakes
Po-poe	pó-pòe		jewel
Puntau	pùn-táu		dust pan
Put-hau	put-hàu		unfilial
Rabek		rabit	torn
Ruhsia		rahsia	secret
Sam-kai	sam-kài		three idols—heaven, earth, water
Sampan	sam-pán		boat
Samseng			ruffian
Saupi	sau-phî		ironical scolding
Siau	siau		to digest
Siaupi	sau-phî		ironical scolding
Siet-siet	siet-siet		deceptive
Singkek	sin-kheh		new arrival
Sinse	sien-si^n		teacher
Sio-hio	sio-hiu^n		to burn incense
Simpoa	sǹg-poâ^n		abacus
Soja	chhiù^n-jiā		to bow in worship
Sumpit		spit	chopsticks
Susek	sù-sek		a game
Tachi	toā-chí		elder sister
Taching		chaching	worm
Taiko	thài-ko		leprosy

Baba.	*Chinese.*	*Malay.*	*English.*
Tan	tán		a game
Tanak	thán-á		carpet
Tanglong	teng-liông		lamp
Tangsi	thâng-si		catgut
Taugek	tāu-gê		bean sprouts
Tauchang	thâu-tsang		queue
Tauyu	tāu-iû		bean sauce
Tebien	thé-biēn		influence, prestige
Teh	tê		tea
Teko	tê-kó·		kettle
Tekoan	tê-koàn		tea-pot
Teng	teng		lamp
Teyan	tôe-iên		subscription
Tia^{n}	thia^{n}		front hall
Tim	tīm		cook in a double boiler
Tngsi	thng-sî		a large spoon
Toaha	toà-hà		mourning
Toak	thoah		a drawer
Tochang	thâu-tsang		queue
Toh	toh		table
Topekong	toā-peh-kong		idol
Usut		asut	incite
Ut-tau	uṭ-táu		flat iron

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1914.

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THE

STRAITS BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

COUNCIL FOR 1914.

REV. DR. W. G. SHELLABEAR, *President.*

HON. C. J. SAUNDERS, *Vice-President for Singapore.*

HON. A. T. BRYANT, ,, *Penang.*

MR. R. O. WINSTEDT ,, *F. M. S.*

MR. I. H. BURKILL, *Honorary Secretary.*

MR. J. LOVE MONTGOMERIE, *Honorary Treasurer.*

DR. R. VAN BEUNINGEN, *Honorary Librarian.*

MR. P. GOLD,
DR. R. D. KEITH,
MR. W. MAKEPEACE,
MR. A. W. STILL, } *Councillors.*

PROCEEDINGS

of the

Annual General Meeting.

The Annual General meeting was held on February 16th, 1914, at the Raffles Library.

There were present:—

HON. DR. D. J. GALLOWAY, *President.*

MR. J. LOVE MONTGOMERIE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

,, C. CHAMPKIN.

CAPT. A. R. CHANCELLOR.

MR. J. L. HUMPHREYS.

,, W. MAKEPEACE.

,, H. MARRIOTT.

,, H. ROBINSON.

DR. R. VAN BEUNINGEN VAN HELSDINGEN.

DR. R. HANITSCH. *Hon. Secretary.*

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of 1913 were read and confirmed.

The Council's Report and the Hon. Treasurer's accounts were laid on the table and on the proposal of the chairman adopted.

A vote of thanks was recorded to Messrs Evatt and Co. for having gratuitously audited the accounts of the society.

On the motion of Dr. D. J. Galloway it was agreed that Mr. A. J. Amery be appointed to assist the Hon. Secretary at a salary of $50 per month until the middle of November.

The election of office bearers for the new year resulted as follows.—

President	... ...	REV. DR. W. G. SHELLABEAR.
Vice-President for Singapore	...	HON. C. J. SAUNDERS.
„ „ *Penang*	...	„ A. T. BYRANT.
„ „ *F. M. S.*	...	Mr. R. O. WINSTEDT.
Hon. Secretary	... ...	MR. I. H. BURKILL.
„ *Treasurer*	... ...	„ J. LOVE MONTGOMERIE.
„ *Librarian*	... ...	DR. VAN BEUNINGEN VAN HELSDINGEN.
Councillors	... ...	MR. P. GOLD. DR. R. D. KEITH. MR. W. MAKEPEACE. MR. A. W. STILL.

Dr. D. J. Galloway and Dr. Hanitsch were thanked for past services. In reply Dr. Galloway wished Dr. Hanitsch on behalf of the society a pleasant furlough saying his services could ill be spared.

ANNUAL REPORT

of the

Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society for 1913.

The following new members have been elected since the last Annual General Meeting in February, 1913:

1913	
March:	Mr. C. Ermen, *Bau, Sarawak.*
	Mr. R. B. Williams, *Bau, Sarawak.*
June:	Mr. V. G. Bell, *Kuantan, Pahang.*
	Mr. C. J. Taylor, *Seremban.*
	Mr. W. L. Wood, *Taiping.*
September:	Mr. Andrew Caldecott, *Seremban.*
	Dr. W. S. Leicester, *Pekan, Pahang.*
	Mr. H. B. Mollett, *Bukit Kerong Estate, Selangor*
	Rev. W. Runciman, M.A., B.D., *Singapore.*
December:	Mr. J. M. Bryan, *Kuching, Sarawak.*
	Mr. Choo Kia Peng, *Kuala Lumpor.*
1914	
February:	Mr. Cyril Champkin, *Singapore.*
	Mr. W. R. T. Clement, *Sarawak.*
	Mr. Samahn Panyârjun, *Bangkok.*

This brings the total number of members up to about 290.

Council. Mr. A. C. Baker resigned the office of Hon. Librarian in August on his being transferred to Penang, and the office has remained vacant since, as no one could be found willing to undertake the work.

Map. The Map-Subcommittee, appointed in the previous year, consisting of the Bishop of Singapore, Mr. H. Marriott and Mr. H. Robinson, continued its work. Sections of the map, published in 1911, were sent to the Resident Councillor Penang, to the Resident of

Malacca, to the various Residents of the F.M.S., to the Advisers of Kedah, Perlis and Kelantan, to the British Agent of Trengganu and to the Royal Siamese Survey Department, with requests for additions and alterations. Replies were received from nearly all. The advice was also sought of Colonel Jackson, Surveyor-General, F.M.S., under whose direction the whole of the Federated Malay States is being surveyed at present, and he has kindly promised his assistance.

Journal. The usual two numbers of the Journal were published, viz. Nos. 64 and 65, and Journal No. 1 which was almost out of print, was reprinted.

Arrangements have been made for the publication of the text of the Sri Rama in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which has been there for more than 300 years and is the oldest Malay MS. extant. The whole MS. is being photographed at the Society's expense, but it will be necessary to reproduce the text in ordinary type on account of the condition of the MS.

Arrangements have also been made with Mr. Winstedt, Secretary to the Committee of Malay Studies, for the publication of certain Malay works, in the first instance of the Hikayat Pasai, and later on of the Misa Melayu (an 18th Century history of Perak), of the Hikayat Marong Maha-wangsa (Kedah Annals), and other works.

Photographic collection. At the suggestion of Mr. Burkill, the Society has decided to maintain a photographic album illustrative of Malaya, its Natural History, Ethnology, Scenery and Buildings, and appeals will shortly be sent out to Members and others to help in the undertaking.

Aims of the Society. The reprinting of Journal No. 1 has again brought to our notice the objects for which the Society was founded in 1878. The Inaugural Address by its first President, the Ven'ble Archdeacon (later Bishop) Hose explains at some length the ideas and ideals which the promoters of the Society had in view, and the way in which it was thought that these might be fulfilled. Now 36 years after, the Society may perhaps congratulate itself on its flourishing condition as regards its membership and funds, and on the fact of the Journal having always been published regularly. But the work of the Society has for a number of years rested too much upon the shoulders of a very few of its members, and it is to be hoped that a new perusal of the first address delivered before the Society may rouse us of the present day to fresh activity and united efforts.

R. HANITSCH,

Honorary Secretary.

Singapore, February 2nd, 1914.

STRAITS BRANCH

of the

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Receipts and Payments Account for the year ended 31st December, 1913.

Receipts.	$	c.	$	c.
To Balances Brought Forward from last Account				
On Fixed Deposit				
Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.	2,700	—		
Chartered Bank of I., A. & C.	1,500	—		
On Current Account				
Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.	780	56		
Chartered Bank of I., A. & C.	88	29	5,068	85
To Subscriptions				
For the year ended 31st Dec. 1911	15	—		
do. 1912	120	—		
do. 1913	980	—		
do. 1914	30	—		
Life Membership	50	—	1,195	—
,, Sale of Journals			542	41
,, Sale of Maps			565	20
,, Bank Interest			125	49
			7,496	95

Payments.	$	c.	$	c.
By printing Journal No. 64	362	72		
,, Illustrations of Journal	27	—		
,, Mounting of Maps ...	43	30		
,, Book Binding	29	25		
,, Miscellaneous Printing & Stationery	28	82		
,, Clerk's Salary	180	—		
,, Peon's Salary	36	—		
,, Postages & Petties ...	60	52		
,, Balances Carried Forward			767	61
On Fixed Deposit				
Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.	3,700	—		
Chartered Bank of I., A. & C.	1,500			
On Current Account ...				
Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.	1,349	12		
Chartered Bank of I., A. & C.	88	29		
In hands of Hon : Treasurer	91	93	6,729	34
			7,496	95

Audited and found correct,

EVATT & Co.,

Honorary Auditors,

3rd February, 1914.

J. LOVE MONTGOMERIE,

Hon : Treasurer,

2nd February, 1914.

List of Members for 1914.

*Life Members. †Honorary Members.

Date of election.	Patron: H. E. Sir Arthur Young, K.C.M.G.	
1903	Abbott, Dr. W. L.	Calcutta.
1905	Acton, R. D.	Penang.
1909	Adam, Frank	Singapore.
1908	Adams, Hon. A. R.	Penang.
1910	Adams, H. A.	Sarawak.
1910	Adams, H. Powys	England.
1909	Adams, T. S.	Jugra, Selangor.
1910	Aldworth, J. R. O.	Kuala Lumpur.
1913	Allen, Rev. Geo. Dexter	Banting, Sarawak.
1909	Allen, Rowland	England.
1914	Amery, A. J.	Singapore.
1908	Anderson, E.	Singapore.
1911	Anderson, J. W.	Singapore.
1890	Anthonisz, J. O., C.M.G.	England.
1911	Armstrong, W. R.	Penang.
1908	Arthur, J. S. W.	Penang.
1910	Asmus, Ad.	England.
1910	Avetoom, Dr. T. C.	Penang.
1908*	Ayre, C. F. C.	England.
1912	Baker, A. C.	Penang.
1909	Banks, C. W.	England.
1899*	Banks, J. E.	Iowa, U. S. A.
1910	Barnard, Basil	Taiping, Perak.
1912	Barnard. H. C.	Taiping, Perak.
1904	Bartlett, R. J.	Singapore.
1910	Bartley, W.	Kuala Lumpur.
1909	Bean, A. W.	Singapore.
1910	Beatty, D.	Singapore.
1913	Bell, V. G.	Kuantan, Pahang.
1910*	Berkeley, H.	Perak.
1912	Bicknell, J. W.	Singapore.
1884	Bicknell, W. A.	England.
1901	Bidwell, R. A. J.	Singapore.
1903	Birch, Sir E. W., C.M.G.	England.
1908*	Bishop, Major C. F., R.A.	England.

1890*	Blagden, C. O.	London.
1884	Bland, R. N.	England.
1905	Bland, Mrs. R. N.	England.
1910	Boult, F. F.	Sadong, Sarawak.
1910	Boyd, Hon. D. T.	Singapore.
1913	Braddell, R. St. John	Singapore.
1910	Brison, Clifford S.	Singapore.
1897	Brockman, Sir E. L., K. C. M. G.	Kuala Lumpur.
1911	Brooke, J. R.	Singapore.
1909	Brooks, C. J.	Benkoolen, Sumatra.
1909	Brown, A. V.	Singapore.
1910	Brown, D. A. M.	Penang.
1913*	Bryan, J. M.	Kuching Sarawak.
1887	Bryant, A. T. Hon.	Penang.
1912	Burkill, I. H.	Singapore.
1903	Burn-Murdoch, A. M.	Kuala Lumpur.
1913	Caldecott, A.	Seremban.
1906	Campbell, J.	Calcutta.
1914	Cardew, G. E.	Bentong, Pahang.
1909	Carver, Hon. C. J.	Singapore.
1885	Cerruti, G. B.	Alor Star, Kedah.
1914	Champkin, C.	Singapore.
1910	Chancellor, Capt. A. R.	Singapore.
1913	Choo Kia Peng,	Kuala Lumpur.
1906	Chapman, W. T.	Penang.
1911	Clayton, T. W.	Pahang.
1914	Clement, W. R. T.	Sarawak.
1894†	Collyer, W. R., I.S.O.	England.
1897*	Conlay, W. L.	Tringganu.
1910	Cook, Hon. W. W.	Singapore.
1899	Cook, Rev. J. A. B.	Singapore.
1912	Crossle, Frank J.	Kepong, Selangor.
1910	Croucher, Dr. F. B.	Singapore.
1904	Dallas, Hon. F. H.	Sarawak.
1910	Daly, W. D.	Kuala Lumpur.
1892	Dane, Dr. R.	Penang.
1910	Darbishire, Hon. C. W.	Singapore.
1907	Dent, Dr. F.	Singapore.
1912	Derry, R.	Singapore.
1903*	Deshon, Hon H. F.	England.
1897	Dickson, E. A.	Brunei.
1905	Douglas, R. S.	Miri, Sarawak.
1910	Draper, B.	Johore.
1910	Dunman, W.	Singapore.
1899	Edmonds, R. C.	Kuala Lumpur.
1885	Egerton, H. E. Sir W., K.C.M.G.	British Guiana.
1885	Elcum, Hon. J. B.	Singapore.
1910	Ellerton, H. B.	Kuala Kangsar, Perak.

1909	Ellis, Hon. E. C.	Singapore.
1910	Engel, L.	Batavia.
1913	Ermen, C.	Bau, Sarawak.
1910	Evans, W.	England.
1891	Everett, H. H.	Santubong, Sarawa.
1910	Falshaw, Dr. P. S.	Singapore.
1909	Farrer, R. J.	Singapore.
1912	Faulkner, Dr. S. B.	Christmas I.
1911*	Ferguson-Davie, Rt. Rev. Bishop C. J., D.D.	Singapore.
1909	Ferrier, J. C.	Surabaya.
1910	Firmstone, H. W.	Kuala Lumpur.
1910	Fisher, W. D.	Singapore.
1901	Fleming, T. C.	Perak.
1897*	Flower, Capt. S. S.	Egypt.
1904*	Flower, V. A.	London.
1897	Fort, Sir Hugh	London.
1908	Freeman, D.	Kuala Lumpur.
1897	Freer, Dr. G. D.	Kuala Lumpur.
1910*	Frost, Meadows.	Kedah.
1912	Gallagher, W. J.	Singapore.
1905	Galloway, Hon. Dr. D.J.	Singapore.
1897*	Gerini, Lt. Col. G. E.	Italy.
1912	Gibbons, V.	Singapore.
1911	Gibbs, W. E.	Singapore.
1903	Gibson, W. S.	Ipoh, Perak.
1902*	Gimlette, Dr. J. D,	Kelantan.
1910	Glennie, Dr. J. A. R.	Singapore.
1913	Gold, P.	Singapore.
1909	Goulding, R. R.	Perlis, Kedah.
1910	Gray, N. T.	Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
1911	Griffiths, J.	Johore.
1897	Haines, Rev. F. W.	Penang.
1886	Hale, A.	England.
1907	Hall, G. A.	Singapore.
1911	Hallifax, F. J.	Singapore.
1911	Handy, Dr. J. M.	Singapore.
1895	Hanitsch, Dr. R.	Singapore.
1909	Harrington, A. G.	Singapore-
1904	Haynes, A. S.	Klang, Selangor.
1907	Hays, Dr. T. Heyward	Bangkok, Siam.
1901	Hellier, Maurice	Seremban.
1909	Hennings, W. G.	Singapore.
1910	Henry, J.	Singapore.
1912	Hermansen, J. C.	Singapore.
1911	Hewan, E. D.	London.
1878	Hill, E. C.	England.
1911	Hood-Begg, A.	Singapore.
1897	Hose, E. S.	Kuala Lumpur.

1878†	Hose, Rt. Rev. Bishop G. F.	England.
1892	Hoynck van Papendrecht, P. C.	Uccle, Brussels, Belgium.
1909	Hubback, T. R.	Pertang, Jelebu.
1909	Hughes, J. W. W.	Kota Bharu, Kelantan.
1907	Humphreys, J. L.	Singapore.
1903	Izard, Ven. Arch. H. C.	Singapore.
1910	Jackson, Col. H. M.	Kuala Lumpur.
1910	Jaeger, P.	Singapore.
1910	Jamieson, Dr. T. Hill.	Penang.
1907	Janion, E. M.	England.
1912	Jelf, A. S.	Muar.
1910	Johnson, B. G. H.	Teluk Anson.
1911	Johnson, H. S B.	Baram, Sarawak.
1910	Jones, H. W.	Tapah, Perak.
1913	Jones, S. W.	Pekan, Pahang.
1912	Jones, W. R.	Batu Gajah, Perak.
1912	Jones, Wyndham	Miri, Sarawak.
1878	Kehding, Dr. F.	Germany.
1909	Keith, Dr. R. D.	Singapore.
1909	Kemp, W. L.	Singapore.
1913	Kempe, John Erskine	K. Kangsar.
1906	Kinsey, W. E.	Seremban.
1910	Kirk, Dr. J.	Penang.
1901	Kloss, C. B.	Kuala Lumpur.
1884	Knight, Arthur	Singapore.
1905	Knocker, Fred	England.
1907	Kriekenbeek, J. W.	Taiping, Perak.
1905	Laidlaw, G. M.	Kanga, Perlis.
1914	Lambourne, J.	Kuala Lumpur.
1910	Law, Sir A. F. G.	England.
1885†	Lawes, Rev. W. G.	New Guinea.
1907	Lawrence, A. E.	Bintulu, Sarawak.
1913	Leicester, Dr. W. S.	Pahang.
1910	Lemon, A. H.	Seremban.
1892	Lewis, J. E. A., B.A.	Kobe, Japan.
1897	Lim Boon Keng, Dr.	Singapore.
1910	Lloyd, J. T.	Singapore.
1914	Lornie, J.	Singapore.
1910	Low, H. A.	Penang.
1897	Luering, Rev. Prof. H. L. E., Ph. D.	Frankfurt a. M., Germany.
1910	Lupton, Harry	Malacca.
1902	Lyons, Rev. E. S.	Philippine Islands.
1914	Maundrell, E. B.	Singapore.
1909	McArthur, C.	Singapore.
1909	McArthur, M. S. H.	Singapore.
1897	McCausland, C. F.	Kuala Lipis, Pahang.

1906	MacDougall, Dr. W.	Singapore.
1910*	Macfadyen, Eric	Jugra, Selangor.
1908	MacKray, W. H.	Kuala Lumpur.
1911	Maclean, L.	Penang.
1878	Mahomed, Hon. Dato bin Mahbob	Johore.
1908	Main, T. W.	Malacca.
1905	Makepeace, W.	Singapore.
1902	Marriott, H.	Singapore.
1909	Marsh, F. E.	Singapore.
1903	Marshall, F. C.	Bentong, Pahang.
1909	Marshall, Harold B.	Brunei.
1910*	Marriner, J. T.	Kelantan.
1912	Matthews, T. Leigh	Singapore.
1909	Mauldon, E. F.	Singapore.
1914	Maundrell, E. B.	Singapore.
1903	Maxwell, Eric	Ipoh, Perak.
1903	Maxwell, W. G.	Kedah.
1909	May, C. G.	Penang.
1909	Millard, Dr. A. S.	Klang.
1908	Millard, H.	Singapore.
1910	Miller, Mrs. T. C. B.	Singapore.
1913	Mollett, H. B.	Seremban.
1910	Money, A. W. Kyrle	Penang.
1910	Montgomerie, J. Love	Singapore.
1910	Morant, Geo. C.	Sussex.
1909*	Moulton, J. C.	Sarawak.
1911	Munro, R. W.	Jugra.
1913	Murray, Rev. W.	Singapore.
1909	Nathan, J. E.	Raub, Pahang.
1909	Niven, W. G.	Glasgow.
1901	Norman, Henry	Kuala Kangsar.
1906	Nunn, B.	Singapore.
1911	O'May, J.	Kuala Kangsar.
1913	Overbeck, Hans	Singapore.
1914	Panyârjun, Samahn	Bangkok.
1908	Parr, H. E. C. W. C.	Sandakan, B. N. B.
1910	Paxon, H. C.	Singapore.
1909	Peacock, W.	Singapore.
1910	Peirce, R.	Singapore.
1911*	Pennington, H. E.	Tampin, Negri Sembilan
1878†	Perham, Ven: Archdeacon	England.
1909	Plumpton, M. E.	Singapore.
1910	Pratt, E.	Cornwall, England.
1912	Price, William Robert	Chepstow, England.
1906	Pringle, R. D.	England.
1907	Pykett, Rev. G. F.	Penang.
1913	Raja Chulan Bin Ex-Sultan Abdullah	Kuala Kangsar.

1910	Reid, Alex	Singapore.
1910*	Reid, Dr. Alfred	Kuantan.
1909	Rennie, J. S. M.	Singapore.
1909	Richards, D. S,	Kuala Lumpur.
1911	Richards, R. M.	Province Wellesley.
1890†	Ridley, H. N., C.M.G., F. R. S.	England.
1910*	Ritchie, George	Ipoh, Perak.
1911	Robertson, G. H. M.	Christmas Island.
1912	Robertson, J.	Singapore.
1911	Robinson. H.	Singapore.
1904	Robinson, H .C.	Kuala Lumpur.
1897	Rostados, E.	Gali, Pahang.
1897*	Rowland, W, R.	Negri Sembilan.
1913	Runciman, Rev. W.	England.
1909	Sanderson, Mrs. R.	Singapore.
1878†	Sarawak, H. H. Rajah of, G.C.M.G.	Sarawak.
1885†	Satow, Sir E. M.	England.
1897	Saunders, Hon. C. J.	Singapore.
1910	Schudel, G.	Singapore.
1904	Schwabe, E. M.	Kajang, Selangor.
1910	Scott, R.	Penang.
1907	Scrivenor, J. B	Batu Gajah, Perak.
1890	Seah Liang Seah	Singapore.
1894	Shellabear, Rev. Dr. W. G.	Singapore.
1909	Sims, W. A.	Singapore
1909	Skinner, Capt. R. McK.	Singapore.
1893†	Smith, Sir C. C., G. C .M. G.	Welwyn, England.
1912	Smith, Prof. Harrison W.	Boston, U.S.A.
1911	Smith-Steinmetz, G. A.	Klang, Selangor.
1910	Song Ong Siang	Singapore.
1910	Spakler, H.	Singapore.
1890	St. Clair. W. G.	Singapore.
1911	Steadman, V.	Singapore.
1909	Steedman, R. S.	Intan, Upper Perak.
1910	Stevens, K. A.	Singapore.
1910	Still, A. W.	Singapore.
1911	Stuart. E. A. G.	Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1910	Sturrock, A. J.	Batu Mengkebang, Kelantan.
1910	Sunner, J. H.	Singapore.
1912	Swayne, C. J.	Sibu, Sarawak.
1908	Tan Cheng Lock	Malacca.
1910	Tan Jiak Kim, Hon.	Singapore.
1912	Tan Tat Yan	Singapore.
1905	Tatlock, J. H.	Ipoh.
1913	Taylor, C. J.	Seremban.
1911	Taylor, F. E. Worsley	Singapore.

1909	THUNDER, M.	Singapore.
1912	TOMLIN, F. L.	Singapore.
1912	TRACY F. D.	Singapore.
1888	VAN BEUNINGEN VAN HELSDINGEN, DR. R.	Singapore.
1878	WALKER, COL. R. S. F., C. M. G.	England.
1909	WARD, A. B.	Semanggang, Sarawak.
1897	WATKINS, A. J. W.,	Singapore.
1910	WATSON, DR. MALCOLM	Klang, F.M S.
1910	WELD, F. J.	Pahang.
1907	WELHAM, H.	Penang.
1912	WHARTON, S. L.	Singapore.
1910	WHITEHEAD, C. B.	Province Wellesley.
1912	WILLIAMS, F.	Raub, Pahang.
1904	WILLIAMS, J. H.	Perak. (?)
1913	WILLIAMS, R. B.	Bau, Sarawak.
1910	WILLIAMS, S. G.	Singapore.
1910*	WINKELMANN, H.	Singapore.
1904	WINSTEDT, R. O.	Kuala Pilah, N. Sembilan.
1910	WOLFERSTAN, L. E. P.	Malacca.
1902	WOLFF, E. C. H.	Taiping, Perak.
1908*	WOOD, E. G.	Kuala Kangsar.
1913	WOOD, W. L.	Taiping.
1910	WYATT, E. W. N.	London.
1910	WYMODZEFF, A. DE	Japan.
1904*	YOUNG, H. S.	Bau, Sarawak.

RULES

OF THE STRAITS BRANCH

of the

Royal Asiatic Society.

I. Name and Objects.

1. The name of the Society shall be 'The Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.'

2. The objects of the Society shall be :—

(*a*) the increase and diffusion of knowledge concerning British Malaya and the neighbouring countries.

(*b*) the publication of a Journal and of works and maps.

(*c*) the formation of a library of books and maps.

II. Membership.

3. Members shall be of two kinds—Ordinary and Honorary.

4. Candidates for ordinary membership shall be proposed and seconded by members and elected by a majority of the Council.

5. Ordinary members shall pay an annual subscription of $5 payable in advance on the first of January in each year. Members shall be allowed to compound for life membership by a payment of $50.

6. On or about the 30th of June in each year the Honorary Treasurer shall prepare and submit to the Council a list of those members whose subscriptions for the current year remain unpaid. Such members shall be deemed to be suspended from membership until their subscriptions have been paid, and in default of payment within two years shall be deemed to have resigned their membership.

No Member shall receive a copy of the Journal or other publications of the Society until his subscription for the current year has been paid.

7. Distinguished persons and persons who have rendered notable service to the Society may on the recommendation of the Council be elected Honorary members by a majority at a General meeting. They shall pay no subscription, and shall enjoy all the privileges of a member except a vote at meetings and eligibility for office.

III. Officers.

8. The officers of the Society shall be:—

A President.

Three Vice Presidents, resident in Singapore, Penang and the Federated Malay States respectively.

An Honorary Secretary.

An Honorary Treasurer.

An Honorary Librarian.

Four Councillors.

These officers shall be elected for one year at the annual General Meeting, and shall hold office until their successors are appointed.

9. Vacancies in the above offices occurring during any year shall be filled by a vote of majority of the remaining officers.

IV. Council.

10. The Council of the Society shall be composed of the officers for the current year, and its duties and powers shall be:—

(*a*) to administer the affairs, property and trusts of the Society.

(*b*) to elect ordinary members and to recommend candidates or election as Honorary members of the Society.

(*c*) to obtain and select material for publication in the Journal and to supervise the printing and distribution of the Journal.

(*d*) to authorise the publication of works and maps at the expense of the Society otherwise than in the Journal.

(*e*) to select and purchase books and maps for the Library.

(*f*) to accept or decline donations on behalf of the Society.

(*g*) to present to the Annual General Meeting at the expiration of their term of office a report of the proceedings and condition of the Society.

(*h*) to make and enforce by-laws and regulations for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Society. Every such by-law or regulation shall be published in the Journal.

11. The Council shall meet for the transaction of business once a month and oftener if necessary. Three officers shall form a quorum of the Council.

V. General Meetings.

12. One week's notice of all meetings shall be given and of the subjects to be discussed or dealt with.

13. At all meetings the Chairman shall in the case of an equality of votes be entitled to a casting vote in addition to his own.

14. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in February in each year. Eleven members shall form a quorum.

15. (i) At the Annual General Meeting the Council shall present a Report for the preceding year and the Treasurer shall render an account of the financial condition of the Society. Copies of such Report and account shall be circulated to members with the notice calling the meeting.

(ii) Officers for the current year shall also be chosen.

16. The Council may summon a General Meeting at any time, and shall so summon one upon receipt by the Secretary of a written requisition signed by five ordinary members desiring to submit any specified resolution to such meeting. Seven members shall form a quorum at any such meeting.

17. Visitors may be admitted to any meeting at the discretion of the Chairman, but shall not be allowed to address the meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

VI. Publications.

18. The Journal shall be published at least twice in each year, and oftener if material is available. It shall contain material approved by the Council. In the first number in each year shall be published the Report of the Council, the account of the financial position of the Society, a list of members, the Rules, and a list of the publications received by the Society during the preceding year.

19. Every member shall be entitled to one copy of the Journal, which shall be sent free by post. Copies may be presented by the Council to other Societies or to distinguished individuals, and the remaining copies shall be sold at such prices as the Council shall from time to time direct.

20. Twenty-four copies of each paper published in the Journal shall be placed at the disposal of the author.

VII. Amendments to Rules.

21. Amendments to these Rules must be proposed in writing to the Council, who shall submit them to a General Meeting duly summoned to consider them. If passed at such General Meeting they shall come into force upon confirmation at a subsequent General Meeting or at an Annual General Meeting.

Royal Asiatic Society.

22, Albemarle Street, W.

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1. The Royal Asiatic Society has its headquarters at 22, Albemarle Street, London, W., where it has a large library of books and MSS. relating to Oriental subjects, and holds monthly meetings from November to June (inclusive) at which papers on such subjects are read and discussed.

2. By Rule 105 of this Society all the Members of Branch Societies are entitled while on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within the limits of Great Britain, and Ireland, to the use of the Library as Non-Resident Members, and to attend the ordinary monthly meetings of this Society. This Society accordingly invites Members of Branch Societies temporarily resident in this country to avail themselves of these facilities and to make their home addresses known to the Secretary so that notice of the meetings may be sent to them.

3. Under Rule 84, the Council of the Society is able to accept contributions to its Journal from Members of Branch Societies, and other persons interested in Oriental research, of original articles, short notes, &c., on matters connected with the languages, archaeology, history, beliefs, and customs of any part of Asia.

4. By virtue of the afore-mentioned Rule 105, all Members of Branch Societies are entitled to apply for election to the Society without the formality of nomination. They should apply in writing to the Secretary, stating their names and addresses, and mentioning the Branch Society to which they belong. Election is by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council.

5. The subscription for Non-Resident Members of the Society is 30/-per annum. They receive the quarterly Journal post free.

A Romanized Version

of the

Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai

BY J. P. MEAD.

This version has been romanised by me from the same manuscript, which Dulaurier used, belonging once to Sir Stamford Raffles and now No. 67 in the catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society in London. I am indebted to that Society for the loan of the MS. and for permission to copy it. The original is for the most part legible but bears traces of an ignorant scribe; and the transcription of a few words is doubtful, in which case I have given the *Jawi* in a foot-note. There are numerous references to Pasai, a state in the north-east of Sumatra, in the *Sĕjarah Mĕlayu;* but our text contains no mention of Malacca.

Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai.

Al-kesah pĕri mĕngatakan chĕritĕra raja yang pĕrtama masok igama islam ini Pasai; maka ada di-chĕritakan oleh orang yang ĕmpunya chĕrita ini. Nĕgĕri yang di-bawah angin ini Pasai-lah yang pĕrtama mĕmbawa iman akan Allah dan akan rasul Allah. Maka ada raja dua bĕrsaudara sa-orang nama-nya Raja Ahmad dan sa-orang nama-nya Raja Mohammad. Ada pun yang tua Raja Ahmad. Maka baginda kĕdua bĕrsaudara itu hĕndak bĕrbuat nĕgĕri di-Sĕmĕrlanga. Maka Raja Mohammad itu pĕrgi-lah ia dĕngan sĕgala rayat-nya mĕnĕbas rimba itu; maka ada di-tĕngah rimba itu sa-rumpun bĕtong tĕrlalu amat tĕbal-nya bĕtong itu. Maka di-tĕbas oleh sĕgala rayat itu tiada habis di-tĕbas-nya, habis-habis tumboh pula. Maka bĕrangkat Raja kĕndiri mĕnĕbas bĕtong itu, maka habis-lah bĕtong itu. Maka di-lihat oleh Raja Mohammad pada sama tĕngah bĕtong itu ada rĕbong-nya sĕpĕrti badan bĕsar-nya; maka hĕndak di-parang oleh Raja Mohammad bĕtong itu, maka kĕluar sa-orang kanak-kanak pĕrĕmpuan tĕrlalu sa-kali baik paras-nya; maka di-buangkan-nya-lah gĕdubang-nya, lalu sĕgĕra di-ambil-nya kanak-kanak itu di-dukong-nya lalu di-bawa-nya kĕmbali ka-rumah-nya. Sĕrta di-lihat oleh istĕri baginda Raja Mohammad mĕndukong kanak-kanak itu, maka sĕgĕra-lah di-dapatkan oleh istĕri baginda lalu di-sambut-nya. Maka dudok-lah baginda kĕdua laki istĕri itu. Maka di-lihat oleh istĕri baginda budak-budak pĕrĕmpuan; maka tĕrlalu sukachita baginda laki istĕri itu. Maka baginda pun bĕrkhabar-lah kapada adinda itu daripada pĕrtama-nya datang kapada kĕsudahan-nya pĕri baginda mĕndapat kanak-kanak di-dalam rĕbong bĕtong. Maka di-nama'i oleh baginda putĕri Bĕtong. Maka di-pĕliharakan baginda sĕpĕrti anak sĕgala raja-raja dĕngan inang pĕngasoh-nya sĕrta dĕngan dayang-dayang-nya lĕngkap dĕngan pakaian-nya. Maka tĕrlalu kaseh baginda akan anakanda itu, makin sa-hari, makin bĕsar dan rupa-nya pun makin mĕnjĕlas. Maka tĕrdĕngar-lah khabar-khabar itu kapada kakanda baginda Raja Ahmad akan adinda itu bĕroleh mĕn-dapat kanak-kanak di-dalam rĕbong bĕtong itu. Maka baginda pun bĕrangkat-lah dua laki istĕri pĕrgi mĕlihat kanak-kanak yang di-dapat oleh adinda itu. Sa-tĕlah baginda sampai lalu masok ka-dalam rumah adinda itu. Maka adinda pun mĕmbĕri hormat akan kakanda itu bĕpĕrsilakan dudok. Maka baginda pun dudok-lah dua laki istĕri dan adinda pun dudok-lah mĕngadap dua laki istĕri. Maka sireh pada jorong ĕmas pun di-pĕrsĕmbahkan orang-lah ka-pada kakanda baginda. Sa-tĕlah itu, maka sabda baginda, "Hai, adinda Raja Mohammad, mana-tah anak tuan itu, kakanda hĕndak mĕlihat." Maka kata Raja Mohammad, "Hai inang pĕngasoh bawa-lah anak-ku itu ka-mari." Maka sĕgĕra-lah di-bawa-nya ka-

hadapan Raja Ahmad, maka baginda mělihat těrlalu sukachita lagi děngan paras-nya. Maka sabda baginda laki istěri pun běrmohon-lah kapada adinda laki istěri lalu kěmbali. Sa-tělah sudah něgěri itu di-pěrusaha oleh sěgala rayat děngan kota parit-nya sěrta děngan istana balai rong-nya. Maka baginda pun dudok-lah dalam něgěri itu běrsuka-suka-an makan minum měnjamu sěgala měntěri dan hulubalang rayat sakalian.

Al-kesah maka těrsěbut-lah pěrkata'an Raja Ahmad sělang běběrapa lama-nya, maka baginda pun běrbuat pula sa-buah něgěri di-balek rimba itu, ada kira-kira sa-hari pěrjalanan dari-pada něgěri adinda itu; itu pun lěngkap juga děngan kota parit-nya sěrta děngan istana balai rong-nya. Maka baginda pun dudok-lah dalam něgěri itu běrsuka-suka-an děngan sěgala bala těntěra-nya makan minum. Sa-tělah itu, maka běběrapa lama-nya baginda pun pěrgi běrburu kadalam rimba bělantara, maka sa-ekur pěrburuan tiada di-pěroleh-nya. Maka baginda pun běrtěmu děngan sa-buah surau di-těngah rimba bělantara itu. Maka ada sa-orang orang tua dalam surau itu. Maka Raja Ahmad měměri salam akan orang tua itu maka sěgěra di-sahuti-nya salam Raja Ahmad itu. Maka Raja Ahmad pun běrchětěra kapada orang tua itu akan hal saudara-nya měndapat putěri di-dalam rěbong bětong itu. Maka ujar orang tua itu. "Hai, anak-ku jikalau tuan hěndak akan anak baik-lah aku tunjokkan dia akan tuan nanti-lah tuan hamba di-sini barang sa-saat." Maka di-nanti-nya oleh Raja Ahmad itu. Maka pada sa-saat itu juga datang-lah sa-ekur gajah těrlalu běsar. Maka ada sa-orang kanak-kanak dudok atas kěpala-nya maka di-mandi-kan-nya ia ka-sungai. Sa-tělah sudah di-mandikan-nya, maka di-hantarkan-nya pula ka-těbing sungai itu. Maka pěrgi-lah ia pula měmandikan diri-nya. Sa-tělah sudah ia mandi, maka di-muatkan-nya akan kanak-kanak itu atas kěpala-nya; maka di-bawa-nya běr-jalan ka-rimba. Děmikian-lah hal-nya itu. Maka sěgala kělakuan gajah itu di-lihat-nya-lah Raja Ahmad itu. Maka ujar Raja Ahmad itu, "Hai bapa orang muda, hěndak-lah ěngkau muslihat-kan děngan daya upaya akan kanak-kanak itu, supaya kita pěroleh akan dia." Maka ujar Raja Ahmad "Hai bapa-ku, jikalau ěmas atau manikam di-tunjokkan hamba atau ada di-běri akan hamba tiada-lah hamba sukachita běhina sěpěrti hamba mělihat kanak-kanak ini." Maka ujar Raja Ahmad "Hamba hěndak běrmohon kapada tuanku kěmbali dahulu ka-něgěri hamba; mana jalan kěluar?" Maka di-tunjokkan-lah orang tua itu-lah jalan raya.

Maka kěluar-lah dari sana Raja Ahmad itu; tiba-tiba sampai-lah ia ka-něgěri-nya. Sa-tělah datang-lah ia ka-istana, maka tuan putěri pun běrdiri di-pintu istana měngalu-ngalukan Raja Ahmad datang. Maka ujar Raja Ahmad akan tuan putěri "Ayohaip adinda tuan putěri, pěrgi hamba běrburu itu, sa-ekur pěrburuan pun tiada hamba pěroleh, mělihat pěrburuan pun hamba tiada, mělainkan hamba běrtěmu děngan sa-buah surau di-těngah rimba bělantara, maka ada sa-orang orang tua dalam surau itu; maka hamba měm-

bĕri salam kapada orang tua itu maka di-sahuti-nya salam hamba itu. Maka hamba chĕtĕrakan kapada-nya akan hal saudara hamba mĕndapat putĕri dalam rĕbong bĕtong itu. Maka ujar orang tua itu "Jikalau tuan hĕndak akan anak, baik-lah biar hamba tunjokkan dia akan tuan; nanti-lah tuan hamba di-sini barang sa-saat." Maka hamba nanti, maka kapada sa-saat itu juga datang-lah sa-ekur gajah tĕrlalu amat bĕsar. Maka ada sa-orang kanak-kanak dudok di-atas kĕpala-nya. Maka di-mandikan-nya ia ka-sungai, tĕlah sudah di-mandikan-nya, maka di-hantarkan-nya ka-tĕbing sungai itu. Maka pĕrgi-lah pula ia mĕmandikan diri-nya. Sa-tĕlah sudah ia mandi maka di-muatkan-nya pula akan kanak-kanak itu di-atas kĕpala-nya, maka di-bawa-nya bĕrjalan ka-rimba; dĕmikian-lah pĕnglihat hamba." Maka ujar tuan putĕri "Ya-tuanku, muslihatkan apa-lah kira-nya akan kanak-kanak itu." Maka Raja Ahmad pun kĕluar-lah dari istana-nya mĕnghimpunkan sĕgala lashkar-nya. Apabila sudah bĕrhimpun sakalian-nya datang mĕngadap Raja Ahmad, maka di-chĕtĕrakan-nya pĕri hal kanak-kanak itu yang di-kĕpala-nya gajah itu pada sĕgala lashkar-nya hĕndak bĕrupayakan kanak-kanak itu di-kĕpala gajah itu.

Maka pada hari yang baik, pĕrgi-lah baginda dĕngan sĕgala lashkar-nya ka-rimba pada tĕmpat gajah mĕmandikan kanak-kanak itu. Shahadan maka orang tua yang pada surau itu pun ghaib-lah dĕngan surau-nya; tiada-lah di-lihat-nya di-sana lagi. Maka hari khamis pula masing-masing mĕngorek tanah akan tĕmpat bĕrsambaran akan mĕngambil kanak-kanak itu. Shahadan maka datang-lah kapada hari jĕmaat; maka kĕluar-lah gajah itu dari dalam rimba mĕmbawa kanak-kanak itu mĕmandikan-nya ka-sungai pada tĕmpat di-madikan-nya dahulu itu. Sa-tĕlah datang ia ka-sungai, maka di-mandikan-nya kanak-kanak itu, sa-tĕlah sudah di-mandikan-nya di-tĕbing sungai, maka gajah itu pun mĕmandikan diri-nya. Maka sĕgĕra-lah Raja Ahmad mĕngambil kanak-kanak itu. Maka lalu di-bawa-nya dĕngan sĕgĕra-nya bĕrjalan. Maka di-lihat oleh gajah itu lalu di-ikut-nya akan Raja Ahmad itu.

Maka sakalian lashkar-nya mĕnghalau gajah itu dan sa-tĕngah mĕlotar dia. Maka bĕrulang-lah gajah itu. Ada pun gajah itu, bĕrnama Bujang Sakalis lagi gajah itu tunggal tiada dapat lama hidup-nya dalam bĕnua. Maka Raja Ahmad pun bĕrjalan-lah ka-nĕgĕri-nya dĕngan sĕgala lashkar-nya. Hatta maka sampai-lah ka-istana-nya maka tuan putĕri pun bĕrdiri di-pintu istana-nya mĕ-ngalu-ngalukan Raja Ahmad itu. Maka tuan putĕri pun mĕlihat kapada kanak-kanak itu maka sĕgĕra-lah di-dapatkan-nya, lalu di-sambuti-nya daripada Raja Ahmad itu. Maka tĕrlalu-lah amat baik paras-nya; maka di-nama'i-nya Mĕrah Gajah. Maka mĕshhur-lah dalam nĕgĕri itu Raja Ahmad bĕroleh anak dan tĕrdĕngar-lah pada saudara-nya Raja Mohammad akan Raja Ahmad bĕroleh kanak-kanak itu. Maka datang-lah saudara-nya Raja Mohammad pĕrgi mĕlihat Mĕrah Gajah itu, maka ia pun amat sukachita mĕlihat kanak-kanak itu tĕrlalu amat baik paras-nya itu. Maka

Raja Ahmad pun bĕrchĕtĕra-lah kapada saudara-nya Raja Mohammad pĕri sĕgala kĕlakuan-nya ia bĕrburu itu dan ia bĕrtĕmu dĕngan sa-buah surau itu di-tĕngah rimba bĕlantara dan bĕrtĕmu dĕngan sa-orang orang tua dalam surau itu dan pĕri hal ia mĕndapat kanak-kanak itu. Maka Raja Mohammad pun bĕrmohon mĕnyĕmbah kakanda dua laki istĕri lalu ia kĕmbali ka-nĕgĕri-nya. Maka bĕbĕrapa lama antara-nya maka bĕsar-lah kanak-kanak itu kĕdua-nya. Maka di-dudokkan-nya-lah Mĕrah Gajah itu dĕngan putĕri Bĕtong. Maka bĕrbesan-lah ia kĕdua bĕrsaudara sĕntiasa ia dalam kĕsuka'an-nya.

Al-kesah pĕri mĕngatakan hikayat putĕri Bĕtong dĕngan Mĕrah Gajah di-chĕtĕrakan oleh orang yang ĕmpunya chĕtĕra. Hatta maka bĕbĕrapa lama-nya Mĕrah Gajah dudok dĕngan putĕri Bĕtong dua laki istĕri itu. Shahadan maka dĕngan takdir Allah taala, maka putĕri Bĕtong pun hamil-lah, maka tĕlah gĕnap-lah bulan-nya, maka putĕri Bĕtong pun bĕranak orang laki-laki. Maka di-nama'i-nya anak-nya itu Mĕrah Silu. Maka kĕmudian daripada itu, hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya, maka putĕri Bĕtong pun hamil pula. Tĕlah gĕnap bulan-nya, maka ia pun bĕranak-lah. Maka anak-nya itu pun laki-laki juga. Maka di-nama'i-nya Mĕrah Hasum. Hatta maka putĕri Bĕtong bahagia-nya sa-hĕlai rambut-nya di-tĕngah kĕpala-nya sĕpĕrti warna ĕmas rupa-nya, tiada kĕlihatan hingga ia bĕrminyak maka kĕlihatan rambut-nya itu: pada satu hari putĕri itu bĕrminyik, maka tĕrlihat-lah Mĕrah Gajah rambut Putĕri itu. Maka ujar Mĕrah Gajah kapada tuan putĕri itu. "Wah adinda, mari hamba bantunkan rambut tuan putĕri sa'hĕlai itu." Maka ujar tuan putĕri "Jika rambut hamba sa-hĕlai itu di-bantun oleh tuan hamba alamat pĕrchĕraian tuan hamba dĕngan hamba." Maka bĕbĕrapa kali di-minta-nya oleh Mĕrah Gajah itu, tiada juga di-bĕri oleh tuan putĕri itu. Maka suatu hari tuan putĕri itu pun tidur. Maka di-bantun-nya oleh Mĕrah Gajah rambut istĕri-nya itu, pada bichara-nya itu tiada akan mĕngapa tuan putĕri itu. Maka kĕluar-lah darah dari liang rambut itu tiada bĕrputusan lagi kĕluar darah-nya puteh, maka bĕrhĕnti-lah darah-nya itu, maka tuan putĕri pun hilang-lah. Maka sĕgala hamba sahaya-nya pun sĕgĕra-lah bĕrlari mĕmbĕri tahu kapada ayahanda Raja Mohammad. Maka ujar-nya "Ya tuanku, paduka anakanda tuan kami putĕri Bĕtong tĕlah hilang-lah sĕbab di-bantun oleh Mĕrah Gajah sa-hĕlai rambut-nya di-tĕngah kĕpala-nya." Sa-tĕlah Raja Mohammad mĕnĕngar khabar inang-nya itu mĕnghĕmpaskan diri-nya dan mĕmbĕlah-bĕlah baju-nya dan mĕncharek-charek kain-nya. Maka ia pun tĕrlalu marah, maka ia pun mĕnghimpunkan sĕgala lashkar-nya, maka di-datang-nya Mĕrah Gajah itu lalu di-bunoh-nya.

Tĕlah mati-lah Mĕrah Gajah itu, maka sĕgĕra-lah orang mĕmbawa khabar kapada ayahanda Raja Ahmad, dĕmikian kata-nya, "Wah, tuanku paduka anakanda Mĕrah Gajah itu tĕlah mati-lah

di-bunoh oleh mĕntua-nya sĕbab karna ia mĕmbantunkan rambut sa-hĕlai yang di-tĕngah kĕpala putĕri Bĕtong itu. Maka pikir anakanda Mĕrah Gajah itu tiada akan mati." Tĕlah sudah (ia) mĕnĕngar ayah bonda-nya akan sĕmbah orang itu, maka ia pun mĕnghĕmpaskan diri-nya dan mĕmbĕlah-bĕlah baju-nya dan mĕncharek-charek kain-nya. Maka Raja Ahmad pun tĕrlalu sangat marah-nya sĕrta ia mĕnghimpunkan sĕgala lashkar-nya lĕngkap dĕngan sĕgala sĕnjata-nya. Maka pada kĕtika yang baik, maka bĕrangkat-lah Raja Ahmad itu pĕrgi mĕndatangi saudara-nya Raja Mohammad. Maka apabila bĕrhadapan-lah kĕdua pihak lashkar itu, maka bĕrpĕrang-lah mĕreka itu tĕrlalu ramai kĕlam kabut. Maka duli pun bĕrbangkit lalu ka-udara tiada-lah bĕrkĕnalan lagi sa-orang dĕngan sa-orang jua pun. Maka tĕmpek sĕgala hulubalang dan sĕgala rayat juga yang kĕdĕngaran dan gĕmĕrĕnchang bunyi sĕgala sĕnjata dan pĕndahan sĕgala pahlawan juga kĕdĕngaran. Maka bahana-nya datang ka-tĕpi rimba bĕlantara. Maka daripada kĕdua pihak lashkar itu banyak-lah mati dan luka sĕbab bĕramok-amokan sama kĕndiri-nya dan bĕrbunoh-bunohan mĕreka itu hingga mati-lah kĕdua raja-raja itu. Maka tinggal-lah Mĕrah Silu dĕngan Mĕrah Hasum kĕdua bĕrsaudara itu dan sĕgala orang yang hidup daripada pĕrang itu bĕrhimpun-lah ia mĕnyĕmbah anak raja kĕdua itu bĕrsama-sama dalam nĕgĕri itu. Maka bĕbĕrapa lama antara-nya, maka kata Mĕrah Silu kapada saudara-nya Mĕrah Hasum itu, "Hai saudara-ku bĕtapa bichara kita karna kita hanya dua bĕrsaudara juga tinggal karna ninek dan ibu bapa kita tĕlah hilang dalam nĕgĕri Sĕmĕrlanga ini jikalau kita diam dalam nĕgĕri ini nĕschaya kita pun dĕmikian lagi karna kita dudok dalam nĕgĕri ini sakali-kali tiada mĕmbĕri manfaat akan kita, baik-lah kita pindah dari nĕgĕri ini mĕnchari tĕmpat yang baik yang lain supaya kita diam di-sana." Sa-tĕlah sudah ia bĕrbichara dua bĕrsaudara dĕmikian itu, maka pada kĕtika yang baik, maka kĕluar-lah ia dari dalam nĕgĕri itu mĕngikut jalan ka-mata-hari mati: daripada suatu pĕrhĕntian datang kapada suatu pĕrhĕntian. Maka dĕngan takdir Allah taala, maka sampai-lah ia kapada suatu nĕgĕri yang bĕrnama Bĕruana.* Maka dudok-lah ia di-sana, sa-orang sabĕlah sungai dalam nĕgĕri itu kĕdua bĕrsaudara.

Al-kesah pĕri mĕngatakan chĕtĕra Mĕrah Silu dan Mĕrah Hasum di-chĕtĕrakan oleh orang yang ĕmpunya chĕtĕra, tatkala ia diam di-dalam nĕgĕri Bĕruana itu; hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya pada suatu hari Mĕrah Silu itu pĕrgi bĕrmain ka-sungai. Maka di-lihat-nya ikan tĕrlalu banyak di-dalam sungai itu. Maka tatkala pulang ia ka-rumah-nya, maka di-suroh-nya orang-nya bĕrbuat bubu. Tĕlah sudah bubu itu di-pĕrbuat orang: maka pĕrgi-lah Mĕrah Silu itu ka-hulu sungai itu mĕnahan bubu-nya itu. Maka

* بروان

pada kĕ'esokkan hari-nya Mĕrah Silu itu pĕrgi mĕlihat bubu-nya. Maka di-lihat-nya pĕnoh dalam bubu itu gĕlang-gĕlang, maka di-buang-nya gĕlang-gĕlang dalam bubu-nya itu; maka di-tahan-nya pula bubu itu. Maka esok hari-nya pĕrgi pula ia mĕlihat pĕnoh juga dĕngan gĕlang-gĕlang, maka Mĕrah Silu pun pikir dalam hati-nya "Bahwa gĕlang-gĕlang ini kurnia Allah taala akan aku rupa-nya." Maka gĕlang-gĕlang itu pun di-bawa-nya pulang ka-rumah-nya lalu di-buboh-nya dalam kawah, maka di-suroh-nya rĕbus sĕmua-nya gĕlang-gĕlang itu. Maka dĕngan takdir Allah taala gĕlang-gĕlang itu pun mĕnjadi ĕmas dan bueh-nya mĕnjadi perak.

Maka mĕnjadi kaya-lah Mĕrah Silu itu. Maka di-chĕtĕrakan orang-lah kapada saudara-nya Mĕrah Hasum pĕri hal di-kurnia'i Allah taala akan Mĕrah Silu itu, dĕmikian kata-nya, "Bahwa kakanda Mĕrah Silu kami lihat di-bawa-nya gĕlang-gĕlang ka-rumah-nya masok dalam bubu-nya, maka pada hati kami di-makan-nya juga gĕlang-gĕlang itu." Sa-tĕlah sudah ia mĕndĕngar khabar saudara-nya itu, maka Mĕrah Hasum pun diam-lah. Maka kata Mĕrah Silu pada sĕgala lashkar-nya "mari-lah kita muslihatkan kĕrbau jalang yang tiada bĕrguna kapada tuan-tuan sakalian itu hamba hĕndak pĕrkĕnakan dia." Maka di-upah-nya oleh Mĕrah Silu akan mĕreka itu dĕngan ĕmas dan perak. Maka di-suroh-nya pĕrbuat andĕrak yaani kĕlaburan sakadar lulus kĕrbau dua tiga ratus. Sa-tĕlah sudah andĕrak itu, maka di-suroh-nya gĕmparkan pada sĕgala lashkar-nya kĕrbau jalang itu yang di-sisi liang itu. Maka kĕrbau itu pun tĕrkĕjut lalu masok ka-dalam liang itu, maka tĕrsungkur-lah tandok-nya pada pintu liang itu tiada-lah dapat masok dan kĕluar. Maka di-suroh-nya sĕbukan pintu liang itu dĕngan tanah sa-orang sa-gumpal. Hatta maka tĕrsĕbu-lah pintu itu, maka lalu mati-lah kĕrbau kampong itu, maka di-suroh Mĕrah Silu buka kĕrbau banyak itu kadalam andĕrak itu lalu ia jinak. Maka di-suroh oleh Mĕrah Silu chuchok hidong-nya kĕrbau itu. Maka kĕdĕngaran-lah warta-nya kapada saudara-nya Mĕrah Hasum akan Mĕrah Silu karna bĕrmain akan binatang yang tiada bĕrguna kapada orang yang banyak itu. Maka di-nama'i-nya tĕmpat itu dĕngan nama Kĕrbau Kampong. Maka Mĕrah Hasum pun marah akan saudara-nya Mĕrah Silu itu. Maka di-panggil-nya sahaya-nya sa-orang "Pĕrgi ĕngkau katakan, kata-ku ini ka-pada saudara-ku Mĕrah Silu apa guna-nya bĕrmain binatang yang tiada bĕrguna ka-pada orang yang banyak itu. Maka ia mĕmbĕri aku malu juga tiada di-dĕngar-nya kata-ku ini nyah-lah ia dari nĕgĕri ini, jangan-lah ia dudok bĕrsama-sama aku." Sa-tĕlah Mĕrah Silu mĕndĕngar kata saudara-nya dĕmikian itu, maka ia pun pikir dalam hati-nya, "Baik-lah jikalau Mĕrah Hasum bĕrkata dĕmikian kapada-ku, aku pun hĕndak mĕnchari tĕmpat diam." Maka datang-lah kapada hari yang baik maka Mĕrah Silu pun bĕrjalan-lah di-bawa-nya sĕgala harta-nya dan sĕgala kĕrbau-nya dan orang mĕmbawa sĕnawat-nya sa-kira-kira tujoh

orang yang mĕmbawa sĕnawat-nya itu. Maka pada tĕmpat Mĕrah Silu bĕrjalan itu, maka putus bukit sa-buah bĕkas kĕrbau-nya bĕrjalan itu. Hatta maka bĕbĕrapa lama-nya ia bĕrjalan Mĕrah Silu itu sampai-lah ka-hulu sungai Pasangan, maka datang-lah ia ka-sempang di-hulu Karang. Maka Mĕrah Silu itu pun diam-lah pada nĕgĕri itu. Maka bĕbĕrapa lama-nya ia dudok dalam nĕgĕri itu maka kĕrbau itu pun habis mĕmakan padi orang dan mĕnĕrkap pisang orang sakalian. Maka sĕgala orang dalam nĕgĕri itu dĕngar-lah akan Mĕrah Silu itu. Maka kata sĕgala orang dalam nĕgĕri itu " Binatang apa di-bawa ka-nĕgĕri ini; habis-lah tanam-tanaman kami binasa di-makan-nya oleh binatang ini, jikalau dĕmikian jangan-lah tuan tuan dudok bĕrsama-sama dĕngan kami." Sa-tĕlah Mĕrah Silu mĕndĕngar kata mĕreka itu sakalian, maka kata Mĕrah Silu " Hai sĕgala tuan-tuan dalam nĕgĕri ini, sabar-lah tuan-tuan dahulu sĕmĕntara hamba mĕnchari tĕmpat dudok." Kĕmudian maka Mĕrah Silu pĕrgi-lah mĕnchari tĕmpat dudok, lalu ia bĕrjalan mudek ka-hulu Sĕmĕnda. Maka sampai-lah kapada suatu nĕgĕri bĕrnama Buloh Tĕlang. Maka di-sana-lah ia bĕrtĕmu dĕngan Mĕgat Iskandar, maka di-singgahkan-nya oleh Mĕgat Iskandar Mĕrah Silu itu di-pĕrjamu-nya makan minum. Sa-tĕlah sudah di-pĕrjamu-nya, maka ujar Mĕgat Iskandar kapada Mĕrah Silu " Apa kĕhĕndak tuan hamba kapada hamba ini." Maka ujar Mĕrah Silu, " Ada pun hamba datang kapada tuan hamba ini, hamba hĕndak minta tĕmpat dudok, karna hamba tiada bĕrtĕmpat." Maka kata Mĕgat Iskandar "Jikalau dĕmikian baik-lah anakanda dudok di-sini sĕrta dĕngan hamba jikalau pĕrhumaan pun luas, dan jikalau kĕrbau pun baik, banyak tĕmpat-nya makan." Maka ujar Mĕrah Silu "Jikalau ada kaseh tuan apa-tah salah-nya, tuan-lah akan bapa hamba." Maka Mĕrah Silu pun bĕrmohon-lah kapada Mĕgat Iskandar, lalu ia pĕrgi-lah mĕngambil sĕgala harta-nya dan sĕgala lashkar-nya dan sĕgala kĕrbau-nya; maka di-bawa-nya-lah sakalian ka-Buloh Tĕlang itu. Maka di-sana Mĕrah Silu itu diam.

Hatta kalakian maka bĕbĕrapa lama-nya Mĕrah Silu itu dudok di-sana, sa-hari-hari kĕrja-nya bĕrmain-main ayam mĕnyabong. Maka datang-lah sĕgala juara bĕrmain ayam mĕnyabong kapada Mĕrah Silu itu dan jikalau Mĕrah Silu itu alah, di-bayar-nya taroh-nya dan jikalau orang itu alah tiada di-minta-nya taroh-nya orang itu. Maka tĕrdĕngar-lah kapada sĕgala orang bĕsar-bĕsar dan sĕgala orang tua-tua yang dalam nĕgĕri itu. Maka sĕgala mĕreka itu pun datang-lah bĕrmain-main mĕnyabong kapada Mĕrah Silu itu. Maka apabila mĕreka itu kĕmbali, maka di-bĕri-nya mĕreka itu sa-orang sa-ekur kĕrbau, maka sukachita-lah sĕgala orang yang datang itu yang bĕrmain dĕngan Mĕrah Silu itu. Sa-bĕrmula sĕgala yang datang mĕlihat dia sakalian-nya di-bĕri-nya kĕrbau sa-ekur sa-orang, dĕmikian-lah hal-nya Mĕrah Silu itu.

Sa-bĕrmula Mĕgat Iskandar dan Mĕgat Kĕdah itu kĕdua-nya kakanda kapada Sultan Malik al-Nasar di-Rimba Jĕrau dan sĕgala

rayat pun kaseh-lah ia akan Mĕrah Silu itu. Shahadan maka di-suroh oleh Mĕgat Iskandar pada sĕgala rayat mĕmbawa bĕras sa-orang sa-kampit dan sa-orang sa-ekur (kĕrbau) akan mĕmbawa pĕkĕrjaan itu. Maka datang kapada suatu hari muafakat-lah Mĕgat Iskandar dĕngan sĕgala orang bĕsar-bĕsar dan sĕgala orang tua-tua dan sĕgala rayat dalam nĕgĕri itu. Maka ujar Mĕgat Iskandar, "Hai, sĕgala tuan-tuan, apa bichara kita akan Mĕrah Silu ini; maka pada bichara hamba baik-lah kita rajakan karna ia pun sĕdia raja, lagi ia hartawan; dapat kita bĕrsuaka kapada-nya." Maka pada antara mĕreka itu sakalian ada sa-orang bĕrnama Tan Hĕrba Bĕnong, tiada mahu ia mĕrajakan Mĕrah Silu itu. Maka ujar Mĕgat Kĕdah "Jikalau ia kita rajakan, nĕschaya anak chuchu kit adi-pĕrentah-nya." Maka muafakat-lah Mĕgat Iskandar dĕngan sĕgala orang yang banyak sĕrta dĕngan dia hĕndak mĕrajakan Mĕrah Silu itu. Sa-tĕlah sudah ia jadi raja, maka di-datangi-nya-lah Sultan Malik al-Nasar ka-Rimba Jĕrau. Maka fighalib-lah ia dĕngan Sultan Malik al-Nasar. Hatta maka ghalib-lah pĕrang Mĕrah Silu, maka pĕchah-lah pĕrang Sultan Malik al-Nasar. Maka surut-lah ia pada suatu nĕgĕri Bĕnua nama-nya; di-sana-lah ia bĕrtahan dĕngan bĕrbuat istana.

Maka bĕbĕrapa lama-nya ia dudok dalam nĕgĕri itu, maka pada suatu hari, maka di-datangi-nya pula oleh Mĕrah Silu akan Sultan Malik al-Nasar dĕngan di-pĕrangi-nya, itu pun surut juga ia ka-rimba raya. Maka di-namaï Mĕrah Silu rimba itu Pĕrtama Tĕrjun di-sĕbut orang datang sĕkarang. Ada pun akan Sultan Malik al-Nasar sampai-lah ia kapada suatu nĕgĕri; maka ia dudok dalam nĕgĕri itu bĕrbuat istana. Hatta maka bĕrapa lama-nya dudok dalam nĕgĕri itu, maka di-wartakan orang kapada Mĕrah Silu akan Sultan Malik al-Nasar bĕrhĕnti kapada suatu tĕmpat dĕngan sĕgala hulubalang-nya dan sĕgala rayat-nya sakalian-nya; maka kĕmudian di-datangi-nya pula oleh Mĕrah Silu akan Sultan Malik al-Nasar itu.

Maka pĕrang-lah ia tĕrlalu ramai; maka banyak-lah orang yang mati dan luka; maka Sultan Malik al-Nasar itu pun pĕchah-lah pĕrang-nya lalu ia bĕrlĕpas diri-nya ka-bĕlakang Gunong Tĕlawas; maka di-kubuï-nya oleh Mĕrah Silu akan Sultan itu; lĕpas juga ia daripada kubu-nya itu. Maka di-namaï oleh Mĕrah Silu tĕmpat itu Kubu, di-sĕbut orang sĕkarang. Maka Sultan itu pun bĕrlĕpas diri-nya kapada suatu nĕgĕri. Maka sampai-lah kapada suatu jorang yang pichek lagi dalam, maka tĕrkĕrsang sa-orang hulubalang-nya Sultan itu. Maka di-namaï jorang dan nĕgĕri itu Pĕkĕrsang. Maka Sultan Malik al-Nasar pun lalu dari sana sampai ka-Kumat. Maka bĕrapa lama-nya ia dudok di-Kumat itu dĕngan sĕgala hulubalang-nya sĕrta sĕgala rayat-nya, maka muafakat-lah ia sakalian mĕreka itu bĕrbuat kota. Sa-tĕlah sudah ia bĕrbuat kota, maka tĕrdĕngar-lah kapada Mĕgat Iskandar. Maka di-datangi-nya oleh Mĕgat Iskandar itu ka-Kumat akan Sultan itu pun pĕrang-lah, maka bĕrapa lama-nya pĕrang sakalian

mĕreka itu, maka banyak-lah sĕgala hulubalang itu mati: maka Sultan pun pĕchah-lah pĕrang-nya dan sĕgala rayat lashkar-nya pun chĕrai-bĕrai-lah tiada bĕrkĕtahuan pĕrgi-nya. Maka dalam antara itu ada sa-orang hulubalang-nya bĕrnama Tan Haria Bĕnong lalu ia mĕmbawa diri-nya ka-nĕgĕri Baras. Maka apakala datang ia ka-Baras, maka di-ambil oleh Raja Baras Tan Haria Bĕnong itu akan mĕnangkap-nya; maka dari karna sĕbab itu-lah Raja Baras itu, jikalau tua sakali pun bĕrkirim sĕmbah juga ia kapada Raja Pasai dan jikalau muda sakali pun Raja Pasai bĕrkirim salam juga ia kapada Raja Baras.

Hatta maka Mĕrah Silu itu pun di-rajakan oleh Mĕgat Iskandar di-Rimba Jĕrau itu. Maka di-chĕtĕrakan oleh orang yang ĕmpunya chĕtĕra. Sa-kali pĕrsĕtua pada zaman Nabi Mohammad Rasul Allah salla Allahu alaihi wa's-salam tatkala lagi hayat hadzrat yang maha mulia itu, maka sabda ia kapada sahabat baginda di-Makah, dĕmikian sabda baginda, " Bahwa ada sa-pĕninggal-ku wafat itu, ada sa-buah nĕgĕri di-bawah angin, Sĕmudĕra nama-nya; apabila ada di-dĕngar khabar nĕgĕri itu, maka kami suroh sa-buah kapal mĕmbawa pĕrkakas alat kĕrajaan dan kamu bawa ia orang dalam nĕgĕri itu masok igama Islam sĕrta mĕnguchap doa kalimah as'shahadat. Shahadan lagi akan di-jadikan Allah subhanahu wataala dalam nĕgĕri itu tĕrbanyak daripada sĕgala wali Allah jadi dalam nĕgĕri itu; ada pun pĕrtama ada sa-orang fakir di-nĕgĕri Mĕngiri nama-nya ia-itu-lah kamu bawa sĕrta kamu ka-nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra itu." *

Maka tĕrsĕbut-lah pĕrkataan Mĕrah Silu di-Rimba Jĕrau itu. Sa-kali pĕrsĕtua pada suatu hari Mĕrah Silu pĕrgi bĕrburu. Maka ada sa-ekur anjing di-bawa-nya akan pĕrburuan Mĕrah Silu itu bĕrnama Si-Pasai. Maka di-lĕpaskan-nya anjing itu, lalu ia mĕnyalak di-atas tanah tinggi itu. Maka di-lihat-nya ada sa-ekur sĕmut bĕsar-nya sĕpĕrti kuching; maka di-tangkap-nya oleh Mĕrah Silu sĕmut itu, maka lalu di-makan-nya. Maka tanah tinggi itu pun di-suroh Mĕrah Silu tĕbas pada sĕgala orang yang sĕrta-nya itu. Maka sa-tĕlah itu di-pĕrbuat-nya akan istana-nya; sa-tĕlah maka Mĕrah Silu pun dudok-lah ia di-sana; dĕngan sĕgala hulubalang-nya dan sĕgala rayat-nya diam ia di-sana. Maka di-namaï oleh Mĕrah Silu nĕgĕri itu Sĕmudĕra bĕrti-nya sĕmut yang amat bĕsar; di-sana-lah ia diam raja itu. Hatta bĕrapa lama-nya kĕmudian daripada hadzrat nabi salla Allahu alaihi wa's-salam wafat, maka tĕrdĕngar-lah khabar kapada sharif yang di-Makah ada suatu nĕgĕri di-bawah angin bĕrnama Sĕmudĕra, maka oleh khalifah sharif, maka ia mĕnyuroh sa-buah kapal akan mĕmbawa sĕgala pĕrkakas alat kĕrajaan ka-nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra. Sa-tĕlah sudah kapal itu lĕngkap, maka di-suroh sharif Shaikh Ismail itu singgah ka-nĕgĕri Mĕngiri. Sa-tĕlah maka bĕrapa lama-nya bĕrlayar, maka sampai-lah ia ka-nĕgĕri Mĕngiri itu, maka bĕrlaboh-lah ia di-tĕlok

*cf. Shellabear's "*Sĕjarah Mĕlayu*" (*Romanized*) p. 32-36.

Mĕngiri. Ada pun Raja dalam nĕgĕri itu Sultan Mohammad nama-nya. Maka tĕrlihat-lah oleh orang Mĕngiri sa-buah kapal bĕrlaboh di-tĕlok itu. Maka sĕgĕra ia masok mĕngadap raja sĕrta ia bĕrdatang sĕmbah dĕmikian sĕmbah-nya, "Daulat dirgahayu, shah alam ada sa-buah kapal bĕrlaboh di-tĕlok kita ini." Maka Sultan Mohammad pun bĕrsabda kapada pĕrdana mĕntĕri, dĕmi kian sabda baginda, "Hai pĕrdana mĕntĕri suroh lihati kapal itu." Maka pĕrdana mĕntĕri pun sĕgĕra kĕluar mĕnyurohkan orang sa-buah pĕrahu mĕlihat kapal itu. Sa-tĕlah sudah ia sampai-lah pĕrahu itu ka-kapal, maka ia pun lalu bĕrtanya. Maka ujar-nya, "Darimana kapal ini datang dan siapa nama nakhoda-nya dan ka-mana ia hĕndak pĕrgi?" Maka sahut orang kapal itu, "Ada pun kapal ini dari Makah dan nama nakhoda-nya Shaikh Ismail di-surohkan oleh khalifah sharif di-Makah ka-nĕgĕri yang bĕrnama Sĕmudĕra." Sa-tĕlah sudah ia mĕnĕngar khabar orang dalam kapal itu maka ia pun kĕmbali-lah ka-darat, maka ia pun pĕrgi kapada pĕrdana mĕntĕri. Maka di-katakan-nya sĕpĕrti kata orang dalam kapal itu. Maka pĕrdana mĕntĕri pun masok ia mĕngadap raja sĕrta bĕrdatang sĕmbah, "Ya tuanku shah alam, ada pun kapal itu dari Makah, nama nakhoda-nya Shaikh Ismail, hĕndak pĕrgi ka-nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra. Ada pun Sultan Mohammad itu daripada anak chuchu hadzrat Abu Bakar al-tasdik hayya 'llah 'anhu. Maka Sultan mĕnyuroh hantarkan sĕgala makan-makanan dan sĕgala neemat akan Shaikh Ismail. Sa-tĕlah sudah sampai-lah sĕgala makan-makanan itu, maka Sultan pun mĕrajakan sa-orang anak-nya yang tua di-nĕgĕri Mĕngiri itu akan ganti-nya kĕrajaan. Maka baginda dua bĕranak dĕngan anak-nya yang muda itu mĕmakai pakaian fakir mĕninggalkan kĕrajaan-nya, turun dari istana-nya lalu naik ka-kapal itu. Maka kata-nya kapada orang dalam kapal itu, "Kamu bawa hamba ka-nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra itu." Maka pada hati orang yang dalam kapal itu, "Bahwa ini-lah fakir yang sĕpĕrti sabda Rasul salla Allahu alaihi wa's-salam itu." Maka fakir itu pun di-bawa-nya-lah naik ka-kapal itu lalu bĕlayar.

Hatta maka bĕrapa lama-nya di-laut. Sa-bĕrmula bĕrmimpi-lah Mĕrah Silu di-lihat-nya dalam mimpi-nya itu ada sa-orang orang mĕnampong dagu-nya dĕngan sĕgala jari-nya dan mata-nya pun di tutup-nya dĕngan ĕmpat jari-nya, dĕmikian kata-nya, "Hai Mĕrah Silu, uchap oleh-mu doa kalimah as-shahadat." Maka sahut Mĕrah Silu, "Tiada hamba tahu mĕnguchap akan dia." Maka ujar-nya "Bukakan mulut-mu." Maka di-bukakan-nya oleh Mĕrah Silu. Maka di-ludahi-nya mulut Mĕrah Silu, rasa-nya lĕmak manis. Maka ujar-nya akan Mĕrah Silu, "Hai Mĕrah Silu, ĕngkau-lah Sultan Malik al-Salleh nama sĕkarang islam-lah ĕngkau dĕngan mĕnguchap doa kalimah as-shahadat itu dan sĕgala binatang yang hidup lagi halal ĕngkau sĕmbĕleh 'kau makan dan yang tiada di-sĕmbĕleh jangan ĕngkau makan. Sa-bĕrmula dalam ĕmpat puloh hari lagi ada sa-buah kapal datang dari Makah, barang

sĕgala kata-nya dan barang sĕgala pĕrbuatan-nya yang bĕrpatutan dĕngan sĕgala pĕkĕrjaan igama islam orang yang dalam kapal itu jangan-lah ĕngkau-laluï, dan hĕndak-lah-ĕngkau turut barang pĕngajar-nya." Maka ujar Mĕrah Silu, "Siapa-kah tuan hamba ini." Maka sahut suara dalam mimpi itu "Aku-lah nabi Mohammad rasul Allah salla Allahu alaihi wa's-salam yang di-Makah itu." Maka di-tanggalkan-nya tangan-nya daripada dagu-nya itu. Maka sabda Rasul Allah salla Allahu alaihi wa's-salam akan Mĕrah Silu itu, "Tundok-lah ĕngkau ka-bawah." Maka tundok-lah Mĕrah Silu ka-bawah, sĕrta jaga ia daripada tidur-nya, maka di-lihat-nya yang di-bawah suchi-lah. Maka kata-nya, "Ashahdan, la ilaha Allahu wahid la sharika lahu, wa ashahdan Mohammad 'abda-hu wa rasulahu." Maka sa-tĕlah sudah ia mĕnguchap doa kalimah itu, maka ia mĕmbacha koran tiga-puloh juz khatam dĕngan lafath-nya ia tiada dĕngan di-pĕlajari-nya lagi pada sa-orang jua pun. Maka ujar orang banyak dan sĕgala hulubalang akan Mĕrah Silu itu, "Ada pun raja kita ini kĕluar kata-nya itu tiada kita tahu akan barang kata-nya itu." Ada pun di-chĕtĕrakan oleh orang yang ĕmpunya chĕtĕra. Hatta bĕrapa lama-nya, maka kapal Shaikh Ismail itu pun sampai-lah ka-Tĕlok Tĕria, maka kapal itu pun bĕrlaboh-lah. Maka fakir itu pun naik-lah ia ka-darat; maka ia bĕrtĕmu dĕngan sa-orang orang mĕnjala ikan, maka kata fakir itu, "Apa nama nĕgĕri ini?" Maka sahut-nya orang itu, "Ada pun nama nĕgĕri ini Sĕmudĕra." Maka kata fakir itu, "Siapa nama pĕnghulu-nya?" Maka sahut-nya orang mĕnjala itu, "Nama Raja dalam nĕgĕri ini Mĕrah Silu dan bĕrgĕlar Sultan Malik al Salleh." Sa-tĕlah sudah ia bĕrkata-kata, maka orang mĕnjala itu pun kĕmbali-lah ia; maka fakir itu pun naik-lah ia ka-kapal-nya. Shahadan maka pada kĕesokkan hari-nya, maka Shaikh Ismail pun turun-lah ia ka-darat pĕrgi ka-nĕgĕri kapada Sultan Malik al Salleh. Sĕrta ia datang kapada Sultan Malik al Salleh, maka ujar Shaikh Ismail, "Hai, Sultan, uchap-lah oleh tuan hamba doa kalimah as-shahadat." Maka Sultan pun mĕnguchap as-shahadat, ia itu, "Shahadan la ilaha Allahu wahid la sharika lahu, wa ashahdan Mohammad 'abda-hu wa rasula-hu." Sa-tĕlah sudah, maka Shaikh Ismail pun mĕnyapu janggut-nya, maka pada kĕesokkan hari-nya datang-lah fakir itu mĕmbawa kuran tiga-puloh juz itu kapada Sultan Malik al Salleh; maka di-unjokkan-nya oleh fakir itu kuran kapada Sultan Malik al Salleh; maka di-sambuti-nya dĕngan taadzim lalu di-kunjongi-nya sĕrta di-buka-nya lalu di-bacha-nya, tiada-lah ia minta ajari lagi, tahu-lah ia mĕmbacha ia sĕndiri-nya, maka fakir dan Shaikh Ismail pun kĕdua-nya mĕnguchap, "Al-hamdulillahi rabbu'l-al'amin." Sa-tĕlah sudah, maka di-suroh oleh Shaikh Ismail mĕnghimpunkan sĕgala hulubalang dan sĕgala rayat bĕsar kĕchil dan tua muda laki-laki dan pĕrĕmpuan. Maka apabila sudah bĕrhimpun-lah sakalian-nya, maka di-ajari oleh Shaikh Ismail mĕnguchap shahadat akan mĕreka itu sakalian-nya. Maka sĕgala mĕreka itu pun rela-lah mĕnguchap

doa kalimah as-shahadat dĕngan tulus ikhlas yakin hati-nya. Sĕbab itu-lah maka di-namaï Sĕmudĕra itu nĕgĕri Daru'l-Islam, karna tiada sakalian-nya orang itu dĕngan di-gagahi dan tiada musakatkan-nya dan tiada dĕngan di-pĕrlĕlahkan-nya pada mĕngĕrjakan kĕrja masok igama Islam. Maka Shaikh pun mĕnyuroh ka-Sĕmudĕra Daru'l-Islam. Sa-tĕlah datang sĕgala alat pĕrkakas kĕrajaan, maka pada kĕtika yang baik, maka bĕrhimpun-lah sĕgala hulubalang dan sĕgala rayat mĕngadap. Maka Sultan pun mĕmakai sa-lĕngkap pakaian kĕrajaan anugĕrah Makah, karna akan di-tabalkan. Maka sĕgala hulubalang pun sakalian-nya bĕrsaf-saf dudok mĕngadap nobat Ibrahim Khalil; bĕntara pun bĕrdiri mĕnjabat salih, dan sĕgala pĕgawai pun masing-masing mĕmbawa jabatan-nya. Maka gĕndĕrang tabal itu pun di-palu orang-lah dan sĕgala bunyi-bunyian pun bĕrbunyi-lah. Maka bĕdil nobat itu pun di-pasang orang-lah dan sĕgala hulubalang dan sĕgala rayat sakalian mĕnjunjong duli mĕnyĕmbah mĕngatakan, "Daulat dirgahayu shah alam thilu 'llah fi-l-alam." Sa-tĕlah Sultan sudah tabal, maka sĕgala hulubalang pun dudok-lah dĕngan mĕrtabat-nya mĕngadap baginda itu. Ada pun orang bĕsar-bĕsar dalam nĕgĕri itu dua orang, sa-orang bĕrnama Tan Sĕri Kaya dan sa-orang bĕrnama Tan Baba Kaya, dan Tan Sĕri Kaya itu di-gĕlar Said Ali Ghiana Aladin dan Baba Kaya itu di-namaï Sĕmayam Aladin. Sa-tĕlah bĕrapa lama-nya Shaikh Ismail di-Sĕmudĕra Daru'l-Islam, maka ia pun bĕrdatang sĕmbah kapada Sultan Malik al Salleh mohon kĕmbali; maka Sultan pun mĕnghimpunkan hadiah akan Khalifah Sharif sĕpĕrti ambar dan kapur barus dan gaharu chĕndana dan kĕmĕnyan dan khĕlĕmbak dan chingkeh pala sakalian-nya itu ada kira-kira sa-ratus bahara; maka sakalian-nya itu di-pĕrsĕmbahkan kapada Shaikh Ismail. Maka sabda Sultan, "Ya Shaikh, ini-lah hadiah yang di-pĕrhambakan khalifah sharif Makah yang di-pĕrmohonkan bĕrkat doa dahulu Allah dan bĕrkat shafaat nabi Mohammad rasul Allah dan bĕrkat khalifah sharif." Sa-tĕlah sudah, maka Shaikh Ismail pun naik-lah ia ka-kapal lalu bĕrlayar-lah. Maka fakir itu pun tinggal-lah di-Sĕmudĕra akan mĕnĕtapkan igama Islam dalam nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra. Ada pun di-chĕtĕrakan oleh orang yang ĕmpunya chĕtĕra: ada suatu kaum orang dalam nĕgĕri itu tiada ia mahu masok igama Islam; maka ia lari ka-ulu sungai Pasangan; maka karna itu-lah di-namaï orang dalam nĕgĕri itu Gayu hingga datang sĕkarang ini. Ada pun akan Sultan, bĕlum lagi ia bĕristĕri. Sa-kali pĕrsĕtua pada suatu hari, maka bĕrdatang sĕmbah sĕgala mĕntĕri dan sĕgala hulubalang dĕmikian sĕmbah-nya, "Daulat dirgahayu shah alam, sĕmbah patek yang di-pĕrhamba ka-bawah duli shah alam, baik kira-nya tuan-ku kahwin supaya jangan putus mualat kĕrajaan shah alam, turun-tĕmurun datang kapada anak chuchu shah alam juga." Dĕmi Sultan mĕnĕngar sĕmbah sĕgala mĕntĕri dan sĕgala hulubalang itu, maka mĕmbĕri titah Sultan itu, "Jikalau dĕmikian, sĕmbah kamu kapada aku di-pĕrkĕnankan-lah. Maka chari-lah orang siapa yang

bĕrkĕnan baik pada hati tuan-tuan sakalian." Maka bĕrdatang sĕmbah pula mĕreka itu sakalian, " Ya tuanku shah alam, ada kami di-pĕrhamba mĕnĕngar warta sa-orang raja di-nĕgĕri Pĕrlak itu ada bagi-nya anak tiga orang pĕrĕmpuan tĕrlalu amat baik paras-nya; baik-lah tuan-ku mĕnyuroh ka-sana; ia pun raja bĕsar lagi gagah." Maka Sultan mĕmbĕri titah ka-pada sa-orang mĕntĕri-nya, di-surohkan-nya bĕrtĕmu kapada raja itu sĕrta dĕngan sĕgala pĕrĕmpuan yang tua-tua lagi tahu bĕrkata-kata akan sĕgala pĕkĕrjaan tĕlangkai itu. Sa-tĕlah sudah lĕngkap-lah, maka pada kĕtika yang baik, maka sĕgala mĕntĕri itu pun naik-lah ia ka-kapal, lalu-lah ia bĕrlayar mĕnuju nĕgĕri Pĕrlak itu. Maka bĕrapa lama-nya antara-nya, maka sampai-lah ia mĕntĕri itu ka-Pĕrlak. Maka bĕrlaboh-lah ia di-tĕluk Pĕrlak itu. Maka di-pĕrsĕmbahkan orang-lah kapada raja Pĕrlak, sĕmbah-nya, " Ya tuanku shah alam, ada sa-buah kapal bĕrlaboh di-tĕluk kita ini." Maka titah Raja Pĕrlak, "Pĕrgi-lah ĕngkau lihati kapal itu." Maka pĕrgi-lah orang yang mĕlihat itu sa-buah pĕrahu; maka apabila sampai-lah ia ka-kapal itu, maka bĕrtanya-lah ia, "Dari-mana datang kapal ini dan pĕkĕrjaan (apa) datang tuan hamba kamari." Maka sahut orang kapal itu "Kami ini dari nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra Daru'l Islam mĕmbawa warta yang baik dan kami datang ini hĕndak mĕnjunjong duli Sultan Pĕrlak." Maka orang yang mĕlihati itu pun sĕgĕra-lah ia kĕmbali bĕpĕrsĕmbahkan sĕgala kata mĕntĕri itu kapada Sultan Pĕrlak. Maka titah Sultan Pĕrlak, "Pĕrgi-lah kamu sambut mĕntĕri itu." Sa-tĕlah pĕrgi-lah ia mĕmanggil mĕntĕri itu, maka mĕntĕri itu pun turun-lah ia dĕngan sĕgala pĕgawai-nya mĕngadap Sultan Pĕrlak; sĕrta datang lalu ia mĕnyĕmbah sakalian-nya. Maka sabda Raja, " Hai mĕntĕri, apa pĕkĕrjaan kamu kamari ini?" Maka bĕrdatang sĕmbah mĕntĕri itu, " Ya tuanku shah alam, akan hal patek ini di-titahkan paduka anakanda Sultan Sĕmudĕra Malik al Salleh raja di-nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra Daru'l Islam hĕndak mĕnjunjong duli shah alam." Maka di-pĕrsĕmbahkan-nya-lah sĕgala kĕlĕngkapan dan sĕgala pĕrhiasan yang di-bawa-nya itu dan bĕpĕrsĕmbahkan sĕgala kata yang baik-baik lagi sĕmpĕrna daripada yang mĕmbĕri nasihat pada mĕmbĕrsehkan muka sĕgala manusia dan mĕnĕrang-kan sĕgala hati yang karatan akan pĕkĕrjaan mĕminang tuan putĕri itu. Dĕmi di-dĕngar Raja Pĕrlak sĕgala sĕmbah mĕntĕri itu, maka baginda pun sukachita-lah dan sĕgala hulubalang pun tĕrlalu sukachita. Maka orang pun mĕngangkat sireh pada jorong suasa dan jorong perak pada sĕgala mĕntĕri itu masing-masing pada mĕrtabat-nya. Maka Sultan pun mĕmbĕri titah, dĕmikian bunyi-nya, "Hai sĕgala mĕntĕri Sĕmudĕra sa-harus-nya-lah kita pĕr-kĕnankan kĕhĕndak anak kita Sultan Malik al Salleh itu, karna ia pun daripada bangsa kita juga." Maka pada kĕesokkan hari-nya, maka di-suroh baginda pĕrhias istana-nya dan anakanda tuan putĕri dua orang itu dĕngan pakaian yang kĕĕmasan bĕrtatahkan ratna mutu manikam, dan sa-orang lagi anak gundek baginda bĕrnama tuan putĕri Ganggang itu diri-nya mĕmakai kain sutĕra

chĕngkurai dan bĕrbaju warna bunga jambu dan mĕmakai chinchin bĕpĕrmata dan bĕrsubang bĕrjĕntĕra. Maka dudok-lah ia pada tĕmpat yang tinggi mĕngadap orang mĕmbuat sĕgala makanan pĕrjamuan-nya akan sĕgala mĕntĕri dan sĕgala pĕrĕmpuan yang datang dari nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra yang tĕlangkai itu. Maka tatkala di-lihat oleh orang banyak akan tuan putĕri yang tiga bĕrsaudara itu, maka sĕgala manusia pun lĕkat-lah hati-nya kapada tuan putĕri Ganggang itu, oleh karna baik paras-nya dan amat manis barang laku-nya pada sĕgala manusia. Maka kata mĕreka itu bĕrtanya "Siapa dudok di-atas tinggi itu." Maka sahut orang itu, "Ini pun anak Raja kami juga, tĕtapi ia-itu anak gundek." Sa-tĕlah sudah di-pĕrjamu-nya sakalian mĕreka itu, maka sakalian-nya pun bĕrmohon-lah kĕmbali sakalian mĕreka itu ka-Sĕmudĕra kapada Sultan Malik al Salleh.

Maka apa-bila sampai-lah ka-Sĕmudĕra di-pĕrsĕmbahkan orang kapada baginda, dĕmikian bunyi-nya, "Ya tuan-ku shah alam sunggoh-nya ada anak Raja Pĕrlak itu tiga bĕrsaudara, ada yang sa-orang itu anak gundek baginda tĕtapi pada patek sakalian pĕnglihat patek yang di-pĕrhamba yang tĕrbaik rupa-nya itu anak gundek baginda itu juga yang amat manis sĕgala kĕlakuan-nya lagi dĕngan muhasham-nya; shahadan kĕdudokkan-nya pun tĕrtinggi rupa-nya mĕrtabat-nya daripada saudara-nya yang kĕdua itu." Maka sa-tĕlah sudah habis di-pĕrsĕmbahkan oleh orang yang mĕlihat itu, maka di-suroh Sultan Malik al Salleh panggil ahlu'n-nujum. Maka datang-lah sĕgala ahlu'n-nujum itu; maka titah Sultan, "Hai ahlu'n-nujum lihat apa-lah oleh tuan-tuan sakalian dalam nujum kamu akan anak Raja Pĕrlak itu, yang mana baik kita ambil." Maka sĕgala ahlu'n-nujum pun mĕlihat nujum-nya dan mĕmbilang-bilang ramal-nya lalu ia mĕnggĕrtakkan kĕpala-nya lalu ia bĕrdatang sĕmbah sĕgala ahlu'n-nujum itu, maka sĕmbah-nya "Ya tuan-ku shah alam, jikalau tuan putĕri yang dudok tinggi pada mĕrtabat-nya itu di-ambil shah alam, nĕschaya datang kapada anak chuchu shah alam kĕraja'an tiada lagi bĕrkĕputusan tĕrlalu sa-kali bĕrbahagia." Maka di-titahkan Sultan pĕrgi mĕngambil tuan putĕri Ganggang itu. Sa-tĕlah itu, maka pĕrgi bĕrlĕngkap-lah mĕntĕri itu juga akan mĕnjĕmput tuan putĕri itu ka-bĕnua Pĕrlak. Hatta bĕrapa lama-nya dalam pĕlayaran itu, maka sampai-lah ia ka-dalam nĕgĕri Pĕrlak; maka masok-lah ia mĕntĕri itu sĕrta sĕgala inangda-nya mĕngadap Sultan Pĕrlak, sĕrta ia bĕrdatang sĕmbah "Ya tuan-ku shah alam, akan sĕmbah paduka anakanda Sultan Malik al Salleh ĕmpunya sĕmbah sĕrta taadzim ka-bawah duli shah alam paduka anakanda mĕmohonkan tuan patek tuan putĕri Ganggang itu." Maka titah Raja Pĕrlak, "Baik-lah, kami anugĕrahkan-lah anak kami itu." Maka baginda pun mĕnyuroh lĕngkap sa-ratus pĕrahu akan mintakan paduka anakanda itu Tan Pĕrpatah Pandak akan pĕngtua-nya mĕnghantarkan tuan putĕri Ganggang itu ka-nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra Daru'l Islam dan baginda mĕnyurohkan bĕrbuat istana-nya sa-kali akan

tĕmpat tuan putĕri itu dudok, sĕrta dĕngan sĕgala dayang-dayang-nya beti-beti pĕrwara-nya dan sĕgala alat kĕrajaan. Sa-tĕlah sudah mustaed-lah, maka pada kĕtika hari yang baik maka Sultan Pĕrlak pun bĕrangkat-lah baginda mĕnghantarkan naik anakanda tuan putĕri itu ka-kuala dĕngan sĕgala bunyi-bunyian. Sa-tĕlah sudah sampai ka-kuala, maka tuan putĕri Ganggang pun mĕny-ĕmbah ayahanda dan bonda-nya dan saudara-nya kĕdua sĕrta bĕrtangis-tangisan; maka di-pĕlok di-chium oleh ayahanda dan bonda-nya dan saudara-nya kĕdua. Maka tuan putĕri Ganggang pun naik-lah ka-pĕrahu lalu bĕrlayar-lah. Maka Sultan Pĕrlak pun kĕmbali-lah ka-istana-nya dĕngan pĕrchintaan-nya. Sa-tĕlah bĕbĕrapa lama-nya bĕrlayar di-laut itu, maka sampai-lah ia ka-Jambu Ayer: singgah-lah Tan Pĕrpatah Pandak mĕmbawa tuan putĕri ka-pada istana-nya itu. Maka bĕrhias-lah tuan putĕri itu. Maka Sultan Malik al Salleh pun bĕrangkat-lah mĕngalu-ngalukan tuan putĕri itu, lalu di-bawa-nya masok ka-dalam nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra Daru'l Islam di-pĕrmulia-nya dĕngan bĕbĕrapa kĕmulia-an; sa-tĕlah datang-lah ia ka-istana-nya, maka baginda pun mĕnyuroh mĕmulaï bĕrjaga-jaga akan kĕrja kahwin itu. Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya bĕrjaga-jaga itu, maka baginda pun kahwin-lah dĕngan tuan putĕri Ganggang itu; sa-tĕlah sudah kahwin, maka baginda pun mĕmbĕri anugĕrah pĕrsalin akan sĕgala hulubalang dan mĕmbĕri dĕrma akan sĕgala fakir dan miskin dalam nĕgĕri itu daripada ĕmas dan perak, dan akan Tan Pĕrpatah Pandak pun di-anugĕrahi daripada bĕbĕrapa pakaian yang indah-indah dan sĕgala orang yang datang sĕrta-nya sakalian itu pun di-anugĕrahi baginda daripada ĕmas dan perak. Sa-tĕlah sudah baginda mĕmbĕri anugĕrah, maka Tan Pĕrpatah Pandak pun bĕrmohon-lah kapada baginda hĕndak kĕmbali ka-Pĕrlak. Sa-tĕlah sudah, maka baginda laki istĕri pun bĕrkirim sĕmbah kapada ayahanda dan bonda dan kapada saudara baginda yang dua orang sĕrta dĕngan pakaian yang mulia-mulia; maka Tan Pĕrpatah Pandak pun kĕmbali-lah ia ka-Pĕrlak. Bĕrmula istana-nya yang di-suroh pĕrbuat akan tĕmpat-tĕmpat tuan putĕri bĕrgandi itu. Maka di-suroh Sultan Malik al Salleh pula pĕrbaik dan di-namaï nĕgĕri itu Rama Gandi di-sĕbut orang datang sĕkarang ini.

Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya Sultan Malik al Salleh dalam nĕgĕri itu kĕrajaan, maka datang sa-buah kapal dari bĕnua Kĕling bĕr-niaga, dan ada sa-orang dalam kapal itu tahu ia mĕlihat asap ĕmas. Maka kata-nya. "Dalam nĕgĕri ini ada tujoh tĕmpat asap ĕmas kĕluar tiada di-kĕtahuï oleh orang dalam nĕgĕri ini." Maka ada sa-orang orang Sultan ia mĕnĕngar kata orang kapal itu, maka lalu di-pĕrsĕmbahkan-nya kapada Sultan Malik al Salleh. Maka di-suroh baginda panggil Kĕling itu yang bĕrkata dĕmikian, maka Kĕling itu pun datang mĕngadap Sultan; maka sabda baginda kapada Kĕling itu, "Sunggoh-kah sĕpĕrti kata-mu dalam nĕgĕri ini ada asap ĕmas." Maka bĕrdatang sĕmbah Kĕling itu, "Ya tuan-ku shah alam, jikalau di-nĕgĕri kami yang di-pĕrhamba yang

sĕpĕrti pĕnglihat hamba ini tiada lagi bĕrsalahan." Sa-tĕlah di-dĕngar oleh Sultan sĕmbah Kĕling itu, maka di-anugĕrah oleh Sultan akan Kĕling itu pĕrsalin sa-lĕngkap-nya adat pakaian. Maka sabda Sultan, "Jikalau sunggoh sĕpĕrti kata-mu itu, pĕrgilah ĕngkau mĕngambil dia kapada tĕmpat asap ĕmas itu." Maka Kĕling itu pun mĕnyĕmbah, lalu ia pĕrgi dĕngan lashkar Sultan itu. Sa-tĕlah ia sampai kapada tĕmpat itu, maka di-suroh-nya korek tanah itu; maka ada-lah ĕmas itu di-pĕroleh-nya tĕrlalu banyak, sa-kira-kira lima mĕdan, maka di-bawa-nya-lah ĕmas itu kahadapan Sultan. Maka Sultan pun tĕrlalu amat sukachita, karna bĕroleh ĕmas itu. Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya Sultan Malik al Salleh di-dalam kĕrajaan, maka tuan putĕri pun hamil-lah. Sa-tĕlah gĕnap-lah bulan-nya, maka tuan putĕri pun bĕranak-lah laki-laki tĕrlalu amat baik paras-nya. Maka Sultan pun amat sukachita mĕlihatkan anakanda baginda itu, maka di-suroh-nya pĕliharakan kapada inangda-nya dan pĕngasoh-nya yang tua-tua. Maka di-titahkan baginda orang mĕmalu gĕndĕrang dan bunyi-bunyian bĕrjaga-jaga sĕpĕrti adat sĕgala raja-raja bĕranak. Sa-tĕlah gĕnap-lah tujoh hari tujoh malam baginda bĕrjaga-jaga bĕrsuka-sukaan makan minum masing-masing mĕmbawa kĕsukaan-nya, maka pada hari bĕrjijak tanah dan bĕrakikat, maka sĕgala rayat dan mĕntĕri hulubalang pun bĕrhimpun-lah makan minum. Sa-tĕlah sudah, maka baginda mĕmbĕri dĕrma kurnia akan sĕgala mĕntĕri hulubalang dan rayat bĕsar dan kĕchil dan sĕgala fakir miskin sakalian-nya. Sa-tĕlah sudah, maka Sultan mĕnamaï anakanda baginda itu Sultan Malik al Tahir. Sa-tĕlah sampai umur baginda akal baligh, maka ia di-rajakan dalam nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra itu.

Kata sahibu'l-hikayat; maka pada suatu hari Sultan Malik al Salleh pĕrgi bĕrmain-main bĕrburu dĕngan sĕgala lashkar-nya ka-tĕpi laut. Maka di-bawa-nya sa-ekur anjing pĕrburuan bĕrnama Si-Pasai itu. Maka tatkala sampai-lah baginda itu ka-tĕpi laut, maka di-suroh-nya lĕpaskan anjing pĕrburuan itu, lalu ia masok-lah ka-dalam hutan yang di-tĕpi laut itu. Maka bĕrtĕmu ia dĕngan sa-ekur pĕlandok dudok di-atas pada suatu tanah yang tinggi; maka di-salak-nya oleh anjing itu hĕndak di-tangkap-nya, maka tatkala (di-lihat) oleh pĕlandok anjing itu mĕndapatkan dia, maka di-salak-nya anjing itu oleh pĕlandok: maka anjing itu pun undur-lah. Maka tatkala di-lihat pĕlandok anjing itu undur, maka lalu pĕlandok kĕmbali pula pada tĕmpat-nya. Maka di-lihat oleh anjing, pĕlandok itu kĕmbali pada tĕmpat-nya; maka di-dapatkan-nya pĕlandok itu oleh anjing, lalu ia bĕrdakap-dakapan kira-kira tujoh kali. Maka hairan-lah baginda mĕlihat hal kĕlakuan anjing dĕngan pĕlandok itu; maka masok-lah baginda sĕndiri-nya hĕndak mĕnangkap pĕlandok itu ka-atas tanah tinggi itu. Maka pĕlandok pun lari; maka di-dakap-nya juga oleh anjing itu. Maka sabda baginda kapada sĕgala orang yang ada bĕrsama-sama dĕngan dia itu, "Ada-kah pĕnah-nya kamu mĕlihat pĕlandok yang gagah sa-

bagai ini. Maka pada bichara-ku sĕbab karna ia diam pada tĕmpat ini, itu-lah rupa-nya maka pĕlandok itu mĕnjadi gagah." Maka sĕmbah mĕreka itu sakalian, "Sa-bĕnar-nya-lah sĕpĕrti sabda yang maha mulia itu." Maka fikir-lah baginda itu, "Baik tĕmpat ini 'ku pĕrbuat nĕgĕri anak-ku Sultan Malik al Tahir kĕrajaan." Maka Sultan Malik al Salleh pun kĕmbali-lah ka-istana-nya. Maka pada kĕesokkan hari-nya, maka baginda pun mĕmbĕri titah kapada sĕgala mĕntĕri dan hulubalang rayat tĕntĕra sakalian mĕnyuroh mĕnĕbas tanah akan tĕmpat nĕgĕri, masing-masing pada kuasa-nya dan di-suroh baginda pĕrbuat istana pada tĕmpat tanah tinggi itu.* Sa-tĕlah sudah jadi nĕgĕri itu, maka anjing pĕrburuan yang bĕrnama Si-Pasai itu pun mati-lah pada tĕmpat itu. Maka di-suroh Sultan tanamkan akan dia di-sana juga. Maka dinamaï baginda akan nama anjing nama nĕgĕri itu; maka di-titahkan-nya-lah anakanda baginda Sultan Malik al Tahir kĕrajaan dalam nĕgĕri itu dan ayahanda Sultan Malik al Salleh itu diam di-Sĕmudĕra Daru'l Islam juga. Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya Sultan Malik al Tahir dalam nĕgĕri Pasai itu, maka di-anugĕrahkan Allah taala akan baginda anak dua orang laki-laki, yang tua bĕrnama Sultan Malik al Mahmud dan yang muda bĕrnama Sultan Malik al Mansur. Maka Sultan Malik al Tahir pun sakit-lah hingga datang hukum Allah atas-nya, maka mati-lah ia, maka di-tanamkan oranglah sĕpĕrti adat sĕgala raja-raja yang tĕlah kĕmbali ka-rahmatu'llah taala itu karna anakanda baginda kĕdua-nya itu lagi kĕchil. Maka kĕrajaan nĕgĕri Pasai itu nenda-lah yang mĕlĕngkarakan dia sĕmĕntara mĕnantikan chuchunda baginda kĕdua itu bĕsar, supaya dapat ia mĕlĕngkarakan kĕrajaan itu dalam nĕgĕri Pasai itu. Ada pun anak raja yang bĕrnama Sultan Malik al Mahmud itu di-sĕrahkan nenda baginda kapada Said Ghian al Din di-surohkan baginda bĕrajar sĕgala elmu dan bĕrmain sĕnjata dan mĕnaik gajah dan mĕmachu kuda. Maka yang bĕrnama Sultan Malik al Mansur itu di-sĕrahkan nenda baginda kapada Said Sĕmayam al Din.

Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya, maka Sultan Malik al Mahmud pun bĕsar-lah ia, maka ia-lah di-rajakan oleh nenda baginda kĕrajaan di-nĕgĕri Pasai itu. Maka Said Ali Ghian al Din akan pĕrdana mĕntĕri-nya. Maka oleh baginda sĕgala rayat dan daripada sĕgala harta dan sĕgala pĕrkakas daripada sĕgala alat kĕrajaan daripada gajah dan kuda dan sĕgala sĕnjata sakalian itu, di-bahagikan nenda baginda dua bahagi di-bĕrikan kapada chunda baginda Sultan Malik al Mahmud sa-bahagi dan yang sa-bahagi lagi itu di-tarohnya akan chunda Sultan Malik al Mansur, karna Sultan Malik al Mansur lagi kanak-kanak. Maka tinggal-lah Sultan Malik al Mahmud di-kĕrajaan di-nĕgĕri Pasai. Maka Sultan Malik al Salleh pun kĕmbali sĕrta mĕmbawa chunda baginda Sultan Malik al Mansur ka-nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra Daru'l Islam. Hatta maka bĕ-

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* *Cf. Shellabear's S'jarah M'layu (Romanized) p. 43.*

bĕrapa lama-nya antara-nya maka Sultan Malik al Salleh pun sakit-lah, maka baginda mĕnghimpunkan sĕgala mĕntĕri hulubalang dan sĕgala orang bĕsar-bĕsar dalam nĕgĕri itu dan sĕgala rayat bĕsar kĕchil akan mĕntabalkan Sultan Malik al Mansur; maka bĕrhimpun-lah sakalian mĕreka itu mĕngadap Sultan; maka titah Sultan, "Hai sĕgala kamu sakalian mĕntĕri dan hulubalang-ku dan sĕgala rayat bala tĕntĕra-ku, bahwa aku hĕndak mĕrajakan Sultan Malik al Mansur ini, karna aku hampir-lah rasa-nya akan mĕninggalkan nĕgĕri yang fana ini kĕmbali ka-nĕgĕri yang baka itu; apa bichara kamu sakalian suka-kah atau tidak-kah?" Maka bĕrdatang sĕmbah-lah sakalian mĕreka itu, "Ya tuanku shah alam, sa-bĕnar-nya-lah sĕpĕrti sabda shah alam yang maha mulia itu, karna Sultan Malik al Mansur pun bĕsar-lah sahaja sa-harus-nya-lah kami sakalian mĕnyĕmbah chunda Sultan Malik al Mansur." Maka titah baginda, "Jika dĕmikian tabalkan-lah oleh sĕgala mĕntĕri dan hulubalang dan sĕgala orang bĕsar-bĕsar akan baginda itu dalam nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra ini." Maka ada sa-kira-kira tiga hari sudah tabal itu, maka Sultan Malik al Salleh pun bĕrwasiat kapada Said Sĕmayam al Din dan Said Ali Ghian al Din, "Hai pĕrdana mĕntĕri kĕdua, baik-baik kamu kĕdua ini mĕmĕliharakan chuchu-ku kĕdua ini insha'llah taala jangan kamu bĕri bĕrsalahan ia dua bĕrsaudara sĕrta kamu kĕdua ajari; hĕndak-lah kamu kĕdua jangan mĕngubahkan sĕtia kamu akan chuchu-ku kĕdua dan jangan kamu mĕngubah sĕgala raja-raja yang lain daripada chuchu-ku hubaya-hubaya jangan kamu bĕri tĕraniayaï daripada sĕgala hamba Allah dan jangan kamu mĕngĕrjakan sĕgala pĕrkĕrjaan yang bĕrsalahan dĕngan hukum Allah, karna firman Allah taala di-dalam Kuran dĕmikian bĕrti-nya: barang siapa tiada mĕnghukumkan dĕngan barang hukum yang di-turunkan Allah, maka bahwa sanya mĕreka itu jadi kafir." Maka kĕdua mĕntĕri itu pun sujud mĕnundokkan kĕpala-nya sĕraya ia mĕnangis bĕrdatang sĕmbah kĕdua-nya mĕntĕri itu, "Ya tuanku shah alam, thilu'llah fi'l-alam, dĕmi Allah taala tuhan sĕru alam sakalian insha'allah taala bahwa kĕdua kami yang di-pĕrhamba tiada-lah dapat mĕlaluï sĕpĕrti sabda shah alam yang maha mulia itu dan tiada-lah kami mĕnyĕmbah sĕgala raja-raja yang lain daripada anak chuchu shah alam yang di-atas batu kĕpala kami kĕdua ini." Maka di-suroh oleh Sultan panggil kĕdua chunda baginda itu. Sa-tĕlah datang-lah kĕdua raja itu, maka paduka Sĕri Sultan pun bĕrsabda-lah kapada chunda kĕdua itu dan kapada sĕgala mĕntĕri dan kapada sĕgala orang bĕsar-bĕsar sakalian, dĕmikian sabda baginda, "Hai chuchu-ku kĕdua-lah kĕtahuï oleh kamu kĕdua, karna aku ini sakit sangat rasa-nya hampir-hampir-lah hukum Allah taala akan daku bĕrpindah dari nĕgĕri yang fana ka-nĕgĕri yang baka itu: ada pun pĕninggal-ku ini baik-baik kamu kĕdua mĕmĕliharakan pĕkĕrjaan amar bilmarof wanahia anil-munkar. Sa-bĕrmula jangan-lah kamu banyak tama' akan harta dunia, karna dunia ini tĕmpat sĕgala yang mufrura dan jangan sangat kamu ingin akan sĕgala yang tiada mĕmbĕri

manfaat akan kamu di-akhirat, dan jangan kamu tiada muafakat dua bĕrsaudara daripada sĕgala pĕkĕrjaan kamu; jangan sa-kali-kali bĕrsalahan antara kamu kĕdua bĕrsaudara supaya di-ĕskarar-kan Allah taala ĕngkau kĕdua dalam kĕrajaan dan supaya di-pĕrkĕnankan Allah sĕgala pinta kamu daripada sĕgala yang kĕbaji-kan dan jangan kamu mĕlaluï sĕpĕrti barang yang di-titahkan Allah akan kamu dan jangan kamu taksir pada mĕngĕrjakan pĕkĕrjaan yang kĕbajikan dan mĕninggalkan pĕkĕrjaan yang kĕjahatan dan mĕnyurohkan sĕgala orang bĕrbuat kĕbajikan dan mĕlarangkan sĕgala orang bĕrbuat kĕjahatan sĕrta dĕngan adil kamu kĕdua bĕrsaudara akan sĕgala rayat kamu itu; hubaya-hubaya jangan tiada kamu turut wasiat-ku ini, hai chuchu-ku kĕdua." Maka chunda kĕdua pun sujud-lah sĕrta dĕngan tangis-nya. Maka sĕmbah-nya kĕdua, "Daulat ya tuan-ku shah alam bĕrtambah-tambah kurnia atas batu kĕpala patek kĕdua dĕngan bĕrkat tuanku mĕngajar patek." Sa-tĕlah sudah baginda mĕngajar chunda kĕdua itu dĕmikian, maka dĕngan takdir Allah taala sĕlang tiga hari, maka Sultan pun mĕmĕlok mĕnchium chunda kĕdua lalu baginda kĕmbali-lah ka-rahmatu'llah taala. Maka di-tanamkan orang-lah sĕpĕrti adat sĕgala raja-raja yang tĕlah pulang ka-rahmatu'llah itu. Maka dari karna itu-lah di-sĕbut orang datang sĕkarang Paduka Said al marhum Sĕmudĕra. Sa-tĕlah itu, maka Sultan Malik al Mahmud itu-lah kĕrajaan di-Pasai dan Sultan Malik al Man-sur itu-lah kĕrajaan Sĕmudĕra itu. Maka nĕgĕri yang kĕdua itu pun tĕrlalu ramai dan mĕmbĕri sĕgala rayat dalam nĕgĕri itu dan bĕbĕrapa daripada gajah dan kuda [[1]] makanan-nya dan bĕbĕrapa daripada sĕgala rĕrak[2] yang lain tiada tĕrhisabkan banyak-nya kapada zĕman baginda kĕdua bĕrsaudara itu. Maka Sultan Malik al Mahmud pun bĕrtambah-tambah kĕbĕsaran-nya dan kĕmuliaan-nya. Maka tĕr-dĕngar-lah warta tĕrmasa itu kapada Raja Siam. Maka Raja Siam pun mĕnyuroh mĕlĕngkap pĕrahu sa-kira-kira sa-ratus buah banyak-nya bĕsar kĕchil akan mĕndatangi nĕgĕri Pasai itu. Sa-tĕlah lĕngkap-lah sĕgala kĕlĕngkapan itu, maka di-surohkan-nya sa-orang hulubalang yang tĕrbĕsar akan panglima-nya yang bĕr-nama Talak Sĕmbang itu: sa-tĕlah sudah, maka bĕrlayar-lah sĕgala kĕlĕngkapan itu dalam tĕlok Pasai. Dĕmi tĕrlihat-lah oleh orang dalam nĕgĕri itu pĕrahu tĕrlalu amat banyak bĕrlaboh dalam tĕlok itu, maka di-pĕrsĕmbahkan-nya kapada Sultan Malik al Mahmud, sĕmbah-nya, "Ya tuan-ku shah alam, ada hamba-mu lihat itu pĕrahu angkatan rupa-nya tĕrlalu banyak bĕrlaboh dalam tĕlok kita ini; siapa tahu dari-mana gĕrangan datang-nya dan apa gĕrangan pĕkĕrjaan-nya." Maka titah Sultan kapada sa-orang hulubalang-

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1 جنهل

2 ردق

nya bĕrnama Barang Laksamana, "Hai Barang Laksamana pĕrgi-lah ĕngkau mĕlihat pĕrahu itu." Maka Barang Laksamana pun mĕnyĕmbah lalu ia sĕgĕra pĕrgi; maka sampai-lah Barang Laksamana itu kapada pĕrahu-pĕrahu itu, maka kata Barang Laksamana, "Darimana datang pĕrahu ini dan hĕndak kamana kamu ini dan apa maksud kamu ini?" Maka sahut-nya orang pĕrahu itu, "Ada pun pĕrahu kami ini datang-nya dari bĕnua Siam minta ufti nĕgĕri ini; jikalau ada sĕpĕrti maksud kami ini, nĕschaya kĕmbali-lah kami mĕmbawa ufti itu dan jikalau tiada ada sĕpĕrti dĕmikian itu, nĕschaya kami pĕrangi-lah nĕgĕri kamu ini dan Talak Sĕmbang kami panglima-nya." Maka sĕgĕra-lah Barang Laksamana kĕmbali mĕngadap raja, maka bĕrdatang sĕmbah ia, "Ya tuanku shah alam, ada pun pĕrahu itu datang-nya dari bĕnua Siam, Talak Sĕmbang nama panglima-nya, datang-nya di-surohkan Raja bĕnua Siam hĕndak mĕminta ufti nĕgĕri kita ini; jikalau ada sampai sĕpĕrti maksud-nya, maka kĕmbali-lah ia dan jika tiada sampai sĕpĕrti kĕhĕndak-nya nĕschaya di-pĕrangi-lah akan nĕgĕri kita ini, ya shah alam." Dĕmi di-dĕngar Sultan kata itu, maka baginda pun amarah-lah tĕrlalu amat sangat, muka-nya pun taram-tĕruman dan sĕgala roma-nya pun bĕrdiri sĕrta baginda bĕrsabda kapada mamanda Said Ali Ghian al Din mĕnyuroh mĕnghimpunkan sĕgala mĕntĕri hulubalang pahlawan dan sĕgala rayat masing-masing hadzir dĕngan sĕgala sĕnjata-nya mĕnantikan musoh-nya itu naik ka-darat. Sa-tĕlah sudah mustaed, maka sabda Sultan dĕmikian, "Dĕmi kĕmuliaan dan kĕbĕsaran tuhan yang mĕnjadikan sĕru alam sakalian jangankan ufti nĕgĕri ini 'ku bĕri hingga sa-hĕlai roma rambut yang luroh tiada bĕrguna pun tiada 'ku bĕri." Maka tĕrdĕngar-lah sĕgala kata Sultan itu pada Talak Sĕmbang, maka ia pun mĕnyurohkan naik sĕgala rayat-nya ka-darat bĕrbuat kota. Maka naik-lah sĕgala hulubalang-nya dan sĕgala rayat-nya bĕrkota di-tĕpi laut itu. Hatta sĕlang tiga hari lama-nya, maka di-suroh Sultan kĕluari; maka kĕluar-lah orang itu sakalian; maka bĕrtĕmu-lah kĕdua pihak itu, maka pĕrang-lah sakalian mĕreka itu kĕdua pihak. Maka pada hari itu Barang Laksamana akan panglima pĕrang, maka daripada kĕdua pihak lashkar itu banyak-lah mati dan luka; maka masing-masing kĕdua (pihak) lashkar itu pun surut-lah ka-dalam kota-nya. Maka pada kĕesokkan hari-nya Tun Rawan Pĕmatang akan panglima-nya mĕmbawa sĕgala rayat dan gajah yang bĕrnama Dola Laut dan Muda Bĕsi. Maka pĕrang-lah kĕdua pihak lashkar itu tĕrlalu rāmai lagi adzmat. Maka daripada kĕdua pihak lashkar itu banyak-lah mati dan luka; maka masing-masing kĕmbali-lah; dĕmikian-lah pĕrang-nya itu pada sa-hari-hari tiada bĕrhĕnti kira-kira dua bulan lama-nya pĕrang-nya itu, dan Tun Rawan Pĕmatang pun luka dan Barang Laksamana pun luka. Maka pada kĕesokkan hari-nya Tun Aria Jong pula akan panglima-nya; maka pĕrang-lah kĕdua pihak lashkar itu; maka patah-lah pĕrang Tun Aria Jong lalu masok-lah ka-dalam kota-nya; maka pada kĕesokkan hari-nya, maka Sultan Malik al

Mahmud tĕrlalu amarah mĕlihat hal yang dĕmikian itu. Maka Sultan pun mĕnyuroh mĕnghimpunkan sĕgala rayat bĕsar kĕchil hingga dapat mĕmĕgang sĕnjata masing-masing dĕngan sĕnjata-nya. Maka Sultan pun kĕluar-lah sĕndiri-nya pĕrgi mĕndatangi Talak Sĕmbang, maka ia pun kĕluar-lah dari dalam kota-nya bĕrdiri di-medan bĕrsaf-saf; maka bĕrhadapan-lah kĕdua pihak lashkar itu. Maka pĕrang-lah mĕreka itu tĕrlalu ramai gĕgak gĕmpita kĕlam kabut luli bĕtĕrbangan ka-udara, tiada-lah bĕrkĕnalan sĕgala manusia dan bunyi tĕmpek sĕgala hulubalang dan sĕgala rayat juga yang kĕdĕngaran dan gĕmĕrĕnchang bunyi sĕgala sĕnjata bahana-nya datang ka-tĕngah rimba: maka daripada sangat dzarab pĕrang itu jadi gĕmpita-lah: maka daripada kĕdua pihak lashkar itu banyak-lah mati dan luka. Bĕrmula panglima-nya yang bĕrnama Talak Sĕmbang kĕna panah dada-nya tĕrus ka-bĕlakang-nya lalu mati-lah ia. Maka sorak orang Pasai pun gĕmuroh sĕpĕrti tagar: kĕmudian dari itu, maka patah-lah pĕrang rayat Siam itu lalu lari mĕmbuang bĕlakang chĕrai bĕrai tiada bĕrkĕtahuan; yang lari ka-darat habis di-bunoh oleh orang Pasai dan yang lĕpas ka-laut itu lalu naik ia ka-pĕrahu-nya lalu ia bĕrlayar pulang mĕnuju nĕgĕri Siam. Maka Sultan pun kĕmbali-lah ka-istana-nya dĕngan kĕmĕnangan-nya dan dĕngan sukachita-nya. Kĕmudian daripada itu nĕgĕri Pasai tĕrlalu ramai-nya dĕngan maamur-nya dalam nĕgĕri itu. Bĕrmula maka Sultan pun nĕntiasa dĕngan bĕrsuka-sukaan makan minum dĕngan sĕgala mĕntĕri hulubalang dan sĕgala orang bĕsar-bĕsar-nya, maka karar-lah sĕgala manusia dalam nĕgĕri itu. Hatta bĕrapa lama-nya Sultan Mahmud dalam kĕrajaan, maka di-anugĕrah Allah bagi-nya sa-orang laki-laki dan dua orang pĕrĕmpuan dan laki itu di-namaï baginda akan dia Sultan Ahmad Pĕrmĕdala Pĕrmala. Maka pada suatu hari Sultan Malik al Mahmud bĕrsabda kapada sĕgala hulubalang-nya dan mĕntĕri-nya "Ada pun sĕkarang aku hĕndak pĕrgi bĕrmain-main ka-ulu sungai hĕndak mĕlihat sĕgala nĕgĕri dan sĕgala dusun sĕrta kita mĕnjĕrat gajah dan bĕrburu hingga sampai-lah kita ka-bĕnua Andĕmi mĕlihat sĕgala nĕgĕri dan dusun." Maka pada kĕtika yang baik Sultan Malik al Mahmud pun bĕrangkat-lah dĕngan sĕgala mĕntĕri hulubalang dan dĕngan sĕgala bala tĕntĕra-nya. Maka lalu baginda bĕrjalan kapada sĕgala nĕgĕri dan dusun bĕrmain-main bĕrjamu-jamuan dĕngan sĕgala mĕntĕri hulubalang makan minum bĕrsuka-sukaan. Bĕrapa lama antara-nya, maka di-chĕtĕrakan oleh orang ĕmpunya chĕtĕra, tatkala Sultan Malik al Mahmud bĕrangkat itu, maka sultan Malik al Mansur pun hĕndak pĕrgi bĕramai-ramaian akan bĕrjamu-jamuan dĕngan sĕgala mĕntĕri hulubalang-nya dan sĕgala rayat makan minum bĕrsuka-sukaan Maka Sultan Malik al Mansur pun mĕnyurohkan orang bĕrlĕngkap akan mĕngiringkan Sultan itu. Maka Said Sĕmayam al Din pun bĕrdatang sĕmbah, dĕmikian sĕmbah-nya. "Ya tuanku shah alam bĕtapa pĕri-nya duli tuanku pĕrgi bĕramai-ramai ka-tĕpi laut, karna paduka kakanda Sultan Malik al Mahmud tiada ada dalam

nĕgĕri Pasai, karna jalan dari sana daripada sisi kakanda itu, takut siapa tahu kĕluar datang fitnah shaitan kapada hati sa-orang manusia, jika kĕdĕngaran kapada paduka kakanda ta' dapat tiada jadi pĕrsĕtĕruan aakabat*-nya." Maka tiada juga di-dĕngarkan oleh Sultan Malik al Mansur sĕmbah Said Sĕmayam al Din itu. Maka Sultan Malik al Mansur pun bĕrangkat-lah bĕrjalan ka-tĕpi laut pĕrgi bĕrmain-main sĕrta bĕrjamu sĕgala mĕntĕri hulubalang makan minum bĕrsuka-sukaan. Maka tatkala ia kĕmbali sampai-lah bĕrjalan kapada hampir kota Sultan Malik al Mahmud itu, maka tĕrlihat-lah oleh Sultan Malik al Mansur sa-orang pĕrĕmpuan kĕluar dari dalam istana tĕrlalu sa-kali baik paras-nya. Maka Sultan Malik al Mansur pun bĕrahi-lah akan dia; maka di-suroh baginda ambil pĕrĕmpuan itu lalu di-bawa-nya kĕmbali ka-istana-nya dĕngan sĕgala hulubalang-nya. Hatta maka bĕbĕrapa lama-nya Sultan Malik al Mansur dalam kĕrajaan itu, maka di-anugĕrah-kan Allah subhanahu wataala bagi-nya anak tiga orang, dua orang pĕrĕmpuan sa-orang laki-laki. Hatta, maka bĕbĕrapa lama-nya kĕdĕngaran-lah warta-nya itu kapada Sultan Malik al Mahmud akan hal Sultan Malik al Mansur mĕngambil pĕrĕmpuan yang kĕ-luar dari istana itu. Maka dĕmi Sultan Malik al Mahmud mĕnĕngar warta itu, maka baginda pun tĕrlalu amarah akan Sultan Malik al Mansur dĕngan Said Sĕmayam al Din itu, karna ia pĕrdana mĕntĕri yang tua mĕngadap, maka ia tiada mahu mĕnĕgahkan dia sĕgala pĕkĕrjaan kĕlakuan-nya itu: "Karna itu-lah jikalau tiada Sĕmayam al Din itu 'ku bunoh tiada puas rasa hati-ku." Maka Sultan Malik al Mahmud pun kĕmbali-lah ka-istana-nya, maka bĕrdam-dam-lah dalam hati-nya akan Said Sĕmayam al Din. Bĕr-mula akan Said Ali Ghian al Din pun tahu-lah; maka ada sa-orang mĕntua-nya bĕrnama Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara ia-itu akan ganti-nya pĕrdana mĕntĕri. Maka sabda Sultan Malik al Mahmud, "Hai Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara, apa bichara kita akan Sĕmayam al Din itu, takut akan Sultan Malik al Mansur itu bĕrbahaya kalau-kalau ia mĕlawan kita." Maka Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara pun bĕrdatang sĕmbah, "Ya tuanku shah alam, jikalau dĕngan kita muslihatkan sa-orang pun tiada bĕrbahaya, ia pun dĕngan sĕjahtĕra-nya hamba tangkap." Maka sabda Sultan, "Bĕtapa muslihat kita akan dia." Maka sĕmbah-nya, "Ya tuan-ku shah alam, karna anakanda Sultan Ahmad Pĕrmadala Pĕrmala itu bĕlum khatan, baik-lah kita mĕndudokkan pĕkĕrjaan; maka kita panggil paduka adinda Sultan Malik al Mansur itu ka-mari: sa-tĕlah ia datang, maka di-sana-lah barang bichara kita akan dia; tĕrlalu amat mudah pĕkĕrjaan itu." Maka pada hati baginda pun bĕrkĕnan-lah akan sĕmbah Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara itu. Maka pada suatu hari yang baik, maka di-suroh Sultan Malik al Mahmud mĕmulaï mĕndudokkan pĕkĕrjaan bĕrjaga-jaga akan mĕng-

* عاقبتن

khatankan paduka anakanda Sultan Ahmad Pĕrmadala Pĕrmala itu, maka di-suroh panggil saudara-nya Sultan Malik al Mansur ka-nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra Daru'l Islam; maka pĕrgi-lah orang mĕmanggil itu. Maka apabila sampai-lah ia kapada Sultan Malik al Mansur itu, maka sĕmbah-nya, "Ya tuanku shah alam, tuanku di-pĕrsilakan paduka kakanda ka-Pasai, karna paduka kakanda hĕndak mĕngkhatankan paduka anakanda." Maka Sultan Malik al Mansur pun bĕrangkat-lah lalu bĕrjalan ka-Pasai. Sa-tĕlah sampai lalu masok-lah baginda mĕngadap paduka kakanda Sultan Malik al Mahmud itu. Bĕrmula sĕgala hulubalang-nya tinggal-lah di-luar. Dĕmi datang-lah ia kahadapan Sultan Malik al Mahmud, maka Sultan Malik al Mahmud pun mĕmbĕri isharat mĕnyuroh tangkap Sultan Malik al Mansur dĕngan sĕgala hulubalang-nya; dan Said Sĕmayam al Din tĕrtangkap-lah. Maka Sultan Malik al Mansur di-suroh pĕnjarakan dĕngan sĕgala hulubalang-nya dan Said Sĕmayam al Din pun dalam pĕnjara juga; maka fikir Sultan Malik al Mahmud itu sĕndiri-nya, lalu ia bĕrsabda kapada Tuan Pĕrpateh Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara, "Apa bichara kita akan Sultan Malik al Mansur ini: baik-kah ia kita jauhkan daripada nĕgĕri ini, atau kita suroh ia kĕmbali ka-nĕgĕri-nya." Maka Tun Pĕrpateh Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara pun bĕrdatang sĕmbah, "Ya tuanku shah alam jikalau tuanku mĕnĕngarkan sĕmbah patek baik-lah baginda ini kita jauhkan dari nĕgĕri ini sĕpĕrti kata orang tua-tua, apa-bila jauh dari mata, jauh dari hati: jikalau baginda itu hampir, nĕschaya tĕrchachat juga shah alam akan pĕkĕrjaan paduka adinda itu: ta'dapat tiada juga bĕrtambah hati shah alam sakit juga. Jikalau dĕmikian baik-lah baginda kita hantarkan kapada suatu nĕgĕri yang jauh dari sini." Maka di-suroh Sultan lĕngkap pĕrahu barang ĕmpat lima buah akan mĕnghantarkan Sultan Malik al Mansur ka-nĕgĕri Tĕmiang akan mĕmĕliharakan-nya Tun Jaya Pangliran. Sa-tĕlah itu, maka Sultan Malik al Mansur pun di-bawa orang-lah baginda ka-pĕrahu dĕngan sĕgala harta-nya dan sĕgala hamba sahaya-nya. Maka lalu ia bĕrlayar. Shahadan maka mĕntĕri Sĕmayam al Din pun di-suroh Sultan kĕluarkan dari dalam pĕnjara: maka di-bawa orang-lah ka-hadapan Sultan. Maka sabda Sultan, "Hai Sĕmayam al Din, mahu-kah ĕngkau diam di-sini bĕrsama-sama dĕngan aku atau tiada-kah." Maka ia bĕrdatang sĕmbah, "Ya tuanku shah alam, jika patek di-chĕraikan dĕngan tuan patek, baik-lah shah alam chĕraikan badan patek dĕngan kĕpala patek." Maka di-suroh Sultan pĕnggal-lah leher-nya: maka di-pĕnggal orang-lah leher-nya. Maka di-suroh oleh Sultan kĕpala-nya buangkan ka-laut dan badan di-suroh sulakan di-kuala Pasai. Maka dĕngan takdir Allah taala kĕpala Said Sĕmayam al Din itu pun mĕngikut pĕrahu Sultan Malik al Mansur dalam ayer itu. Maka Sultan pun sampai-lah

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* ترجة

ka-labohan Jambu Ayer. Maka lalu ia bĕrlaboh; maka di-dĕngar-nya oleh pawang pĕrahu itu kĕmudian tĕrkĕtak-kĕtak; maka ia mĕlihat ka-ayer; maka di-lihat-nya suatu kĕpala manusia tĕrsangkut kapada kĕmudi-nya itu; maka di-pĕrsĕmbahkan kapada Sultan Malik al Mansur; maka di-suroh Sultan ambil kĕpala itu, maka di-lihat-nya kĕpala Said Sĕmayam al Din; maka kata baginda itu, "Wah ini-lah kĕpala ninek-ku Sĕmayam al Din, wah bĕtapa 'ku tahu pĕri-mu datang ka-mari ini dan di-mana 'ku tahu badan-mu sĕkarang." Maka di-suroh Sultan chari badan-nya itu, maka pĕrgi sa-buah pĕrahu mĕnchari dia, maka di-lihat-nya ada badan-nya itu tĕrsula di-kuala Pasai, maka sĕgĕra ia pĕrgi mĕmbĕri tahu Sultan Malik al Mansur; maka di-suroh baginda pohonkan kapada Sultan Malik al Mahmud. Maka titah di-suroh baginda ambil-lah mayat-nya itu. Maka di-bawa orang-lah kapada Sultan Malik al Mansur. Sa-tĕlah sampai kapada baginda, maka di-lihat oleh Sultan mayat-nya itu. Maka baginda pun tĕrlalu sangat mĕnangis, maka di-pĕrtĕmukan-nya kĕpala itu dĕngan badan-nya; maka di-mandikan-nya dan di-kafani-nya lalu di-sĕmbahyangkan baginda. Sa-tĕlah itu, maka baginda pun naik-lah ka-darat mĕnanamkan mayat itu. Maka sabda baginda mĕnamaï tĕmpat itu Padang Maya; maka tiada bĕrkĕtahuan dari 'karna mayat itu di-sĕbut orang Padang Maya juga nama-nya datang sĕkarang ini. Maka Sultan Malik al Mansur pun mĕnanamkan mayat Said Sĕmayam al Din itu. Sa-tĕlah sudah di-tanamkan dan di-talkinkan sĕrta di-bachakan baginda arwah; maka Sultan pun naik-lah ka-pĕrahu-nya, lalu bĕrlayar mĕnuju nĕgĕri Tĕmiang, sa-tĕlah sampai-lah ia ka-dalam nĕgĕri itu.

Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya di-sana, maka pada suatu hari, maka Sultan Malik al Mahmud sĕmayam di-hadap sĕgala hulubalang-nya dan mĕntĕri dan sĕgala rayat-nya; maka tĕrsĕdar-lah ia akan saudara-nya Sultan Malik al Mansur itu. Maka kata-nya, "Wah tĕrlalu sa-kali ahmak bagi-ku, karna pĕrĕmpuan sa-orang saudara-ku 'ku turunkan dari atas kĕrajaan-nya dan mĕntĕri-nya pun 'ku bunoh." Maka baginda pun mĕnyĕsal-lah, lalu ia mĕnangis; maka baginda pun bĕrtitah kapada sĕgala hulubalang-nya, "Pĕrgi-lah kamu sĕgĕra mĕngambil saudara-ku itu, karna aku tĕrlalu sa-kali rindu dĕndam akan saudara-ku." Sa-tĕlah sudah baginda bĕrtitah, maka pĕrgi-lah Tun Pĕrpateh Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara dĕngan bĕbĕrapa buah pĕrahu. Sa-tĕlah ia sampai-lah kapada Sultan Malik al Mansur itu, maka ia bĕrdatang sĕmbah, "Ya tuanku shah alam, paduka kakanda amat rindu dĕndam akan duli shah alam: ada pun patek ini di-surohkan paduka kakanda mĕnjĕmput tuanku." Maka baginda pun bĕrkata, "Baik-lah." Maka sĕmbah Tun Pĕrpateh, "Baik-lah tuanku, silakan naik pĕrahu." Maka baginda pun turun lalu naik pĕrahu dĕngan anak istĕri baginda dan sĕgala harta baginda dĕngan hamba sahaya-nya sakalian, kĕluar dari nĕgĕri Tĕmiang lalu bĕrlayar ka-nĕgĕri Pasai: hingga sampai-lah ka-Padang Maya pada kubur Sĕmayam

al Din itu, maka Sultan Malik al Mansur pun singgah-lah pada kubur Sĕmayam al Sĕmayam al Din itu, hĕndak mĕmbacha fatihah dan mĕngaji doa. Sa-tĕlah sudah baginda mĕmbacha fatihah, maka baginda pun bangkit-lah lalu mĕmbĕri salam pada kubur itu; dĕmikian bunyi salam-nya baginda itu, "Assalam alaikum yadaren kaumilmokminin wa'ana insha allah hubikumul-lahaku-nu."

Maka sabda baginda, "Tinggal-lah ninek hamba, hamba pun pĕrgi-lah." Maka mĕnyahut suara dalam kubur itu, dĕmikian bunyi-nya "Wa'alaikum as'salam, hai chuchu-ku tuan, ka-mana juga tuan pĕrgi? Baik-lah baginda di-sini bĕrtĕmpat diam." Sultan mĕnĕngar suara itu, maka baginda mĕngambil ayer sĕmbah yang, lalu sĕmbahyang-lah ia dua rakaat sa-salam. Bĕlum sudah baginda mĕmbĕri salam, maka datang-lah waad Allah atas baginda di-ambil malik ul-maut-lah nyawa baginda; maka kĕmbali-lah ia ka-rahmatu'llah taala dan pada suatu kaul pada kĕtiga sujud-nya baginda bĕrlaku. Maka hairan-lah sĕgala manusia mĕlihat baginda itu. Maka Tun Pĕrpateh Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara pun sĕgĕra-lah ia mĕnyuroh pĕrgi ka-Pasai bĕpĕrsĕmbahkan baginda kapada paduka kakanda Sultan Malik al Mahmud mĕmbawa khabar akan hal baginda dĕmikian itu. Maka sampai-lah orang mĕmbawa khabar itu, maka di-pĕrsĕmbahkan-nya dari pĕrmulaan-nya datang kapada kĕsudahan-nya sĕpĕrti hal baginda itu. Sa-tĕlah sudah di-dĕngar oleh baginda khabar adinda itu, maka baginda pun mĕnghĕmpaskan diri-nya ka-bumi dan mĕmbĕlah-bĕlah baju-nya, lalu ia pĕngsan, tiada ia khabarkan diri-nya sa-kira-kira sa-jam lama-nya. Maka tatkala siuman-lah baginda itu daripada pĕngsan-nya, maka di-suroh baginda ambil mayat saudara-nya itu, maka lalu pĕrgi-lah orang mĕngambil mayat itu. Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya datang-lah mayat itu ka-Pasai, maka di-kuburkan kakanda baginda sĕpĕrti adat sĕgala raja-raja yang kĕmbali ka-rahmatu'llah hampir dĕngan kubur ayahanda baginda. Maka Sultan Malik al Mahmud pun sangat-lah dukachita-nya lagi dĕngan pĕrchintaan-nya dan sĕsal-nya pun tiada bĕrkĕsudahan. Sa-tĕlah bĕbĕrapa lama-nya dĕmikian itu, maka baginda pun turun-lah dari atas kĕrajaan-nya; maka Sultan Ahmad-lah di-rajakan oleh baginda dalam nĕgĕri Pasai. Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya Sultan Ahmad dalam kĕrajaan, maka Sultan Malik al Mahmud pun sakit-lah hampir-lah pulang dari nĕgĕri yang fana ka-nĕgĕri yang baka. Maka Sultan Malik al Mahmud pun bĕrwasiat kapada Sultan Ahmad, dĕmikian bunyi-nya, "Hai anak-ku, chahaya mata-ku dan buah hati-ku, baik-baik ĕngkau mĕmĕliharakan dalam nĕgĕri kĕrajaan-mu ini akan sĕgala pĕkĕrjaan amar Allah dan amar rasul Allah dan mĕnĕgahkan sĕgala larangan kĕdua-nya, dan jangan-lah laluï sĕpĕrti firman Allah taala dan sĕpĕrti sabda nabi Mohammad rasul Allah salla Allahu alaihi wa's-salam, hai anak-ku, jangan tiada ĕngkau turut sĕpĕrti pĕsan-ku ini; dan jika pada sa-suatu pĕkĕrjaan hĕndak-lah ĕngkau mĕshuarat dĕngan sĕgala mĕntĕri-mu yang tua-tua dan jangan sĕgĕra ĕngkau bĕrbuat sa-suatu pĕkĕrjaan

hingga baik-lah mĕshuarat-mu dĕngan sĕgala mĕntĕri hulubalang-mu. Maka ĕngkau kĕrjakan dan pĕrbanyak oleh-mu sabar-mu pada sĕgala pĕkĕrjaan yang tiada patut pada shara' dan jangan ĕngkau mĕnganiayaï dan mĕmbinasakan sĕgala hamba Allah taala tiada dĕngan sa-bĕnar-nya dan jangan ĕngkau mĕlaluï amar bil-marof wanhi ainil munkar, hai anak-ku, karna dunia ini nĕgĕri yang fana tiada akan kĕkal ada-nya, dan akhirat juga nĕgĕri yang baka, hai anak-ku hubaya jangan tiada 'kau turut wasiat-ku ini." Maka Sultan Ahmad pun tundok lalu sujud sĕraya ia mĕnyĕmbah lalu mĕnangis tĕrlalu sangat. Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya Sultan Malik al Mahmud pun sangat-lah sakit-nya, lalu baginda pulang ka-rahmatu'llah, maka baginda pun di-tanamkan oleh anakanda baginda dĕngan sĕgala mĕntĕri hulubalang-nya di-sisi masjid di-pĕrbuatkan-nya oleh anakanda itu kaabah sĕpĕrti adat sĕgala raja-raja yang sudah pulang ka-rahmatu'llah sĕpĕrti yang dahulu-dahulu itu, maka Sultan Ahmad-lah naik atas takhta kĕrajaan. Hatta maka bĕbĕrapa lama-nya dalam kĕrajaan, maka pada suatu masa datang sa-buah kapal Kĕling dari bĕnua-nya. Maka ada sa-orang jogi di-bawa-nya dalam kapal Kĕling itu, tĕrlalu amat sakti jogi itu, maka naik-lah sĕgala orang kapal itu, sĕrta mĕmbawa jogi itu mĕngadap Sultan Ahmad dan di-bawa-nya oleh jogi itu suatu tongkat, maka di-hunjamkan-nya tongkat itu di-hadapan Sultan Ahmad; maka di-sangkutkan-nya dagu-nya pada tongkat itu, maka kĕĕmpat tongkat itu pun mĕngĕlok*: sa-tĕlah itu, maka di-hunjamkan-nya pula pada suatu papan; maka ia pun mĕngĕlok juga bĕrkisar-kisar dan bĕrpusing-pusing. Maka jogi itu pun jatoh ka-tanah lalu ia pĕngsan sĕbab daripada kĕramat Sultan itu. Maka Sultan pun hairan-lah mĕlihat dia, karna daripada sĕbab sangat ia tahu bĕrmain-main sihir, maka kĕmudian dari itu jogi itu pun lalu masok ia igama islam. Maka ia-lah manggil Sultan Ahmad Pĕrmadala Pĕrmala itu. Hatta maka bĕbĕrapa lama-nya baginda dalam kĕrajaan, maka di-anugĕrahkan Allah subhanahu wataala akan Sultan itu tiga-puloh anak-nya; dalam pada itu yang sa-ibu sa-bapa lima orang, tiga orang laki-laki, yang pĕrtama nama-nya Tun Bĕraim Bapa, kĕdua bĕrnama Tun Adbul Jalil kĕtiga bĕrnama Tun Abu al-Fadzil dan dua orang pĕrĕmpuan sa-orang bĕrnama Tun Madam Pĕria dan sa-orang bĕrnama Tun Takiah Dara. Al-kesah maka tĕrsĕbut-lah pĕrkataan Tun Bĕraim Bapa, di-chĕtĕrakan oleh orang yang ĕmpunya chĕtĕra; ada pun akan Bĕraim Bapa tĕrlalu amat pĕrkasa-nya lagi pahlawan tiada bĕrbagai pada zĕman itu; tujoh hasta tinggi-nya dan dua hasta bidang dada-nya; maka jikalau tujoh dĕpa tĕbal kota tanah di-lotar-nya dĕngan batang kĕlambar luloh lantak, maka mashhur-hal nama warta-nya ka-bĕnua Kĕling. Ada pun akan Tun Abdul Jalil itu baik rupa-nya dan paras-nya tiada bĕrbagai pada masa itu; jikalau ia bĕrdiri

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di-pintu tani, maka bĕrsĕri-lah pintu itu dan jikalau ia bĕrdiri di-lĕpau yang bĕrnama dalkhana* itu, maka bĕrsĕri-lah rupa dalkhana itu dan jikalau ia bĕrdiri di-pĕkan nĕschaya bĕrchahaya-lah pĕkan itu daripada amat elok rupa-nya dan jikalau ia mĕmakai chara Jawa sa-rupa Jawa dan jika ia mĕmakai chara Siam sa-rupa Siam, dan jika ia mĕmakai chara Kĕling sa-rupa Kĕling dan jika ia mĕmakai chara Arab sa-rupa Arab. Maka mashhur-lah warta-nya ka-bĕnua Jawa kapada tuan putĕri Gĕmĕrĕnchang anak Ratu Manjapahit. Ada pun akan Tun Abu al-Fadzil itu tĕrlalu sa-kali alim lagi baginda tahu pada sĕgala elmu pandita dan bĕbĕrapa pandita yang datang dari atas angin hĕndak bĕrsual dĕngan baginda itu tiada sangkal daripada tĕrlalu sangat bijaksana-nya; maka mashhur-lah warta-nya ka-bĕnua Sĕmar Pandita. Ada pun anak Sultan Ahmad Pĕrmadala Pĕrmala yang bĕrnama Tun Madam Pĕria dan Tun Takiah Dara itu tĕrlalu amat sangat baik paras-nya, tiada ada sama-nya pada zaman-nya itu; ada pun akan Sultan Ahmad itu ada pĕrdana mĕntĕri-nya yang bĕsar ĕmpat orang, sa-orang bĕrnama Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara dan kĕdua bĕrnama Baba Mĕntuah dan kĕtiga bĕrnama Sulaiman Dĕndang Ayer dan kĕĕmpat bĕrnama Tun Shah Alam Kĕrat, tĕtapi akan Sultan itu tĕrlalu ia bĕrahi akan anak-nya yang bĕrnama Tun Madam Pĕria dan Tun Tĕkiah Dara itu, maka pada suatu hari, Sultan Ahmad sĕmayam di-hadap sĕgala mĕntĕri dan sĕgala hulubalang-nya; maka baginda bĕrsabda kapada sĕgala hulubalang-nya dĕmikian kata-nya, "Jika sa-orang bĕrtanam-tanaman, siapa yang harus dahulu makan dia." Maka Tun Pĕrpateh Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara pun bĕrdatang sĕmbah, "Ya tuanku shah alam, jikalau kami yang di-pĕrhamba ini bĕrtanam-tanaman orang yang lain juga harus dahulu makan dia, lagi tĕrlalu bĕsar pahala-nya mĕndahulukan jamu itu." karna Tun Pĕrpateh Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara tahu ia akan kias kata raja itu. Maka Baba Mĕntuah pun bĕrdatang sĕmbah "Ya tuanku shah alam, jikalau kami yang di-pĕrhamba bĕrtanam-tanaman kami juga makan dia dahulu;" karna Baba Mĕntuah itu tiada ia tahu akan hĕrti sabda raja itu. Dĕmi Sultan mĕnĕngar sĕmbah Baba Mĕntuah itu, maka baginda pun murka akan Tun Pĕrpateh Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara itu. Maka dalam suatu (masa) Tun Pĕrpateh pun mĕnyurohkan sa-orang pĕrĕmpuan mĕmbĕri tahu Tun Madam Pĕria dan Tun Tĕkiah Dara akan pĕrkataan Sultan bĕrsabda kapada sĕgala hulubalang itu; maka Tun Madam Pĕria pun mĕnyuroh mĕmbĕri tahu saudara-nya Tun Bĕraim ka-Tukas karna Tun Bĕraim Bapa itu dudok di-Tukas. Tatkala kĕdĕngaran-lah khabar itu kapada Tun Bapa, maka ia pun pĕrgi-lah dĕngan sĕgĕra-nya ka-Pasai lalu masok ka-dalam istana Sultan Ahmad di-rawan-nya oleh Tun Bĕraim Baba kĕdua saudara-nya lalu di-bawa-nya ka-Tukas. Maka

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* دلخان

Sĕri Sultan pun marah bĕrdĕndamkan Tun Bĕraim Bapa, sĕbab mĕmbawa kĕdua saudara-nya ka-Tukas itu. Sa-tĕlah bĕbĕrapa lama antara-nya, maka datang-lah sa-buah kapal dari bĕnua Kĕling tĕrlalu amat bĕsar. Shahadan dalam kapal itu ada ĕmpat orang pĕndikar yang tiada bĕrlawan dalam nĕgĕri-nya itu, dan ada sa-orang pĕndikar tĕrlalu amat pandai lagi dĕngan pĕrkasa-nya dari-pada sakalian tĕman-nya yang lain itu. Bĕrmula datang-nya itu hĕndak mĕnchari lawan ka-nĕgĕri Pasai. Sa-tĕlah sampai-lah kapal itu ka-labohan Pasai, maka bĕrlaboh-lah ia di-Tĕlok Tĕria itu, dan sa-tĕlah itu, maka naik-lah ia ka-darat, maka bĕrtĕmu-lah ia dĕngan orang dalam nĕgĕri itu, maka bĕrtanya-lah ia pada orang Tĕlok Tĕria itu, kata-nya "Apa-apa larangan Raja dalam nĕgĕri ini?" Maka jawab orang Tĕlok Tĕria itu, "Ada pun sĕgala yang di-larangkan Raja dalam nĕgĕri ini dudok di-balai panjang pada medan raja dan mĕnguraikan rambut dĕngan dudok bĕrjuntai mĕngayun-ngayun kaki-nya; itu-lah di-larangkan dalam nĕgĕri ini." Sa-tĕlah di-dĕngar oleh sĕgala pĕndikar itu, maka kata-nya, "Baik-lah, sĕgala larangan itu beta kĕrjakan." Maka sĕgala pĕndikar itu pun bĕrjalan-lah ka-Pasai, lalu ia ka-medan. Maka dudok ia di-balai panjang pĕnoh, dan dudok ia di-jambar panjang, sĕrta mĕnguraikan rambut-nya dan bĕrjuntai mĕngayun-ayun kaki-nya. Maka tatkala di-lihat orang akan pĕkĕrjaan-nya yang dĕmikian itu, maka pĕrgi-lah orang mĕmbĕri tahu Tun Pĕrpateh Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara; maka di-suroh Tun Pĕrpateh pĕrsĕmbahkan kapada Bĕrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai. Maka bĕrsĕgĕra-lah kĕdua Said itu mĕmbĕri tahu Bujangga Baja Raya. Maka oleh Bujangga Baja Raya di-pĕrsĕmbahkan-nya ka-bawah duli shah alam, maka sĕmbah-nya, "Ya tuanku shah alam, bahwa kita ini kĕdatangan jamu orang hĕlat asing, tandil-nya lashkar pĕndikar Kĕling datang-nya hĕndak mĕnchari lawan, karna ia tiada bĕrlawan dalam nĕgĕri-nya dĕngan kĕrba-gorak-nya dan mĕkar khanjar-nya, maka dudok di-balai panjang dan dudok di-jambar panjang sĕrta mĕnguraikan rambut-nya." Maka Sultan Ahmad pun bĕrsabda kapada Bĕrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai, "Pĕrgi-lah kamu kĕdua ka-Tukas, bĕri tahu anak-ku Tun Bĕraim Bapa." Maka pĕrgi-lah kĕdua Said-Said ka-Tukas kapada Tun Bĕraim Bapa sĕrta bĕrdatang sĕmbah kapada baginda, dĕmikian bunyi sĕmbah-nya, "Ya tuanku paduka ayahanda, kĕdatangan jamu orang hĕlat asing, tandil-nya lashkar pĕndikar Kĕling, datang-nya mĕnchari lawan karna ia tiada bĕrlawan dalam nĕgĕri dĕngan kĕrba-gorak-nya dan mĕkar khanjar-nya, dudok ia di-balai panjang pĕnoh sa-balai panjang, dan dudok ia di-jambar panjang sarat dĕngan sa-jambar panjang sĕrta dĕngan mĕnguraikan rambut-nya dan mĕngayun-ayun kaki-nya; karna itu-lah maka paduka ayahanda mĕnyuroh mĕmbĕri tahu tuanku." Maka sahut Tun Bĕraim Bapa, "Pĕrsĕmbahkan-lah sĕmbah hamba ka-bawah duli shah alam itu-lah hari hamba mĕngadap." Maka kĕdua mĕreka itu pun kĕmbali-lah di-pĕrsĕmbahkan sĕpĕrti sĕmbah anakanda itu. Maka

Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun bĕrsabda kapada Pĕrman Isap dĕngan orang Tikar, " Pĕrgi-lah kamu kĕdua ka-paduka Barah Bukit panggilkan aku mamak-ku pĕndikar Pulau Kukur; maka lalu ĕngkau pĕrgi ka-kampong Bangka panggilkan aku akan mamak-ku pĕndikar kampong Bangka dan lalu kamu ka-tanah Langgar panggilkan aku mamak-ku pahlawan kampong Langgar, dan panggilkan aku abang-ku Malik Akasan, dan abang-ku Ali pĕndikar kampong China, dan Tun Bijaya Pangleran dan Rawan Pĕrmatang dĕngan lashkar-nya sĕrta kamu juga datang-nya." Maka pĕrgi-lah Pĕrman Isap, dĕngan orang Tikar mĕmanggil pahlawan dan sĕgala pĕndikar itu. Sa-tĕlah datang-lah sakalian mĕreka itu dĕngan sĕgĕra-nya shahadan dĕngan masam muka-nya dan kĕrut kĕning-nya; maka bĕrdatang sĕmbah sakalian mĕreka itu, " Ya tuanku bĕrapa lama-nya kami ini yang di-pĕrhamba tiada pĕnah di-panggil sĕpĕrti sa-kali ini jikalau orang hĕndak di-bunoh sa-kali pun, dapat juga ia bĕrtanggoh ada-nya." Maka sahut Tun Bĕraim Bapa; " Ayoh sakalian mamak-ku dan sakalian abang-ku, ada pun maka hamba mĕnyuroh mĕmanggil mamak-ku dan abang-ku sakalian ini dari karna sĕbab shah alam kĕdatangan jamu orang hĕlat asing, tandil-nya lashkar pĕndikar Kĕling, datang-nya itu hĕndak mĕnchari lawan karna ia tiada bĕrlawan dalam nĕgĕri-nya dĕngan kĕrba-gorak-nya dĕngan mĕkar khanjar-nya dudok ia di-balai panjang dudok ia di-jambar panjang pĕnoh dĕngan sa-jambar panjang dĕngan mĕnguraikan rambut-nya dan mĕngayun-ngayun kaki-nya." Sa-tĕlah di-dĕngar sakalian mĕreka itu kata Tun Bĕraim Bapa dĕmikian itu, maka sĕmbah sakalian mĕreka itu kapada Tun Bĕraim Bapa " Ya tuanku, jikalau ada tolong tuhan sĕru sakalian alam insha' allah taala kami-lah sakalian mĕlawan tandil-nya lash-kar pĕndikar Kĕling itu." Sa-tĕlah itu maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun bĕrsabda pada Pĕrman Isap dan orang Tikar, " Hai mamak-ku pĕrgi-lah kamu kĕdua ambil akan aku kĕrsek barang sa-kuncha sa-orang kamu;" maka pĕrgi-lah ia mĕngambil kĕrsek, jangankan sa-kuncha sa-orang, lima naleh pun tiada dapat di-bawa-nya. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun pĕrgi-lah kĕndiri-nya ka-pantai-mĕng-ambil kĕrsek itu; sĕrta di-ambil-nya kĕrsek itu, lalu di-timbang-kan-nya sa-kuncha dari kanan-nya sa-kuncha dari kiri-nya kĕsad-nya hĕndak mĕmbuang bara-nya jangankan ia kĕjang, bĕrpĕloh pun tiada. Maka Tun Bĕraim pun bĕrsabda kapada Pĕrman Isap dĕngan Orang Tikar, " Hai mamak-ku panggilkan-lah aku Wasat Makam dan Wasat Pĕrak." Maka dĕngan sakĕtika itu juga ia datang. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun bĕrsabda kapada kĕdua mĕreka itu, " Hai Wasat Makam dua dĕngan Wasat Pĕrak palukan daku gĕndĕrang pĕrang dan tiupkan daku sĕrunai pĕrang; bahwa aku hĕndak bĕrmain-main dĕngan sĕgala guru-ku dan mamak-ku." Maka di-palukan orang-lah gĕndĕrang pĕrang dan di-tiup-nya-lah sĕrunai oleh orang kĕdua tiu. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa bĕrsĕrama-lah di-hadapan guru-nya itu, kĕsad-nya hĕndak mĕmbuang bara-nya jangankan ia kĕjang bĕrpĕloh pun ia tiada. Maka paduka Sĕri

Sultan pun tĕrkĕjut daripada pĕraduan-nya sĕbab mĕnĕngar bunyi gĕndĕrang pĕrang itu, sĕrta baginda mĕruah Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, dĕmikian sabda baginda "Ayoh Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, bangun oleh ĕngkau asal-mu orang Tĕrjunan Pangliran, karna ĕngkau pĕnghulu gundek-ku, bĕrgĕlar Tun Dĕrma Dikara, bangun apa-lah ĕngkau; tiada-kah ĕngkau dĕngar bunyi gĕndĕrang pĕrang di-Tukas pula taboh-tabohan? Hari dini hari bulan pun tĕrang, sa-malam ini musoh dari-mana kĕtah datang bĕrapa banyak-nya dan siapa pĕrtuha-nya." Maka Dara Zulaikha Tingkap pun tĕrkĕjut daripada tidur-nya gĕgak gopohan, kain pun tiada tĕrsĕlindang lagi rambut pun tiada tĕrsanggul lagi bĕrpintal-pintal bĕrchampur dĕngan bunga ayer mawar, sĕrta ia bĕrdatang sĕmbah, "Ya tuanku shah alam maaf, hamba-mu di-panggil pada kĕtika dini hari ini, bulan-nya tĕrang sa-malam ini pada kĕtika sĕlatan, pada kĕtika tidur nyĕdar." Maka paduka shah alam pun bĕrsabda, "Ayoh, Dara Zulaikha Tingkap bĕrgĕlar Tun Dĕrma Dikara tiada kamu dĕngar gĕndĕrang di-Tukas palu-nya taboh-tabohan hari ini dini hari bulan-nya tĕrang sa-malam musoh dari mana kĕtah* datang-nya dan bĕrapa kĕtah* banyak-nya siapa kĕtah* pĕrtuha-nya, suroh lihati apa-lah kapada sĕgala orang yang di-bawah istana ini siapa ada, tiada." Maka Tun Dĕrma Di-Kara Tingkap pun lalu bangkit sĕrta bĕrtanya kapada orang yang di-bawah istana itu. Maka sahut Bĕrmamat Pantai dan Mĕdan Pantai, "Sakalian kami ada yang di-pĕrhamba marhum di-bawah istana ini, pĕrtama Bujangga Buja Raya dan Malik Sulaiman dan Shah Alam Kĕrat pun ada sakalian di-bawah istana ini." Maka kata Dara Zulaikha Tingkap akan sakalian mĕreka itu, "Tiada-kah kamu dĕngar gĕndĕrang pĕrang di-Tukas itu palu taboh-tabohan hari-nya dini hari bulan-nya tĕrang samalam ini musoh dari mana datang bĕrapa banyak-nya dan siapa kĕtah pĕrtuha nya, lihati apa-lah oleh kamu. Maka Bĕrmamat Pantai pun pĕrgi-lah ia bĕrjalan ka-Tukas mĕlihat dia. Maka di-lihat oleh kĕdua mĕreka itu Tun Bĕraim Bapa bĕrmain-main dĕngan guru-nya dan dĕngan sĕgala hulubalang-nya. Maka Bĕrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai pun kĕdua-nya sĕgĕra-lah ia kĕmbali dari Tukas.

Sa-tĕlah sudah ia datang, maka kata-nya, "Hai Dĕrma Dikara Tingkap datang-lah kami kĕdua ini dari Tukas suatu musoh pun tiada ada mĕlainkan Tun Bĕraim Bapa bĕrmain-main bĕrsĕnda bĕrgurau dĕngan hulubalang-nya dan sĕgala guru-nya." Maka di-pĕrsĕmbahkan oleh Dara Zulaikha Tingkap kapada shah alam, "Suatu pun tiada ada musoh mĕlainkan paduka anakanda Tun Bĕraim Bapa bĕrsĕnda-sĕnda bĕrgurau-gurau dĕngan sĕgala hulu-balang-nya." Maka Sultan Ahmad Pĕrmadala Pĕrmala pun bĕr-sabda kapada Dara Zulaikha Tingkap itu, maka kata baginda,

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* كتاه

"Ayoh Dara Zulaikha Tingkap bĕrgĕlar Dĕrma Dikara, rahsia-ku ini jangan ĕngkau katakan kapada sa-orang jua pun, jikalau si-Bĕraim Bapa tiada 'ku bunoh, kĕrajaan 'ku jangan kĕkal dan bau shurga pun jangan 'ku chium." Sa-tĕlah hari pun siang-lah, maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun bĕrsabda kapada bĕndahari-nya bĕrnama Dara Sipir, "Hai Dara Sipir pipiskan-lah oleh-mu bĕdak dan ramaskan limau: aku hĕndak mandi dĕngan sĕgala mamak-ku dan guru-ku." Maka Dara Sipir pun mĕmbuka pĕti long pĕmipis bĕdak dan mĕramas limau dan champuri-nya dĕngan kĕjamas; maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun bĕrbĕdak dan bĕrlimau dĕngan sĕgala hulubalang-nya dan sĕgala guru-nya; maka lalu-lah sĕgala mĕreka itu ka-sungai Sĕmpang. Sa-tĕlah sudah baginda mandi, lalu ia kĕmbali ka-istana-nya, maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun mĕnyuroh mĕmbukakan sa-buah pĕti mĕngĕluarkan pakaian akan mĕnganugĕrahi pĕrsalin kain yang indah-indah akan mamak-nya dan abang-nya dan sĕgala hulubalang-nya. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun mĕmakai-lah ia, pĕrtama bĕrkain sutĕra nipis kuning lia bina-bina[1] bĕrpancha warna murup bĕrtĕpi ĕmas di-pahat bĕrsiratkan ĕmas dikara[2] bĕrambu bĕrdana bĕndi bĕrgiring-giring di-puncha-nya dan bĕrbaju sinar mata-hari, bĕrkanching miga[3] bĕrtĕrapan bĕrpĕrmata podi merah dan bĕrtĕngkolok warna China kĕpaluan[4] bĕrtĕpi ĕmas bĕpĕrmata bĕrsirat bĕrambukan mutiara dan bĕrkamar bĕrkilat bĕrpintu bahu dan bĕrpintu bĕrnaga tujoh bĕlit dan bĕr-kĕras dĕnganan manikam bĕrsarongkan ĕmas dan mĕnyandang pĕdang halilintar dan mĕngĕnakan sangga nĕkas[5] bĕpĕrmata dan mĕnyangkutkan busar yang kĕĕmasan pada bahu-nya kiri.

Maka tĕrlalu sa-kali hebat laku-nya dĕngan pĕrkasa-nya, amat manis pĕrkata'an-nya, sa-olah-olah rimau yang tiada bĕrlawan rupa laku-nya; lalu baginda bĕrjalan di-iringkan sĕgala hulubalang dan sĕgala guru-nya di-hadapan-nya bĕrjalan akan mĕngalahkan sĕgala pĕndikar tiada bĕrtara rupa busar-nya gilang-gĕmilang warna baju-nya kilau-kilauan gĕmĕrĕnchang bunyi chanda bĕrtatah rupa pĕndahan-nya. Maka pĕnganjur pun sampai-lah ka-pintu lalu masok ia ka-dalam pagar. Dĕmi Sultan mĕlihat orang banyak masok itu, maka sabda Sultan pun tĕrkĕjut sĕrta mĕmanggil Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, "Ayoh Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, lihat apa-lah oleh-mu orang banyak masok itu." Maka Dara Zulaikha Tingkap pun mĕnyuroh lihat ka-pintu tani, maka di-lihat-nya pĕnganjur-nya Tun Bĕraim Bapa; maka di-pĕrsĕmbahkan-nya kapada ba-ginda, "Ya tuanku shah alam, akan suatu pun tiada ada mĕlain-kan pĕnganjur-nya paduka anakanda Tun Bĕraim Bapa jua ada masok." Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun datang-lah ka-pintu tani lalu baginda bĕrsabda kapada Pĕrman Isap dua dĕngan Orang

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1 ليا بين٢ 2 دكارا 3 ميك 4 كڤلوٴن 5 نكس

Tikar, "Hai mamak-ku kědua pěrgi-lah kamu kědua kapada inang-ku Dara Zulaikha Tingkap yang běrgělar Děrma Dikara suroh pohonkan akan daku kuda yang běrgělar kuda sěměrani anak kuda Pěrasi itu." Maka pěrgi-lah kědua měreka itu kapada Dara Zulaikha Tingkap kata-nya, "Hai Tun Děrma Dikara pěrsěmbah-kan sěmbah paduka anakanda Tun Běraim Bapa ka-bawah duli shah alam anakanda mohonkan kuda sěmběrani, anak kuda Pěrasi." Maka Dara Zulaikha Tingkap pun pěrgi-lah měngadap Sultan, sěraya ia běrdatang sěmbah, "Ya tuanku shah alam, bahwa paduka anakanda Tun Běraim Bapa měmohonkan kuda Kělak Kělabu sěmběrani anak kuda Pěrasi itu." Maka Sultan pun běrsabda, "Ayoh Dara Zulaikha Tingkap bukan kuda itu 'ku tahani karna kuda itu tiada pěrnah di-kěndaraï manusia, sěbab kuda itu kial,* jikalau anak-ku Běraim Bapa hěndak měnaik kuda itu běrikan-lah akan dia děngan sěgěra-nya." Maka Dara Zulaikha Tingkap pun měnyuroh kěluarkan kuda itu dan di-běrikan děngan kang-nya dan pělana-nya; maka Pěrman Isap dua děngan orang Tikar itu, maka kědua měreka itu pun běrsěgěra kěluar měmbawa kuda itu kapada Tun Běraim Bapa, maka Sultan pun běrangkat-lah kěluar ka-medan akan mělihat Tun Běraim Bapa akan běrmain-main itu. Maka di-lihat oleh Tun Běraim Bapa Sultan kěluar itu; maka Tun Běraim Bapa pun běrdiri děngan khidmat-nya di-hadapan Sultan itu lalu ia sujud: maka Sultan pun běrsabda kapada Běrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai, "Katakan-lah kapada anak-ku si-Běraim Bapa, aku měnyurohkan ia měnaik kuda itu di-hadapan jamu hělat asing, tandil-nya lashkar pěndikar Kěling itu, suroh pachu kuda-nya itu ka-Tukas." Maka Běrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai pun měnjunjongkan sabda yang maha mulia itu kapada Tun Běraim Bapa. "Ya tuanku Tun Běraim Bapa, sabda paduka ayahanda naik-lah tuanku ka-atas kuda itu di-hadapan jamu orang hělat asing lashkar pěndikar Kěling itu." Maka Tun Běraim Bapa pun měnyěmbah Sultan, lalu baginda naik ka-atas kuda-nya, maka di-pachu-nya lalu di-tarikan-nya di-medan. Maka ia pun khidmat kapada Sultan, tatkala akan naik kuda itu, maka di-pachu-nya pula; maka ia pun bangkit lalu ka-udara; maka di-pachu-nya pula lalu di-halakan-nya pula ka-Tukas. Maka děngan sa-kětika itu juga lěnnyap-lah daripada mata Sultan. Maka Sultan pun běrbiji sabak, kata-nya "Wah anak-ku lěnnyap-lah ia; di-mana kětah ěngkau 'ku chari, kata-ku tiada di-turut-nya, karna kuda itu kial tiada pěnah di-kěndaraï orang." Maka Tun Běraim Bapa pun tiba-tiba děngan sa-saat itu juga hadzir ia di-hadapan Sultan itu sěrta běrmain-mainkan kuda-nya, sěpěrti měrak měngigal laku-nya. Maka Sultan pun haibat mělihat dia sěpěrti gajah měta laku-nya; maka Sultan běrsabda kapada Běrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai, "Katakan kapada anak-ku si-Běraim Bapa suroh ia běrsěrama běrmain-main di-hadapan jamu orang hělat asing lashkar pěndikar Kěling itu pun suroh měng-apuskan kěmaluan-ku." Maka Běrmamat Pantai dan Medan

Pantai pun pĕrgi-lah mĕnjunjong sabda yang maha mulia itu kapada Tun Bĕraim Bapa. Maka kata orang kĕdua itu, "Sabda shah alam tuanku bĕrmain-main dan bĕrsĕrama di-hadapan jamu hĕlat orang asing lashkar pĕndikar Kĕling itu." Maka sabda Tun Bĕraim Bapa, "Jikalau dĕmikian sabda shah alam kita pohonkan-lah sa-bilah pĕdang dan sa-buah pĕrisai." Maka pĕrgi-lah mĕreka itu bĕrdua bĕrdatang sĕmbah, "Ya tuan-ku shah alam, bahwa sĕmbah paduka anakanda mĕmohonkan sa-bilah pĕdang dan sa-buah pĕrisai." Maka sabda Sultan Ahmad kapada kĕdua mĕreka itu, "Pĕrgi-lah kamu kĕdua ambil sĕgala pĕdang dan sĕgala pĕrisai bawa ka-mari yang mana bĕrkĕnan di-hati anak-ku itu, di-ambil-nya sa-bilah pĕdang dan sa-buah pĕrisai." Maka kĕdua mĕreka itu pun sĕgĕra-lah pĕrgi mĕngambil sakalian pĕdang dan sakalian pĕrisai, lalu di-bawa-nya ka-hadapan Sultan. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun mĕnyĕmbah Sultan lalu ia mĕmileh sĕgala pĕdang dan sĕgala pĕrisai itu. Maka di-ambil-nya sa-bilah pĕdang yang tĕr-bĕsar daripada lain-nya dan sa-buah pĕrisai yang tĕrbĕsar daripada lain-nya. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun sujud kapada Sultan lalu baginda turun ka-tanah sĕrta mĕnyengsengkan kain-nya sĕrta mĕ-mĕgang ulu pĕdang-nya dĕngan tangan-nya kanan dan mĕnyĕlak pĕrisai-nya dĕngan tangan-nya kiri. Maka lalu gĕndĕrang sĕrama pun di-palu orang dĕngan sĕrunai tĕrlalu gĕmuroh bunyi-nya, maka baginda bĕrtinjuan dĕngan sa-orang guru-nya pahlawan kampong Bĕdil Anayam nama sĕrama-nya; maka baginda bĕrbahasa pula ia dĕngan sa-orang guru-nya pĕndikar Ali Pulau Kukur sĕraya baginda bĕrsĕrama Puspa Ragam nama sĕrama-nya kĕmanis-manisan. Maka baginda bĕrbahasa pula kapada sa-orang guru-nya Pahlawan Kampong Bangka; maka di-lotarkan-nya kĕlambir kotai lalu di-parang-nya oleh Tun Bĕraim Bapa pĕnggal dua kĕlambir itu sa-bĕlah ghaib tiada kĕlihatan, dan sa-bĕlah tĕrhantar di-bumi pĕnoh dĕngan ayer-nya. Maka bĕrbahasa pula baginda dĕngan guru-nya Pahlawan Kampong Lĕngkara, maka di-lotarkan-nya sa-buah pinang kotai. Maka di-pĕnggal-nya oleh Tun Bĕraim Bapa pĕnggal dua sa-bĕlah ghaib tiada kĕlihatan dan sa-bĕlah tĕrhantar di-bumi. Maka bĕrbahasa pula baginda dĕngan (sĕgala) guru-nya pĕndikar Ali Kampong China; maka di-hunjamkan-nya sa-pohon pinang; maka lalu di-panchong-nya oleh Tun Bĕraim Bapa dari atas puchok-nya lalu ka-bawah tiada rĕbah. Maka tatkala di-tiup angin, maka rĕbah-lah pohon pinang itu pĕnggal ĕmpat. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun mĕlompat ka-kanan sa-kali dan ka-kiri sa-kali sĕrta di-kĕrĕtangkan pĕrisai itu, lalu ghaib tiada kĕlihatan kiaman-nya pada tangan-nya kiri; maka pĕdang itu pun di-kĕtarkan-nya lalu ghaib mata-nya tinggal ulu-nya sahaja pada tangan kanan-nya. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun lalu sujud mĕnyĕmbah Sultan Ahmad dan sĕgala guru-nya pun sujud mĕnyĕmbah Sultan Ahmad. Sa-tĕlah di-lihat oleh sĕgala pĕndikar Kĕling pĕrkasa-nya Tun Bĕraim Bapa itu sĕmua-nya amat dahshat dan hairan dan gĕmĕntar dagu-nya sĕpĕrti ayam kĕtakutan hĕlang,

dĕmikian-lah laku-nya. Maka sĕgala pĕndikar Kĕling bĕrkata-kata sama sĕndiri-nya. "Sa-umur kita ini bĕlumpai kita mĕlihat sikap manusia sĕpĕrti kĕlakuan Tun Bĕraim Bapa ini; jangankan kita mĕlawan dia, mĕmandang mata-nya pun takut rasa-nya." Maka sabda Sultan, "Hai sĕgala kamu pĕndikar Kĕling, lawan-lah oleh-mu hulubalang-ku ini dan pĕndikar-ku ini." Maka sĕgala pĕndikar Kĕling itu pun bĕrdiam diri-nya, lalu-lah ia kĕmbali ka-kapal-nya malu-nya mĕnundok kĕpala-nya, lalu-lah ia bĕlayar. Maka Sultan pun bĕrsabda kapada Tuan Bĕraim Bapa, "Hai nyawa bapa dan chahaya mata bapa, bawa-lah oleh-mu orang di-ulu sungai itu sĕrta-mu." Maka Sultan pun bĕrangkat-lah ka-istana-nya. Maka Tun Bĕraim pun kĕmbali-lah mĕmbawa orang ulu sungai itu dĕngan sĕgala guru-nya dan mamak-nya dan sĕgala abang-nya itu ka-Tukas dĕngan sĕnda gurau-nya dan di-pĕrjamu makan minum sakalian mĕreka itu. Sa-tĕlah itu, maka sakalian mĕreka itu pun bĕrmohon-lah mĕnyĕmbah kapada Tun Bĕraim Bapa masing-masing kĕmbali kapada tĕmpat-nya.

Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya antara-nya, maka pada suatu hari jĕmaat, maka Tun Bĕraim pun pĕrgi bĕrmain-main ka-Pasai, lalu masok ia ka-dalam pagar Sultan, maka naik-lah ia ka-lĕpau yaani sĕlasar istana, maka di-lihat-nya Tun Fatimah Lĕmpau bĕrgĕlar Tĕmin Liangan* dudok ia mĕngarang bunga dĕngan Zulaikha. Bahwa ia gundek Sultan Ahmad, maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa bĕrtanya, "Hai ibu-ku Tun Fatimah Lĕmpau, bunga akan siapa di-karang ibu-ku itu." Maka sahut-nya akan Tun Bĕraim Bapa "Ka-masjid." Sa-tĕlah Tun Bĕraim Bapa mĕnĕngar kata-nya dĕmikian itu, maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun dudok-lah bĕrsandar pada tiang dalkhana itu. Sa-tĕlah sudah di-karang-nya, maka Tun Fatimah pun lalu bĕrdiri sĕrta ia mĕlompat mĕlarikan bunga itu ka-dalam istana. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun marah lalu di-ikut-nya hĕndak di-tangkap-nya lalu tĕrtangkap puncha kain-nya. Maka tĕrdĕmpok bahu Tun Bĕraim Bapa pada pintu istana itu, maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun undur-lah. Maka Sultan pun tĕrkĕjut daripada tidur pada pĕraduan-nya (Ada pun bĕsar istana itu sĕmbilan-bĕlas ruang dan bĕsar tiang-nya sa-pĕndakap) bĕrgĕrak sĕpĕrti gĕrak gĕmpa; maka Sultan pun mĕmanggil Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, "Ayohai Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, apa mula-nya maka bĕrgĕrak istana ini, gĕmpa-kah? siapa tahu ini?." Maka Dara Zulaikha pun kĕluar, maka di-lihat-nya Tun Bĕraim Bapa hĕndak mĕnangkap Tun Fatimah Lĕmpau; maka Dara Zulaikha Tingkap pun masok-lah mĕngadap sĕrta ia bĕrdatang sĕmbah, "Ya-tuanku shah alam, suatu pun tiada mĕlainkan paduka anakanda Tun Bĕraim Bapa bĕrsĕnda bĕrgurau dĕngan Tun Fatimah Lĕmpau; maka Tun Bĕraim tĕrdĕmpok bahu paduka anakanda pada pintu istana itu." Maka Sultan pun tĕrlalu marah sĕrta bĕrsabda

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* تمين لياغن

kapada Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, " Ayohai Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, bĕrgĕlar Tun Dĕrma Dikara asal-mu orang tĕrjunan nasab-mu daripada pangliran Jana Bijanam dari sungai Rahat, karna ĕngkau pĕnghulu gundek-ku dalam istana ini rahsia-ku kapada ĕngkau jangan ĕngkau katakan rahsia-ku kapada sa-orang jua pun, jikalau si-Bĕraim Bapa jika tiada 'ku bunoh kĕraja'an-ku jangan kĕkal, bau shurga pun jangan 'ku chium." Maka Sultan Ahmad fikir-lah ia sakĕtika itu, bĕtapa pĕri-nya hĕndak mĕmbunoh dia ini; " Baik-lah ia 'ku bawa ka-ulu sungai, kĕtika itu-lah 'ku suroh bunoh." Sa-tĕlah sudah, maka Sultan pun bĕrsabda kapada Bĕrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai, " Pĕrgi-lah kamu kĕdua panggilkan akan Tun Pĕrpateh Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara dan Baba Mĕntuah dan sĕgala hulubalang-ku." Maka Bĕrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai pun pĕrgi-lah mĕmanggil sĕgala mĕreka itu; sa-tĕlah datang-lah sakalian mĕreka itu ka-hadapan Sultan Ahmad, maka sabda Sultan kapada sĕgala hulubalang dan sĕgala mĕntĕri, " Hai sĕgala kamu tuan-tuan mari-lah kita pĕrgi bĕrmain-main ka-hulu sungai, hĕndak bĕramai-ramaian mĕmakan rama-rama bĕrsila* dan mĕmakan kĕtam bĕrdayong dan hĕndak makan udang bĕrsanggul dan makan lĕmbĕdak mĕngidam dan makan patin bĕrtĕlur." Maka di-suroh Sultan bĕrlĕngkap sakalian mĕreka itu akan mĕngiring itu. Maka Sultan pun bĕrsabda kapada sĕgala hulubalang-nya, "Siapa baik kita tinggalkan mĕngawani Pasai ini." Maka sĕmbah Baba Mĕntuah. " Ya tuanku shah alam, yang baik bichara yang di-pĕrhamba di-tinggalkan, baik-lah paduka anakanda Tun Bĕraim Bapa karna ia pahlawan." Maka dĕmi Sultan mĕnĕngar sĕmbah-nya itu, maka Sultan pun bĕrsabda, "Karna si-Bĕraim Bapa tiada dapat kita tinggalkan siapa kĕtah* mĕncharikan kita ikan dan mĕnjala." Maka sĕmbah Malik Sulaiman Dĕndang Ayer, " Ya tuanku shah alam, jikalau sĕmbah yang di-pĕrhamba di-pĕrkĕnankan, baik-lah Tun Abu al Fadzil di-tinggalkan mĕngawani Pasai ini." Maka bĕrsabda pula baginda, " Karna Abu al Fadzil tiada dapat bĕrchĕrai dĕngan kita." Maka Tun Bĕraim Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara pun bĕrdatang sĕmbah, " Ya tuanku shah alam, baik-lah pada bichara yang di-pĕrhamba Tun Abdul Jalil di-tinggalkan, karna paduka anakanda itu tĕramat baik rupa-nya, jika ia mĕmakai chara Jawa sa-rupa Jawa dan jika ia mĕmakai chara China sa-rupa China dan jika ia mĕmakai chara Siam sa-rupa Siam dan jika ia mĕmakai chara Arab sa-rupa Arab." Maka Sultan Ahmad pun bĕrsabda, " Baik-lah si-Abdul Jalil kita tinggalkan." Maka Sabda Sultan kapada Bĕrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai, " Pĕrgi-lah kamu kĕdua ka-Tukas bĕri tahu si-Bĕraim Bapa, bahwa aku hĕndak bĕrmain-main ka-ulu sungai hĕndak

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* برسيل

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makan rama-rama bĕrsila dan mĕmakan kĕtam bĕrdayong dan hĕndak mĕmakan udang bĕrsanggul dan makan lĕmbĕdak mĕngidam dan makan patin bĕrtĕlur." Maka pĕrgi-lah mĕreka itu kĕdua ka-Tukas kapada Tun Bĕraim Bapa, maka tatkala sampai-lah ia ka-Tukas, maka kata-nya, "Ya tuanku shah alam, karna paduka ayahanda Sultan hĕndak pĕrgi bĕrmain-main ka-ulu Sungai ka-lobok Tura hĕndak makan rama-rama bĕrsila dan mĕmakan kĕtam bĕrdayong dan hĕndak mĕmakan udang bĕrsanggul dan makan lĕmbĕdak mĕngidam dan makan patin bĕrtĕlur, sĕgĕra-lah tuanku mĕngiringkan paduka ayahanda ka-ulu sungai." Maka Bĕrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai bĕrmohon mĕnyĕmbah baginda, lalu ia kĕmbali mĕngadap Sultan sĕrta bĕpĕrsĕmbahkan sĕmbah Tun Bĕraim Bapa itu, maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa itu pun bĕrsabda kapada Pĕrman Isap dan Orang Tikar, "Ayoh mamak-ku kĕdua, pĕrgi-lah kamu kĕdua kapada tuan-tuan yang di-ulu sungai itu, surohkan sakalian mĕreka itu mĕnĕbas sĕgala jalan dan hutan yang di-tĕpi sungai itu, karna paduka Sultan itu hĕndak bĕrangkat ka-ulu sungai bĕrmain-main ka-lubok Tora dan lalu kamu ka-Bĕlatak dan lalu kamu kapada malim Zinal Bĕlatak dan malim Pagar Sĕsah dan lalu kamu ka-kampong kapada si-Ali Kĕchil Pahat Potor dan pada Si-Bintang Timur dan pada Siakap Gagah Mĕngangkat suroh-lah ia mĕnanti daku di-Pantai Minggu itu." Maka Pĕrman Isap dan Barang Tikar itu mĕnyĕmbah lalu ia pĕrgi kĕdua-nya ka-ulu sungai kapada sĕgala mĕreka itu mĕmbĕri tahu akan Sultan bĕrangkat bĕrmain-main itu. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun naik-lah baginda bĕrtangis-tangisan dĕngan sĕgala isi rumah-nya. Sa-tĕlah itu, maka lalu-lah ia ka-pĕkan, maka baginda bĕrdiri-diri di-pĕkan; maka kata Tun Bĕraim Bapa, "Ayoh sĕgala kamu orang pĕkan tiada-lah siapa mĕruah kamu lagi dan bĕrsĕnda bĕrgurau dĕngan tuan-tuan sakalian karna aku ini hĕndak mĕngiringkan Sultan ka-ulu sungai, lalu ka-bukit Fadzul Allah entah kĕmbali ĕntah tiada." Maka sĕmbah sĕgala orang pĕkan itu, "Ya tuanku Tun Bĕraim Bapa musoh dari-mana dan sĕtĕru dari-mana akan tuanku, maka tuanku bĕrsabda dĕmikian; jikalau patah-lah tulang kami sakalian hamba tuanku yang dalam nĕgĕri Tukas ini, maka dapat orang buat sa-kĕhĕndak-nya." Maka kata Tun Bĕraim Bapa, "Diam-lah tuan-tuan sakalian," karna si-Bĕraim Bapa sa-kali-kali tiada ia mahu dĕrhaka, jika Bĕraim Bapa mahu dĕrhaka jika Pasai sa-Pasai-nya, jika Jawa sa-Jawa-nya, jika China sa-China-nya, jika Siam sa-Siam-nya, jika Kĕling sa-Kĕling-nya, tiada dapat mĕlawan si-Bĕraim Bapa jika tiada aku kĕraja'an dunia ini, di-akhirat pun aku pĕruleh juga." Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun bĕrjalan-lah daripada pintu tani itu, maka baginda bĕrtĕmu dĕngan Malik Sulaiman Dĕndang Ayer; maka bĕrkata Tun Bĕraim Bapa, "Ayoh mamak-ku Malik Sulaiman Dĕndang Ayer, tiada-lah siapa bĕrsĕnda bĕrgurau dĕngan tuan hamba, karna hamba hĕndak ka-ulu sungai ka-bukit Fadzul Allah, ĕntah kĕmbali ĕntah tiada." Maka Malik Sulaiman pun lalu bĕr-

tangis- tangisan kĕdua-nya. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun lalu kĕmbali pula ka-rumah-nya bĕrtangis-tangisan dan sĕgala isi rumah-nya dan sĕgala hamba sahaya-nya. Maka paduka Sultan pun bĕrangkat-lah sĕpĕrti adat sĕgala raja-raja bĕrmain-main; maka sabda baginda kapada Bĕrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai, "Pĕrgi-lah ĕngkau kĕdua kapada si-Bĕraim Bapa katakan aku sudah mudek." Maka baginda pun mudek mĕmbawa sĕgala pĕrĕmpuan-nya dan sĕgala gundek-nya dan sĕgala dayang-dayang-nya. Maka Bĕrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai pun pĕrgi-lah kapada Tun Bĕraim Bapa itu; sa-tĕlah itu, maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun turun-lah sĕrta mĕmbawa kĕdua saudara-nya itu, lalu ia bĕrjalan-lah dari pĕkan. Maka sabda Tun Bĕraim, "Ayoh sĕgala tuan-tuan orang pĕkan, tinggal-lah tuan-tuan sakalian; bahwa aku mudek-lah mĕngiringkan Sultan ka-ulu sungai ka-bukit Fadzul Allah ĕntah kĕmbali ĕntah tiada." Maka sakalian orang pĕkan pun mĕnangis bĕrhamburan ayer mata-nya sakalian mĕreka itu, sĕrta ia minta doa akan Tun Bĕraim Bapa; maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa sampai-lah ka-simpang; maka naik-lah ia atas pĕrahu, lalu dudok baginda di-buritan mĕngarek pĕngayoh-nya yang lebar-nya tiga hasta dan bĕsar batang-nya tiga jĕngkal, lilit dan panjang-nya tujoh hasta; maka sa-kali di-kayoh-nya sa-rantau laju-nya. Maka ada sa-orang hulubalang-nya mĕmbawa payong-nya, bĕrjalan ia di-dalam ayer tiada ia tinggal dĕmikian-lah pĕrgi-nya. Maka paduka Sultan pun sampai-lah ka-Lubok Sanggong itu; maka Sultan Ahmad pun bĕrsabda ka-pada Bĕrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai, "Surohkan oleh-mu anak-ku si-Bĕraim Bapa mĕnjala." Maka pĕrgi-lah mĕreka itu kĕdua mĕnyurohkan Tun Bĕraim Bapa mĕnjala; maka baginda pun mĕnjala-lah di-dalam Lubok Sanggong itu; maka tatkala sudah di-hampar-nya jala-nya, maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa lalu mĕnyĕlam dia; maka tatkala di-lihat paduka Sultan ia mĕnyĕlam itu, maka baginda pun mĕmbĕri isharat kapada sĕgala hulubalang-nya mĕnantikan ia timbul, sĕrta sakalian mĕreka itu mĕnghunus sĕgala pĕdang-nya dan sĕgala pĕndahan-nya daripada sarong-nya hĕndak mĕnĕtak dan mĕnikam Tun Bĕraim Bapa itu. Maka ia bĕrjalan di-dalam ayer itu sa-kira-kira sa-rantau jauh-nya; maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun bangkit ia, lalu naik ia ka-darat. Maka tatkala di-lihat Sultan dan hulubalang-nya hal yang dĕmikian itu; maka sakalian mĕreka itu pun dahshat kĕtakutan sĕrta dĕngan puchat muka-nya masing-masing mĕnyarongkan pĕdang-nya dan pĕndahan-nya. Maka Sultan pun mudek-lah ka-ulu sungai pula; maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa mĕnjala pula ia, maka di-pĕruleh-nya ikan tĕrlalu banyak rama-rama bĕrsila dan kĕtam bĕrdayong dan udang bĕrsanggul dan lĕmbĕdak ngidam dan patin bĕrtĕlur."

Maka di-suroh-nya pĕrsĕmbahkan kapada Sultan Ahmad; maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun mudek-lah ia, maka sampai-lah ia ka-pantai Mĕngkuang; maka sĕgala hulubalang Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun hadzir-lah ia mĕnantikan Tun Bĕraim Bapa di-pantai itu.

Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun dudok-lah ia di-haluan pĕrahu-nya mĕngirai jala-nya; maka baginda pun bĕrsabda kapada hulubalang-nya, " Ayoh sĕgala tuan-tuan dĕngan siapa lagi tuan-tuan bĕrsĕnda bĕrgurau, karna hamba hĕndak ka-ulu sungai ini ka-bukit Fadzul Allah ĕntah balek ĕntah tiada hamba lagi." Maka sakalian mĕreka itu pun bĕrdatang sĕmbah, " Ya tuanku, mĕngapa-kah tuanku maka bĕrtitah yang dĕmikian, hingga patah-lah tulang batu patek sakalian ini, maka dapat-lah orang buat sa-kĕhĕndak-nya ka-atas tuanku." Maka sabda Tun Bĕraim, " Ayohai sĕgala handai taulan-ku, diam-lah kamu sakalian, karna hamba tiada mahu dĕrhaka, jika hamba mahu dĕrhaka, jika Pasai sa-Pasai-nya, jika Siam sa-Siam-nya, jika China sa-China-nya, jika Kĕling sa-Kĕling-nya tiada dapat mĕlawan aku." Maka bĕrdatang sĕmbah si-Pahat Potor dan si-Bintang Timur dan Siakap Gagah Mĕngangkat dan malim Zinal dan malim Pagar Sĕsah, " Ya tuanku mĕngapa maka tuanku dĕmikian itu." Maka baginda bĕrsabda pula, " Diam-lah kamu, jika tiada aku kĕraja'an di-dunia insha'llah taala aku kĕraja'an di-akhirat nĕschaya aku pĕruleh juga." Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa mĕnyuroh si-Ali Kĕchil Pahat Potor dĕngan malim Zinal Bĕlatak, " Hai mamak-ku kĕdua bĕrpanching apa-lah mamak-ku kĕdua 'ku lihat sa-kĕtika." Maka kĕdua mĕreka itu pun sama-lah bĕrjabat tangan lalu mĕreka itu tangkap, bĕrhela-hela'an kĕdua-nya, maka bĕrtanam hingga lutut-nya kĕdua mĕreka itu. Maka kata Tun Bĕraim Bapa, " Sama juga kuat kĕdua mamak-ku ini." Maka sĕmbah si-Pahat Potor, " Ya tuanku jika hamba tiada takut akan nama dĕrhaka tuanku pun dapat hamba lawan." Maka baginda pun tĕrsĕnyum mĕndĕngar kata si Ali Kĕchil Pahat Potar itu; maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun mĕngantarkan jala-nya di-lĕtakkan-nya, lalu baginda turun ka-pantai itu. Maka dudok baginda bĕrlunjur kaki, maka di-suroh-nya si-Pahat Potor mĕngangkatkan kaki Tun Bĕraim Bapa, maka di-angkatkan kaki Tun Bĕraim Bapa itu, jangankan tĕrangkat bĕrgĕrak pun tiada, maka di-sunggoh-sunggohi dĕngan sa-kuat-kuat-nya daripada sa-puloh anak jari-nya titek darah sa-puloh titek. Maka di-gĕrak-nya oleh Tun Bĕraim Bapa kaki-nya, maka tĕrpĕlanting-lah Pahat Potor itu sĕpĕrti daun kayu di-tiup angin pulang paling; maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun tĕrsĕnyum lalu baginda naik ka-atas pĕrahu. Maka Sultan Ahmad pun sampai-lah ka-Tanjong Ara; maka tĕrlanggar-lah pĕrahu baginda itu dan pĕrahu sĕgala hulubalang-nya atas batang yang di-Tanjong Ara itu. Maka di-suroh baginda bongkar pada sĕgala hulubalang-nya dan sĕgala rayat-nya, maka tiada-lah dapat di-bongkar. Maka di-suroh baginda pada Gajah yang bĕrgĕlar Dola Laut dan Chĕrmin China dan Raja Bĕrong dan Raja Tingkas dan Biram Pasai dan Sĕmporna Dĕrma Utama dan Sĕri Nĕgĕri dan Arak Apa dan lain daripada itu pun sĕmua-nya itu tiada jua ia patah. Maka Sultan Ahmad pun bĕrsabda kapada Bĕrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai, " Pĕrgi-lah kamu kĕdua

panggilkan anak-ku Tun Bĕraim Bapa." Maka pĕrgi-lah kĕdua mĕreka itu; sa-tĕlah sampai kĕdua-nya sĕrta ia bĕrdatang sĕmbah, "Ya tuanku Tun Bĕraim Bapa paduka Sultan mĕnyuroh mĕmanggil tuanku karna pĕrahu paduka Sultan tĕrlanggar ka-atas batang di-Tanjong Ara itu. Maka di-suroh bongkar pada sĕgala hulubalang dan sĕgala rayat dan sĕgala gajah yang bĕrgĕlar-gĕlar tiada tĕrbongkar mĕlainkan sĕgĕra-lah tuanku pĕrgi." Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun hĕndak pĕrgi ka-Tanjong Ara, maka si-Ali Kĕchil Pahat Potor dan si-Bintang Timur dan Siakap Gagah Mĕngangkat dan malim Zinal Bĕlatap dan malim Pagar Sĕsah bĕrdatang sĕmbah sakalian mĕreka itu, "Ya tuanku Tun Bĕraim Bapa karna nasi hamba-mu sudah bĕrmasak dan sĕgala ayam hamba-mu sudah bĕrsĕmbĕlĕh, singgah apa-lah tuanku sa-kĕtika jua." Maka sahut-nya Tun Bĕraim Bapa, "Hai sĕgala tuan akan hamba, karna nasi gulai tuan hamba itu sudah siap sa-rasa hamba handai taulan-ku mĕlainkan maaf tuan-tuan sakalian-lah sudah di-dalam pĕrut hamba, karna hamba ini sĕgĕra di-panggil paduka Sultan." Maka ia pun lalu-lah bĕrjalan; sa-tĕlah sampai ia ka-Tanjong Ara; maka dĕmi di-lihat oleh Sultan Ahmad akan anakanda datang, maka sabda baginda, "Hai anak-ku lihat-lah oleh-mu pĕrahu-ku dan pĕrahu sĕgala hulubalang tĕrlanggar di-atas batang ini: apa bichara anak-ku akan batang ini?" Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun sujud sĕrta mĕnyĕmbah; maka lalu pĕrgi ia kapada batang itu, sĕrta ia mĕraba daripada pohon-nya lalu ka-ujong-nya. Maka di-gĕrak-gĕrak-nya sĕrta baginda bĕrkata, "Hai kamu hulubalang-ku jabatkan oleh-mu pĕrahu paduka Sultan itu." Maka baginda pun lalu mĕnyĕlam batang itu, maka di-raba-nya dari pohon-nya lalu ka-ujong-nya, maka di-hunus-nya khanjar-nya; maka di-kĕrat-nya batang itu lalu putus; maka di-tĕrajangkan-nya, maka batang itu pun pĕnggal dua, sa-pĕnggal tĕrpĕlanting ka-ulu sa-kira-kira dua rantau jauh-nya, maka hanyut-lah sakalian pĕrahu itu timpa mĕnimpa ada yang karam, ada yang bĕrdĕmpok ada yang tĕrmasok ka-dalam hutan, oleh karna patah batang itu di-timpa ayer dĕras lagi dĕngan bĕrkampong, maka pĕrahu Sultan pun hanyut ada sa-kira-kira sa-rantau jauh-nya. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun mĕnyĕlam pula sakali lagi, lama ia dalam ayer. Maka Sultan pun pura-pura mĕnangis dĕmikian bunyi tangis-nya, "Wah anak-ku Tun Bĕraim Bapa lĕnyap-lah kĕtah* ĕngkau atau di-timpa batang-kah kĕtah* ĕngkau, wah chahaya mata-ku dan buah hati-ku di-mana kĕtah* ĕngkau sĕkarang dan bapa kĕtah* hal-mu." Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun sĕraya baginda mĕnyĕlam itu, lalu ia mudek ka-ulu sĕrta mĕmbawa batang sa-kĕrat itu kira-kira lima rantau jauh-nya, maka naik-lah ia ka-darat sĕrta ia mĕmĕgang batang itu, lalu di-hunjamkan-nya di-pantai itu, tĕrmasok ka-dalam tanah

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kira-kira ĕmpat dĕpa. Maka baginda pun dudok di-atas batang itu dĕngan mĕngirai-irai rambut-nya dan mĕmĕtek changgai-nya. Maka Sultan pun hilir-lah, maka sĕgala dayang-dayang dan inang-nya dan kakanda-nya amboi! tuan Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun mĕnangis sĕrta mĕnarek-narek rambut-nya dan bĕrbiji sabak, dĕmikian bunyi-nya, "Wah tuanku Tun Bĕraim Bapa lĕnyap-lah kĕtah* tuanku." Maka ada sa-orang orang bĕrjalan dari ulu sungai itu, maka di-lihat-nya Tun Bĕraim Bapa dudok di-atas batang itu, maka tatkala sampai-lah ia kapada tĕmpat sĕgala orang mĕnangis itu, maka kata-nya, "Mĕngapa maka tuan-tuan mĕnangis ini." Maka mĕreka itu kata, "Tuan kami Tun Bĕraim Bapa lĕnyap dari mata tiada kami kĕtahuï." Maka kata orang itu "Ada pun Tun Bĕraim Bapa ada hamba lihat dudok ia pada suatu pantai di-ulu sungai mĕngirai-irai rambut-nya dan mĕmĕtek-mĕtek changgai-nya." Maka sakalian mĕreka itu pun bĕrlarian-lah ka-ulu sungai mĕndapatkan baginda. Maka di-pĕrsĕmbahkan orang-lah kapada Sultan akan Tun Bĕraim Bapa itu ada lagi hidup; maka Sultan pun bĕrsabda kapada Bĕrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai, "Pĕrgi-lah kamu kĕdua panggilkan aku orang Sĕri." Maka pĕrgi-lah kĕdua mĕreka itu mĕmanggil orang Sĕri; maka ia pun datang. Maka sabda Sultan kapada mĕreka itu, "Hai kamu orang Sĕri pĕrbuatkan aku ubat hangat karna anak-ku si-Bĕraim Bapa ia mĕnyĕlam kalau-kalau ia dingin." Maka orang Sĕri pun bĕrbuat pĕnjaram; maka di-buboh-nya dalam pĕnjaram itu rachun; sa-tĕlah sudah di-pĕrbuat-nya, maka di-pĕrsĕmbahkan-nya kapada Sultan. Maka di-suroh Sultan bawa kapada Bĕrmamat Pantai dan Medan Pantai. Maka sabda baginda, "Pĕrgi-lah kamu hantarkan ubat hangat ini kapada anak-ku karna ia dingin bĕkas mĕnyĕlam itu." Maka pĕrgi-lah kĕdua mĕreka itu mĕnghantar-kan ubat hangat itu. Apabila sampai-lah kĕdua mĕreka itu kapada Tun Bĕraim Bapa sĕrta kata-nya, "Ini-lah ayapan daripada paduka ayahanda ubat hangat karna tuanku dingin bĕkas mĕnyĕlam." Maka Tun Bĕraim pun tahu-lah akan rachun itu, maka di-ambil-nya pĕnjaram itu sa-biji di-bĕlah-nya dua sa-bĕlah di-lontarkan-nya pada anjing. Maka di-makan-nya oleh anjing itu; maka sa-kĕtika itu jua ia mati; dan sa-bĕlah itu di-lotarkan pula kapada ayam, maka ayam itu pun mati jua. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun fikir-lah di-dalam hati-nya, "Jikalau 'ku makan makanan ini, nĕschaya mati-lah aku jikalau tiada 'ku makan nĕschaya dĕrhaka-lah aku, tĕtapi baik-lah aku mati daripada nama dĕrhaka." Maka di-ambil-nya pĕnjaram itu sa-biji lagi, maka hĕndak di-makan-nya, maka tatkala itu di-lihat oleh Tun Medan Pĕria hal yang dĕmikian itu; maka di-pĕrĕbut-nya daripada tangan saudara-nya lalu di-makan-nya. Maka ia pun lalu mati-lah, maka di-ambil-nya sa-biji lagi, maka di-pĕrĕbut oleh saudara-nya yang bĕrnama Tun Takiah Dara lalu di-makan-nya, maka ia pun lalu mati, maka di-suroh Tun Bĕraim Bapa ka-bukit Fadzul Allah di-suroh-nya tanamkan di-sana; maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun mĕngambil pĕn-

jaram itu, lalu di-makan-nya yang tinggal daripada di-makan oleh saudara-nya itu; sa-tĕlah itu maka bius rachun itu pun mĕnyĕlap-nyĕlap; maka sĕgala tuboh-nya itu pun gatal-lah, maka di-suroh baginda garu kapada mamak-nya Pĕrman Isap dĕngan Tikar. Maka di-garu mĕreka itu bĕlakang Tun Bĕraim Bapa; maka sakalian muka mĕreka itu habis-lah tanggal, maka kĕdua-nya pun lalu mati-lah ia, maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun tiada-lah lagi mĕndĕrita daripada kĕsangat gatal-nya; maka pĕrgi ia kapada sa-pohon kular itu pun habis tanggal sĕgala kulit-nya dan habis luroh sĕgala daun-nya. Maka pohon kular itu pun dĕngan sa-kĕtika itu juga mati; maka ia bĕrsabda kapada Malik Akasan, "Ya tuanku ada hamba mĕnĕngar khabar sĕgala orang tua-tua ada suatu Lubok Turi, nama-nya tĕrlalu amat dalam dan luas-nya kira-kira sa-kuncha bĕneh." Maka sabda Tun Bĕraim Bapa, "Hai mamak-ku bawa-lah hamba pĕrgi ka-sana." Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun bĕrjalan-lah ka-Lubok Turi itu; sa-tĕlah baginda sampai ka-sana, maka kata-nya, "Hai mamak-ku Malik Akasan hambur-lah oleh hamba jala itu." Maka Malik Akasan pun mĕnghambur jala itu; maka jala itu pun bĕrpintal-pintal masok ka-dalam Lubok Turi itu. Maka kata Tun Bĕraim Bapa, "Bĕtapa pĕri mamak-ku mĕngambil jala itu, tiada dapat di-hela-nya karna jala itu sudah tĕrtangkap pada tandok ular lĕmba." Maka Malik Akasan pun hĕndak mĕnyĕlam jala itu, maka di-lihat-nya dalam lubok itu merah sĕpĕrti api yang nyala, maka sĕgĕra ia timbul lalu ka-darat. Maka kata-nya, "Ya tuanku ada-lah dalam lubok ini merah sĕpĕrti api bĕrnyala-nyala," kata-nya itu. Maka kata Tun Bĕraim Bapa, "Ambilkan-lah hamba rotan barang sa-gĕlong." Sa-tĕlah itu, maka ia pun bĕrsikap bĕrjawat tangkal dan rotan itu pun di-ikatkan-nya pada pinggang-nya, lalu-lah ia mĕnyĕlam; maka di-tangkap-nya-lah ikan yang di-lubok itu yang kĕna jala itu. tĕrlalu banyak di-pĕroleh-nya. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun timbul, sĕrta mĕlotarkan sĕgala ikan itu, dĕngan chuchok-nya ka-darat. Maka baginda mĕnyĕlam pula ia; maka bĕrtĕmu-lah ia dĕngan ular lĕmba itu lalu di-tangkap-nya akan Tun Bĕraim Bapa lalu baginda bĕrgomol-gomol dĕngan ular lĕmba itu; lalu di-tangkap pula oleh Tun Bĕraim Bapa akan ular lĕmba itu, maka ayer dalam lubok itu pun bĕrombak-ombak sĕpĕrti ombak di-lautan dĕmikian-lah hal-nya. Maka di-lihat oleh inangda-nya dan kakanda-nya dan amboi tuan-nya akan Tun Bĕraim Bapa hal-nya yang dĕmikian itu, kata-nya, "Wah tuanku Tun Bĕraim Bapa mati-lah kĕtah* di-makan ular lĕmba itu." Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa mĕnghunus khanjar-nya; lalu di-sĕmbĕleh-nya ular lĕmba itu; sa-tĕlah mati-lah ular lĕmba itu, maka di-bĕlah-nya pĕrut-nya. Maka sĕgala pĕrut-nya dan hati-nya dan lĕmpa-nya sakalian habis timbul-lah ia. Maka di-kĕrat-kĕrat-nya ular lĕmba itu di-

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chuchok-nya dĕngan rotan, lalu timbul-lah baginda sĕrta di-lotarkan-nya sĕgala daging ular lĕmba itu ka-darat, maka baginda pun naik-lah, maka di-suroh-nya tunu daging ular lĕmba itu; maka sĕgala manusia yang mĕnchium bau asap-nya itu sakalian habis mati daripada tĕrsangatan bisa-nya ular lĕmba itu; maka sĕgala daging ular itu di-makan-nya oleh Tun Bĕraim Bapa. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun dzaif-lah rasa-nya; maka sĕgala ikan itu sakalian di-suroh-nya pĕrsĕmbahkan kapada Sultan Ahmad dan di-suroh-nya tanyakan di-mana baginda di-tanamkan oleh orang akan dia. Maka pĕrgi-lah orang yang di-suroh-nya dĕngan mĕmbawa ikan itu; tĕlah sampai-lah orang itu kapada Sultan, maka di-pĕrsĕmbahkan-nya-lah itu; maka sĕmbah-nya, "Ya tuanku sĕmbah-nya Tun Bĕraim Bapa, jika ia mati di-mana di-tanamkan akan dia." Maka sabda Sultan, "Di-sana-lah ia kami tanamkan, karna di-Pasai pun bumi Allah, di-sana pun bumi Allah jua." Maka ia mĕnyĕmbah lalu ia pĕrgi kĕmbali kapada Tun Bĕraim Bapa; maka apabila sampai-lah ia, maka sabda Sultan sĕmua-nya di-sampaikan-nya kapada Tun Bĕraim Bapa. (Maka sabda Tun Bĕraim Bapa) kapada malik Akasan, "Ayoh mamak-ku bawa-lah aku ka-bukit Fadzul Allah." Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun bĕrjalan-lah sĕrta mamak-nya dĕngan sĕgala kĕluarga-nya. Maka apabila sampai-lah baginda kapada sempang jalan, maka kata Malik Akasan, "Ya tuanku, bahwa jalan ini dua sempang-nya suatu sempang ini dua hari pĕrjalanan, dan suatu sempang ini sa-hari pĕrjalanan sampai-lah kita ka-bukit Fadzul Allah, tĕtapi ada pohon saba-sani, sĕpĕrti rupa ular; barang siapa mĕlihat ia tĕrkĕjut tĕrkĕtar-kĕtar rĕbah lalu mati. Lĕpas dari sana, maka bĕrtĕmu pula dĕngan sa-pohon bĕluru rupa-nya sĕpĕrti rupa saga bĕrsiak, maka barang siapa mĕlihat dia tĕrkĕjut rĕbah ia lalu mati." Maka kata Tun Bĕraim Bapa "Hai mamak-ku bawa-lah hamba ka-sana pada jalan yang hampir itu." Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun lalu-lah ka-sana, maka ia bĕrtĕmu-lah dĕngan pohon saba-sani itu; dĕmi tĕrlihat oleh Tun Bĕraim Bapa, maka ia pun tĕrkĕjut sĕrta ia mĕnghunus khanjar-nya, lalu di-tĕtak-nya pohon saba-sani itu; maka ia pun mĕnghĕrip sĕpĕrti suara manusia dan mĕngalir darah-nya sĕpĕrti darah manusia. Maka lalu-lah ia bĕrjalan dari sana maka bĕrtĕmu-lah pula dĕngan akar bĕluru; dĕmi tĕrlihat oleh Tun Bĕraim Bapa lalu baginda tĕrkĕjut sĕrta ia mĕngambil pĕndahan-nya lalu di-tikam-nya akar bĕluru itu. Maka akar pohon bĕluru itu pun mĕnghĕrip sĕpĕrti gajah mĕndĕrum dan mĕngalir darah-nya sĕpĕrti darah manusia. Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa itu pun lalu-lah dari sana mangkin sangat-lah dzaif-nya. Maka kata Tun Bĕraim Bapa, "Hai mamak-ku Malik Akasan dukong-lah hamba tiada-lah lagi dapat hamba bĕrjalan." Maka Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun di-dukong oleh Malik Akasan; maka apabila sampai-lah kapada suatu tĕmpat, maka ia pun tiada-lah mĕndĕrita lagi, maka di-suroh-nya hantarkan diri-nya ka-tanah. Maka di-ambil-nya lĕmbing-nya, lalu di-lotarkan-nya;

maka kata-nya. "Hai mamak-ku Malik Akasan, jika si-Bĕraim Bapa mahu dĕrhaka, jika Pasai sa-Pasai-nya, jika Siam sa-Siam-nya, jika Kĕling sa-Kĕling-nya, tiada mahu mĕlawan si-Bĕraim Bapa karna sakali kali si-Bĕraim Bapa tiada mahu dĕrhaka; hai mamak-ku Malik Akasan di-mana tĕmpat lĕmbing hamba itu jatoh di-sana-lah hamba tanamkan." Maka lĕmbing itu pun jatoh-lah ka-bukit Fadzul Allah. Maka sa-kĕtika lagi Tun Bĕraim Bapa pun kĕmbali-lah ka-rahmatu'llah taala; maka Malik Akasan-lah mĕmbawa mayat baginda dĕngan sĕgala handai taulan-nya ka-bukit Fadzul Allah itu, sĕpĕrti mĕmbawa mayat sa-orang fakir jua. Maka tatkala sampai-lah ka-bukit Fadzul Allah itu, maka di-lihat orang lĕmbing itu tĕrhunjam antara sĕlang saudara-nya yang kĕdua jua, maka lĕmbing itu tĕrmasok ka-dalam tanah sa-kira-kira sa-hasta jua yang kĕlihatan; ada pun bĕsar batang lĕmbing itu dua jĕngkal lilit dan lebar mata-nya sa-hasta dan panjang-nya sĕmbilan hasta. Ada pun jauh-nya tĕmpat mĕnikamkan lĕmbing itu kira-kira sa-tĕngah hari pĕrjalanan. Sa-tĕlah itu, maka di-tanamkan oleh Malik Akasan dĕngan sakalian orang yang bĕsĕrta-nya itu pada tĕmpat lĕmbing-nya yang jatoh itu jua. Maka tatkala itu sampai-lah khabar baginda sudah mati; maka Sultan Ahmad pun tĕrlalu sukachita dan nyaman-lah hati-nya; maka baginda pun kĕmbali-lah ka-Pasai; hingga sampai-lah ia ka-istana-nya. Kata yang ĕmpunya chĕrita, ada pun akan Tun Abdul Jalil tatkala ia tinggal mĕnunggui nĕgĕri Pasai itu, maka di-suroh baginda pĕrseh nĕgĕri dan sĕgala pĕkan dan medan hingga di-suroh baginda tambak sĕgala tanah lembang-lembang hingga rata-lah sĕgala medan itu.

Al-kesah, maka tĕrsĕbut-lah pĕrkata'an tuan Putĕri Gĕmĕrĕnchang anak Ratu Majapahit di-nĕgĕri Jawa, karna Tuan Putĕri itu tiada ia bĕrsuami, sĕbab ia hĕndak bĕrsuamikan daripada sĕgala anak raja yang bijaksana dan yang pĕrkasa. Maka Tuan Putĕri itu mĕnyurohkan hulubalang-nya yang bĕrnama Tun Pĕrpateh China kapada sĕgala nĕgĕri akan mĕnuliskan rupa sĕgala anak raja-raja yang pada sĕgala nĕgĕri sĕrta mĕmbawa kĕrtas sa-pĕti dan dawat sa-kochi dan kalam sa-bĕrkas. Maka Tun Pĕrpateh China pun bĕrlĕngkap-lah ia dĕngan sa-buah pĕrahu, lalu-lah ia bĕrlayar daripada sa-buah nĕgĕri kapada sa-buah nĕgĕri sĕrta ia mĕnuliskan rupa anak raja-raja yang di-dalam nĕgĕri itu.

Sa-bĕrmula yang sudah tĕrtulis itu ada kira-kira sĕmbilan-puloh sĕmbilan orang yang sudah tĕrtuliskan oleh Tun Pĕrpateh China itu, hingga masok-lah ia ka-nĕgĕri Pasai. Dĕmi tĕrlihat oleh-nya akan rupa Tun Abdul Jalil lalu di-tuliskan-nya rupa Tun Abdul Jalil; maka jadi gĕnap-lah sa-ratus orang dĕngan rupa Tun Abdul Jalil itu. Sa-tĕlah itu, maka kĕluar-lah ia dari Pasai, lalu ia bĕrlayar ka-nĕgĕri-nya. Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama antara-nya, maka sampai-lah ia ka-bĕnua Jawa, ia masok mĕngadap Tuan Putĕri Gĕmĕrĕnchang sĕrta mĕmbawa tulis rupa anak raja-raja itu; maka di-lihat oleh Tuan Putĕri Gĕmĕrĕnchang rupa anak

raja-raja yang sĕmbilan-puloh sĕmbilan itu, sa-orang pun tiada bĕrkĕnan pada hati-nya; maka dĕmi tĕrlihat kapada tulis rupa Tun Abdul Jalil itu, maka Tuan Putĕri itu pun hairan ia mĕlihat dia sĕraya ia bĕrsabda kapada Tun Pĕrpateh China, "Rupa siapa ini dan apa nama-nya dan di-mana bĕnua-nya?" Maka Tun Pĕrpateh China pun bĕrdatang sĕmbah, "Ya tuanku ini-lah rupa Tun Abdul Jalil nama-nya anak raja di-bĕnua Pasai." Maka Tuan Putĕri Gĕmĕrĕnchang pun tĕrlalu amat ia bĕrahi akan dia, daripada sĕbab ia mĕlihat rupa gambar-nya itu. Maka Radin Galoh Gĕmĕrĕnchang tiada-lah lagi tĕrtahani hati-nya, sĕpĕrti orang gila-lah laku-nya, maka minum pun tiada ia kĕnyang dan tiada puas dahaga-nya. Maka di-pĕrsĕmbahkan oleh sĕgala inangda amboi tuan-nya kapada ayahanda dan bonda-nya akan hal ahual-nya Tuan Putĕri gila itu sĕbab mĕlihat tulis rupa Tun Abdul Jalil itu. Maka dĕmi di-dĕngar oleh Sang Nata Majapahit dan Pĕrmaisuri akan hal anak-nya yang dĕmikian itu, maka hairan-lah ayah bonda-nya sĕrta dĕngan mashghul-nya. Maka ayah bonda-nya pun panggil anak-nya Tuan Putĕri Gĕmĕrĕnchang itu, sĕrta kata-nya, "Hai anak-ku apa jua mashghul dalam hati-mu." Maka Tuan Putĕri Gĕmĕrĕnchang pun bĕrdatang sĕmbah, "Ya tuanku shah alam, ada pun mashghul yang di-datangkan Allah taala ka-atas hati patek itu mashghul yang amat sangat tiada-lah tĕrsipatkan lagi ada-nya, karna rupa Tun Abdul Jalil anak raja bĕnua Pasai itu pada hati hamba-mu tiada-lah dapat patek kĕlupaï barang sa-kĕtika jua pun dan karam-lah rasa patek dalam-nya sĕpĕrti kata Sharif, haibat Ali musaibi ali yamisaruna lialia, bĕrti-nya tĕlah di-datangkan atas-ku pĕrchinta'an jikalau pĕrchinta'an di-datangkan atas-ku sĕgala hari iri sĕpĕrti umpama sa-malam jua ada-nya." Dĕmi Sang Nata mĕnĕngar sĕmbah anakanda baginda Tuan Putĕri Gĕmĕrĕnchang dĕmikian itu, maka bĕrtambah-tambah mashghul-nya sĕrta mĕmbicharakan dalam hati-nya, "Jikalau tiada 'ku pĕrkĕnankan sĕpĕrti kĕhĕndak-nya anak-ku ini, nĕschaya gila-lah ia dalam pĕrchinta'an-nya." Maka titah Sang Nata, "Hai anak-ku sabar-lah ĕngkau dahulu insha'allah taala aku-lah mĕmbicharakan sĕgala pĕkĕrja'an-mu itu." Maka Tuan Putĕri pun bĕrdatang sĕmbah dĕmikian bunyi-nya, "Ya tuanku shah alam, tiada-lah kuasa patek mĕnahani sabar, jikalau ada sayang shafaat duli shah alam akan patek, baik-lah hamba-mu di-suroh hantarkan ka-nĕgĕri Pasai itu dĕngan sĕgĕra-nya jika tiada dĕmikian itu, nĕschaya mati-lah patek dalam pĕrchinta'an yang di-pĕrhamba." Maka tatkala di-dĕngar ayahanda dan bonda baginda sĕmbah Radin Galoh dĕmikian itu, maka pada kĕtika itu jua baginda bĕrtitah mĕnyuroh mĕmustaedkan sĕgala kĕlĕngkapan itu daripada ghurab dan kĕlulus dan daripada jong. Sa-tĕlah sudah mustaed-lah sĕgala kĕlĕngkapan itu, maka di-suroh baginda hias sa-buah ghurab yang bĕsar akan kĕnaikan paduka anakanda Radin Galoh Gĕmĕrĕnchang itu dan daripada pĕrhiasan yang indah-indah dan di-anugĕrahi baginda akan Tuan Putĕri itu dari-

pada bĕbĕrapa sĕgala pĕrkakas alat kĕraja'an daripada sĕgala pakaian yang indah-indah dan daripada sĕgala hulubalang dan mĕntĕri dan rayat dan daripada bĕbĕrapa ĕmas dan perak dan pĕrmata yang indah-indah dan daripada pakaian yang bĕrbagai-bagai rupa-nya. Maka pada hari yang baik, maka Sang Nata pun bĕrangkat-lah dĕngan sĕgala hulubalang-nya dan sĕgala bala tĕntĕra-nya akan mĕnghantarkan paduka anakanda Tuan Putĕri itu ka-tĕpi laut. Sa-tĕlah itu sampai-lah baginda ka-tĕpi laut, maka Tuan Putĕri pun sujud mĕnyĕmbah sĕrta bĕrmohon kapada ayah bonda-nya, maka oleh Sang Nata dan Pĕrmaisuri di-pĕlok-nya dan di-chium-nya lalu baginda bĕrtangis-tangisan-lah. Maka Tuan Putĕri pun naik-lah ka-atas ghurab-nya yang di-hias itu sĕrta dĕngan inangda-nya dan bonda-nya dan amboi tuan-nya. Maka sĕgala hulubalang pun masing-masing naik-lah ka-pĕrahu-nya, lalu-lah Tuan Putĕri dan sĕgala mĕreka itu bĕlayar-lah ka-nĕgĕri Pasai itu pada siang dan malam. Ada pun di-chĕtĕrakan oleh orang yang ĕmpunya chĕtĕra. Maka tatkala tĕrdĕngar-lah warta angkatan Radin Galoh Gĕmĕrĕnchang anak ratu Majapahit datang dari Jawa itu hĕndak ka-bĕnua Pasai, daripada sĕbab bĕrahi akan Tun Abdul Jalil itu, sa-tĕlah di-dĕngar oleh Sultan Ahmad, maka Sultan pun tiada-lah lagi karar hati-nya daripada hĕndak mĕmbicharakan daya upaya mĕmbunoh Tun Abdul Jalil itu jua pada siang dan malam. Maka pada suatu hari Sultan Ahmad bĕrsabda kapada Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, "Ayohai Dara Zulaikha Tingkap umanat-ku pada-mu, hubaya-hubaya jangan ĕngkau katakan pada sa-orang jua pun, jikalau si Abdul Jalil tiada 'ku bunoh kĕraja'an ku jangan kĕkal dan Putĕri Gĕmĕrĕn-chang pun jangan 'ku pĕruleh." Sa-tĕlah itu, maka di-chari-nya daya upaya hĕndak mĕmbunoh Tun Abdul Jalil. Pada suatu kĕtika, maka Tun Abdul Jalil di-suroh-nya bunoh: maka di-bunoh orang-lah ia. Maka Tun Abdul Jalil pun pulang-lah ka-rah-matu'llah taala, maka di-suroh Sultan buangkan mayat baginda itu ka-laut ka-Jambu Ayer. Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama antara-nya, maka kĕlĕngkapan Radin Galoh Gĕmĕrĕnchang pun datang-lah ka-laut Jambu Ayer itu. Maka bĕrlaboh-lah sakalian-nya angkat-an itu di-labohan Jambu Ayer itu, maka kĕluar-lah sa-buah pĕrahu orang mĕngail dari kuala Jambu Ayer itu. Maka di-lihat uleh orang dalam jong itu sa-buah pĕrahu itu, maka tatkala hampir-lah pĕrahu itu kapada sĕgala jong itu, maka sĕgala orang di-dalam jong itu pun bĕrtanya, kata-nya, "Apa nama nĕgĕri ini?" Maka sahut orang mĕngail itu, "Ada pun nama nĕgĕri ini Pasai." Maka kata orang dalam jong itu, "Apa ada khabar dalam nĕgĕri ini?" Maka sahut orang mĕngail itu, "Ada pun khabar dalam nĕgĕri ini badak makan anak-nya." Maka kata orang dalam jong itu, "Tiada kami tahu hĕrti-nya kata-mu itu." Maka sahut-nya, "Ada pun hĕrti-nya, Paduka Sultan yang dalam nĕgĕri Pasai ini mĕmbunoh anak-nya dua orang, sa-orang bĕrnama Tun Bĕraim Bapa, dari karna Sultan itu bĕrahikan anak-nya pĕrĕmpuan sa-

orang yang bĕrnama Tun Medan Pĕria dan sa-orang bĕrnama Tun Takiah Dara dan anak-nya Tun Abdul Jalil pun di-bunoh-nya dan di-buangkan-nya dalam laut Jambu Ayer ini, sĕbab ia mĕndĕngar khabar Tuan Putĕri Gĕmĕrĕnchang datang dari bĕnua Jawa tĕrlalu amat ia bĕrahi akan Tun Abdul Jalil itu dan mayat Tun Abdul Jalil itu pun di-suroh-nya buangkan dalam laut Jambu Ayer ini; itu-lah bĕrti-nya kata kami badak makan anak-nya." Maka di-pĕrsĕmbahkan-nya orang-lah kapada Tuan Putĕri Gĕmĕrĕnchang sĕgala kata orang pĕngail itu. Dĕmi di-dĕngar-nya oleh Tuan Putĕri khabar orang itu, maka ia pun mĕnumbok-numbok dada-nya, sĕrta dĕngan tangis-nya; maka kata Tuan Putĕri, "Hai sĕgala kamu tuan-tuan hulubalang-ku, dan sĕgala rayat-ku, kĕmbali-lah kamu sakalian ka-bĕnua Jawa kapada ayah bonda-ku dan jikalau ada salah bĕbal-ku mĕlainkan minta ampun-lah aku ka-bawah kadam ayah bonda-ku bĕribu-ribu ampun dan kamu chĕtĕrakan-lah kapada ayah bonda-ku sĕpĕrti yang kamu dĕngar dan yang kamu lihat." Maka Tuan Putĕri pun bĕrkata kapada sĕgala orang isi pĕrahu itu, "Hai sĕgala kamu yang di-dalam ghurab ini siapa kamu mahu bĕrsama-sama dĕngan aku di-sini-lah kamu dan siapa kamu mahu kĕmbali turun-lah kamu kapada pĕrahu lain karna maksud-ku kapada Tun Abdul Jalil yang ku bĕrahikan itu dalam laut ini, aku pun disini-lah tĕmpat-ku." Maka Tuan Putĕri pun minta doa-lah kapada Allah subhanahu wataala, dĕmikian bunyi-nyqa, "Ya illahi, ya rabbi, matikan-lah kira-nya hamba-mu dan tĕnggĕlamkan ghurab hamba-mu dalam laut Jambu Ayer ini dan pĕrtĕmukan kira-nya hamba-mu dĕngan Tun Abdul Jalil itu." Hatta maka dĕngan tadkir Allah taala, maka ghurab itu pun tĕnggĕlam-lah dalam laut itu dan sĕgala angkatan itu pun kĕmbali-lah ka-bĕnua Jawa. Sa-tĕlah sudah sampai-lah sakalian angkatan itu, maka di-chĕtĕrakan oleh orang yang ĕmpunya chĕtĕra; maka tatkala kĕdĕngaran khabar Tuan Putĕri Gĕmĕrĕnchang sudah tĕnggĕlam itu kapada Sultan Ahmad, maka Sultan Ahmad pun mĕmatah-matah jari-nya sĕrta dĕngan sĕsal-nya tiada bĕrkĕsudahan sĕbab mĕmbunoh anak-nya Tun Bĕraim Bapa dan Tun Abdul Jalil dĕngan sĕsal yang amat sangat. Maka sabda Sultan kapada sĕgala hulubalang-nya, "Hai sĕgala kamu hulubalang-ku tĕgah apa-lah akan daku mĕmbunoh anak-ku itu." Maka Tun Pĕrpateh Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara pun bĕrdatang sĕmbah dĕmikian sĕmbah-nya, "Ya tuanku shah alam

Lada siapa di-bangsalkan
Rana saujana kĕrati
Pada siapa di-sĕsalkan
Tuan juga ĕmpunya pĕkĕrti."

Sa-tĕlah itu maka sampai-lah sĕgala angkatan Tuan Putĕri Gĕmĕrĕnchang itu ka-bĕnua Jawa, maka masok-lah sakalian mĕreka itu mĕngadap Sang Nata itu sĕrta di-pĕrsĕmbahkan-nya sĕgala hal ahual-nya Tuan Putĕri Gĕmĕrĕnchang sudah tĕnggĕlam itu dan di-

khabarkan-nya khabar Sultan yang di-dalam nĕgĕri Pasai mĕmbunoh anak-nya itu. Maka tatkala di-dĕngar Sang Nata Majapahit khabar yang dĕmikian itu, maka baginda mĕnangis dua laki istĕri mĕnangis tĕrlalu amat sangat dan mĕnghĕmpas-hĕmpaskan diri-nya kĕdua-nya lalu pĕngsan tiada-lah khabarkan diri-nya. Maka tatkala sĕmboh-lah ia daripada pĕngsan itu, Sang Nata mĕmbĕri titah kapada Pateh mĕnyuroh mĕnghimpunkan sĕgala mĕntĕri dan sĕgala pĕgawai yang kuasa-kuasa dan sĕgala rayat dan sĕgala bala tĕntĕra-nya. Sa-tĕlah itu, maka di-suroh baginda mutaedkan sĕgala kĕlĕngkapan dan sĕgala alat sĕnjata pĕpĕrangan akan mĕndatangi nĕgĕri Pasai itu, sa-kira-kira ĕmpat ratus jong yang bĕsar-bĕsar dan lain daripada itu banyak lagi daripada malangbang dan kĕlulus Sa-tĕlah sudah lĕngkaplah sĕgala kĕlĕngkapan itu, maka sĕgala mĕntĕri dan pĕgawai dan sĕgala rayat pun masing-masing naik-lah ka-pĕrahu sĕrta dĕngan alat sĕnjata-nya dan bĕkal-nya. Maka di-titahkan baginda pĕnggawa ynag bĕsar-bĕsar bĕrnama Sina Pati Anglaga dan bĕbĕrapa ratus paramĕntĕri dan parapĕnggawa. Maka pada hari yang baik bĕlayar-lah sĕgala angkatan itu ka-nĕgĕri Pasai; maka tatkala sampai-lah ia ka-labohan Pasai, maka naik-lah ia ka-darat, lalu ia mĕndirikan kota sa-panjang pantai; sa-tĕlah sudah, maka masok-lah ia ka-dalam kota-nya itu. Maka Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara pun mĕngadap Sultan Ahmad, sĕraya bĕrdatang sĕmbah akan hal musoh Majapahit itu sudah ia bĕrkota. Maka Sultan pun tĕrlalu dukachita mĕnĕngar itu; maka titah baginda, "Kapada esok hari-lah kita suroh kĕluari musoh itu." Maka sabda baginda Tun Bijaya Pangleran akan panglima-nya mĕmbawa rayat yang amat banyak. Maka pada kĕesokan harinya, maka bĕrbunyi-lah gĕndĕrang pĕrang daripada kĕdua pihak dan sĕgala lashkar bĕrdiri-lah di-medan, maka kĕdua pihak pun sama mĕnĕmpoh: maka bĕrpĕrang-lah daripada kĕdua pihak, lashkar pun banyak-lah mati dan luka. Maka gĕndĕrang kĕmbali pun di-palu orang-lah. Maka kĕdua pihak lashkar pun kĕmbalilah masing-masing pada tĕmpat-nya. Dĕmikian-lah pĕrang itu pada tiap tiap hari, kira-kira tiga bulan lama-nya pĕrang itu, tiada juga bĕralahan, karna Jawa itu sa-bahagi datang juga bĕralatan bantu-nya dari bĕnua asing-asing; maka tatkala di-lihat oleh Sang Nata pĕrang itu tiada juga bĕralahan-nya, maka ia pun tĕrlalu sangat marah-nya akan sĕgala pĕnggawa-nya yang bĕrsama-sama dĕngan dia itu, maka ia pun naik-lah sĕndiri-nya ka-darat sĕrta dĕngan pahlawan-nya kira-kira sa-ribu, sĕrta dĕngan mĕnyuroh sĕgala rayat-nya turun dari ghurab dan jong-nya masing-masing dĕngan sĕnjata-nya. Maka Sultan Ahmad pun mĕnghimpunkan sĕgala hulubalang-nya dan sĕgala pahlawan-nya yang mashhur sĕpĕrti pĕndikar Pulau Kukur dan Kampong Bangka dan pahlawan Kampong Langgar dan pĕndikar Kampong China dan si-Ali Kĕchil Pahat Potor dan Malik Akasan, dan Tun Ruana Pĕrmatang, sĕrta mĕnghimpunkan sĕgala gajah dan kuda dan sĕgala rayat

yang tiada tĕrpĕrmenaï, maka pada dinihari bĕrbunyi-lah gĕndĕrang pĕrang daripada kĕdua pihak lashkar itu, masing-masing kĕluar-lah sakalian mĕreka itu dari dalam kota-nya. Maka bĕrhadapan-lah di-medan pĕpĕrangan; maka bĕrpĕrang-lah mĕreka itu sakalian, tiada-lah bĕrkĕtahuan laku-nya pĕrang itu champur baur-lah kĕdua pihak lashkar itu dan bunyi sĕnjata pun gĕmĕrĕnchang-lah dan bunyi tĕmpek sĕgala hulubalang dan sĕgala manusia pun sĕpĕrti tagar di-langit dan darah sĕgala manusia pun mĕngalir-lah sĕpĕrti anak sungai. Ada pun rayat Majapahit itu, sa-bahagi turun dari jong-nya tiada bĕrputusan akan mĕmbantu tĕman-nya dan bĕbĕrapa yang datang dari nĕgĕri yang lain mĕmbantu Ratu Majapahit. Maka ada-lah lama pĕrang yang dĕmikian itu tiga hari tiga malam lama-nya tiada bĕrhĕnti; maka sĕgala pahlawan dan sĕgala hulubalang dan sĕgala rayat pun banyak-lah mati tiada tĕrhisabkan lagi.

Maka di-pĕrsĕmbahkan orang kapada Sultan, "Ya, tuanku shah alam bahwa sĕgala hulubalang dan sĕgala pahlawan dan sĕgala rayat kita banyak-lah mati tiada tĕrhisabkan lagi banyak-nya." Maka sabda Sultan, "Wah anak-ku Bĕraim Bapa, jikalau ada ia jika Jawa sa-Jawa-nya, jika China sa-China-nya, jika Kĕling sa-Kĕling-nya tiada mahu mĕlawan si-Bĕraim Bapa." Maka Tun Pĕrpateh Tulus Agong Tokong Sokara bĕrdatang sĕmbah sĕraya ia bĕrpantun,

"Lada siapa di-bangsalkan
 Sa-lama lada sa-kĕrati;
Pada siapa di-sĕsalkan
 Tuan juga ĕmpunya pĕkĕrti."

Sa-tĕlah itu, maka Sultan Ahmad pun kĕluar-lah dari dalam istana-nya dĕngan isi istana-nya dan sĕgala pĕrkakas-nya alat kĕraja'an barang yang tĕrbawa. Maka Sultan Ahmad pun lalu bĕrangkat pindah pada suatu tĕmpat bĕrnama Mĕnduga di-sana-lah tĕmpat baginda diam kira-kira lima bĕlas hari pĕrjalanan dari nĕgĕri Pasai. Maka di-chĕtĕrakan oleh orang yang ĕmpunya chĕtĕra; maka tatkala sampai-lah pĕrang itu kapada tiga hari tiga malam, maka rayat Pasai pun pĕchah lah pĕrang-nya sakalian mĕreka itu lalu lari chĕrai-bĕrai tiada bĕrkĕtahuan laku pĕrgi-nya. Maka sakalian lashkar Majapahit pun masok-lah ka-dalam kota Pasai lalu ka-dalam istana-nya Sultan Ahmad itu. Maka tĕrlalu-lah banyak mĕreka itu bĕroleh rampasan dan tawanan, tiada tĕrkira-kira lagi banyak-nya.

Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya ia bĕrhĕnti di-nĕgĕri Pasai, maka sĕgala lashkar-nya pun dan sĕgala rayat-nya pun bĕrsuka-suka hati makan minum dalam nĕgĕri itu. Maka ada sa-pohon pauh di-medan Pasai itu, di-sana-lah sakalian lashkar itu mĕnyandarkan tombak-nya; maka pohon pauh itu pun lalu bengkok daripada kĕbanyakan tombak sakalian mĕreka itu. Maka di-namaï oleh orang datang sĕkarang ini tĕmpat itu Padang Pauh Bengkok. Sa-

tĕlah itu, maka sĕgala Jawa pun bĕbĕrapa lama ia di-Pasai, maka Sina Pati pun mĕngĕrahkan sĕgala mĕntĕri pĕnggawa dĕngan sĕgala rayat naik ka-bahtĕra-nya masing-masing bĕrmuat sĕgala hĕrta rampasan dan orang tawanan tĕrlalu banyak di-muatkan-nya, hingga sarat-lah sĕgala kĕlangkapan itu sĕpĕrti itek bĕrĕnang di-ayer, dĕmikian-lah laku-nya sĕgala kĕlĕngkapan. Maka sakalian-nya pun bĕrlayar-lah kĕmbali ka-nĕgĕri-nya dĕngan kĕmĕnangan-nya, sa-panjang laut dĕngan tĕmpek sorak-nya. Hatta bĕbĕrapa lama-nya ia di-laut, maka sampai-lah ia ka-Jambi dan ka-Palembang. Maka singgah-lah ia di-Jambi dan di-Palembang; maka kĕdua buah nĕgĕri itu pun mĕninggal dan bĕsĕrah sĕnjata, maka taalok-lah kĕdua buah nĕgĕri itu ka-Majapahit, lalu naik-lah sakalian mĕngadap Sang Nata dan Pĕrmaisuri. Maka Sina Pati pun bĕrpĕsĕmbahkan sĕgala hĕrta dan tawanan itu kapada Sang Nata, lalu-lah ia bĕrkhabarkan pĕrang itu daripada pĕrmula'an datang ka-kĕsudahan-nya akan hal nĕgĕri Pasai itu sudah alah dan Raja-nya pun sudah lari ĕntah kamana-mana pĕrgi-nya. Maka titah Sang Nata suroh bahagi tiga sĕgala harta itu, sa-bahagi akan Sang Nata dan sa-bahagi akan Sina Pati dĕngan sĕgala mĕntĕri pĕnggawa dan yang sa-bahagi lagi dan sĕgala rayat bala tĕntĕra-nya, sa-bahagi pula Sina Pati bĕpĕrsĕmbahkan pĕninggal nĕgĕri Jambi dan Palembang dĕngan sĕgala sĕnjata-nya dan akan hal nĕgĕri yang dua buah itu taalok-lah ia kapada Sang Nata. Maka titah Sang Nata akan sĕgala tawanan orang Pasai itu, suroh-lah ia dudok di-tanah Jawa ini mana kĕsuka'an hati-nya. Itu-lah sĕbab-nya, maka banyak kĕramat di-tanah Jawa itu tatkala zĕman Pasai alah oleh Majapahit itu. Dĕmikian-lah chĕtĕra-nya di-chĕtĕra-kan oleh orang yang ĕmpunya chĕtĕra ini.

Al-kesah, maka tĕrsĕbut-lah pĕrkata'an, sĕlang bĕbĕrapa lama-nya maka Sang Nata mĕmbĕri titah kapada Pateh Gajah Mada dan Tĕmĕnggong Machan Lĕgara dan Dĕmang Siang Pĕrkuasa dan Sina Pata Anglaga. Maka titah Sang Nata, "Hai sĕgala kamu mĕntĕri pĕnggawa-ku apa bichara kamu akan sakalian nĕgĕri tĕlok rantau dan tokong pulau sakalian yang bĕlum taalok itu, baik-lah tuan-tuan sakalian datangi." Maka sĕmbah sĕgala mĕntĕri dan pĕnggawa itu, "Patek sakalian junjong sĕpĕrti titah Kang Sĕnuhun itu." Maka Pateh Gajah Mada pun bĕrkĕrah-lah akan sĕgala hulubalang dan sĕgala rayat bala tĕntĕra-nya dan sĕgala kĕlĕngkapan pun sudah-lah mustaed dĕngan sĕgala alat sĕnjata-nya dan tunggul pawai-nya dan ambil-ambil gĕmbala-nya. Sa-tĕlah sudah, maka Pateh Gajah Mada dan sĕgala mĕntĕri pĕnggawa pun masok-lah ka-pĕseban agong mĕngadap Sang Nata, lalu sa-kalian mĕnyĕmbah sĕrta dudok. Maka Pateh Gajah Mada pun bĕrdatang sĕmbah "Ya tuanku ada pun titah duli, tuanku itu sudah-lah mustaed. ada pun sĕgala kĕlĕngkapan itu ĕnam ratus dan sĕgala pĕnggawa yang bĕsar tiga orang tuanku pĕrtama tĕmĕnggong Machan Nĕgara dan Dĕmang Siang Pĕrkuasa dan Sina Nata Anglaga itu-lah tuanku; lain pula daripada itu sĕgala

pĕnggawa yang kĕchil, sĕpĕrti Ngabihi dan Aria Lurah Bĕbĕkala Patinggi, ada pun rayat bala tĕntĕra itu banyak-nya tiga kĕti, tuanku.". Maka titah Sang Nata, "Sabar-lah dahulu kita mĕnantikan kĕtika yang baik." Maka baginda pun mĕnjamu sĕgala mĕntĕri pĕnggawa dan sĕgala rayat makan minum tujoh hari tujoh malam bĕrsuka'an dĕngan sĕgala bunyi-bunyian. Sa-tĕlah sudah, maka Sang Nata pun mĕmbĕri pĕrsalinan akan sĕgala mĕntĕri pĕnggawa dan sĕgala hulubalang dan rayat sakalian masing-masing pada hal kadar-nya. Sa-tĕlah sudah Sang Nata mĕnganugĕrahi dadar itu; maka titah Sang Nata, "Hai sĕgala kamu mĕntĕri pĕnggawa-ku hĕndak-lah kamu taalokkan dahulu jajahan Raja Ujong Tanah." Maka sĕgala mĕntĕri pĕnggawa dan hulubalang itu pun pamat mĕnyĕmbah Sang Nata, lalu ia naik kĕlĕngkapan-nya masing-masing lalu ia bĕrlayar mĕnuju nĕgĕri Ujong Tanah. Sa-tĕlah sudah sampai kapada Ujong Tanah dan sakalian pulau itu dan tokong, maka sakalian-nya habis-lah taalok dan mĕmbĕri ufti Timbalan dan Siatan dan Jĕmaja dan Bunguran dan Sĕrasa dan Sa'ubi dan Pulau Laut dan Tiuman dan Pulau Tinggi dan Pĕmanggilan, kĕmudian sĕpĕrti Kĕriamat dan Bĕliting dan Bangka dan Langga dan Riau dan Bantan dan Bulang sakalian-nya itu taalok ka-Majapahit. Sa-tĕlah itu, maka lalu-lah kĕlĕngkapan itu ka-tanah darat mĕnaalokkan nĕgĕri Sambas dan Mĕmpauh dan Sukadan; maka lalu-lah ia ka-Kota Waringan kĕmudian lalu-lah ia ka-Banjar Masin. Kĕmudian pula lalu-lah ia ka-Pasail dan ka-Kotai dan ka-Bĕrumak. Maka sakalian nĕgĕri itu pun habis-lah taalok kapada zĕman itu, taalok-lah ia ka-Majapahit, sakalian nĕgĕri itu mĕmbĕri ufti kapada Ratu Majapahit. Maka ada kira-kira dua musim angin. Sa-tĕlah itu maka sakalian kĕlĕngkapan itu pun bĕlayar pula ia ka-Timur mĕnuju Pulau Bandan dan Siran dan Kĕrantoka; maka sakalian tanah Timur itu pun taalok-lah ia kapada ratu Majapahit kapada zĕman dahulu kala, di-chĕtĕrakan oleh orang yang ĕmpunya chĕtĕra sakalian-nya itu mĕmbĕri ufti kapada Ratu Majapahit. Sa-tĕlah itu, maka kĕmbali-lah pula sĕgala kĕlĕngkapan itu bĕlayar mĕnyusur tanah Biam Sĕmbawa dan Sĕlĕparang dan Bali Bĕlĕmbangan sakalian-nya itu pun habis-lah taalok. Sa-tĕlah bĕrapa lama-nya, maka sakalian kĕlĕngkapan itu pun sampai-lah ka-Majapahit dĕngan kĕmĕnangan-nya. Maka sĕgala mĕntĕri pĕnggawa itu pun naik-lah ia mĕngadap Sang Nata bĕpĕrsĕmbahkan sĕgala kĕmĕnangan-nya sĕpĕrti pĕnunggul dan ufti dan pĕrsĕmbah sakalian nĕgĕri dan pulau dan tokong itu, tĕrlalu sa-kali banyak-nya tiada tĕrhisab-nya pĕlbagai jĕnis warna bĕbĕrapa daripada ĕmas dan pĕrak dan rial dan sĕnjata dan pĕlbagai warna kain dan orang dan lilin dan sarang burong dan tikar, rotan dan kajang, tiada lagi tĕrpĕrmĕnaï banyak-nya, sakalian-nya itu. Maka titah Sang Nata di-suroh bahagi tiga, juga sa-bahagi akan Sang Nata dan sa-bahagi akan sĕgala mĕntĕri dan sa-bahagi akan sĕgala rayat dan bala tĕntĕra-nya. Maka tĕrlalu-lah mashhur adil baginda sĕrta dĕngan

maamur-nya nĕgĕri itu tĕrlalu sa-kali ramai-nya, gĕgak gĕmpita dalam nĕgĕri sĕrta sĕgala makanan pun tĕrlalu maamur pada zĕman itu dan orang datang pun tiada lagi bĕrkĕputusan kapada tiap-tiap hari yang taalok kapada baginda itu sĕgala jajahan yang di-sĕbĕrang lautan, jangan di-kata lagi yang di-dalam sakalian tanah Jawa yang di-Pasir dari kulun sa-kulun-nya dan dari wetan sa-wetan-nya dan yang di-darat sampai ka-sĕgara kidul sakalian-nya datang mĕngadap Sang Nata dĕngan ufti-nya dan pĕrsĕmbah-nya dan yang dari Timur pun datang dari Bandan dari Siran dan dari Kĕrontok masing-masing dĕngan pĕrsĕmbah-nya ada lilin ada chĕndana ada mĕswi ada kayu manis ada pala dan chĕngkeh tĕrlalu banyak bĕrtimbun dan lagi bĕbĕrāpa ambar dan kĕsturi, maka tĕrlalu-lah ramai-nya nĕgĕri Majapahit itu, sĕntiasa dĕngan gong gĕndang dan joget dĕngan pĕlbagai jĕnis sĕgala bunyian ingar-ingaran bunyi-nya dĕngan pĕlbagai warna pĕrmainan sĕpĕrti wayang wong dan wayang kulit dan topeng dan joget tandak bĕdai dan jĕntĕra bĕbĕksana tĕrlalu-lah sa-kali ramai-nya malam siang nĕgĕri Majapahit itu dĕngan kĕsuka'an-nya juga dan sĕgala makanan pun tĕrlalu-lah banyak maamur dalam nĕgĕri itu, karna orang datang sana sini pun, tiada lagi tĕrpĕrmĕnaï lagi banyak-nya. Sa-tĕlah bĕbĕrapa lama-nya maka pikir Sang Nata, "Sĕmua-nya nĕgĕri habis taalok, mĕlainkan Pulau Pĕrcha juga yang bĕlum lagi taalok, baik-lah aku mĕnyuroh Pulau Pĕrcha dĕngan sa-suatu hikmat, 'ku suroh mĕngadu kĕrbau." Maka ada sa-ekur kĕrbau Sang Nata itu bĕsar-nya sĕpĕrti gajah tunggal dan tandok-nya sa-bĕlah sa-bĕlah panjang ĕnam hasta dan pangkal tandok-nya bĕsar-nya ĕmpat jĕngkal lilit dan mata-nya merah sĕpĕrti saga.

Al-kesah, maka tĕrsĕbut-lah pĕrkata'an Sang Nata mĕnyuroh Warka Dalam mĕmanggil Pateh Gajah Mada. Maka Warka Dalam pun mĕnyĕmbah lalu bĕrjalan ka-rumah Pateh. Sa-tĕlah sudah, ia mĕnyampaikan titah Sang Nata kata-nya, "Hai, kiaï Pateh di-panggil Sang Nata." Maka Pateh pun turun lalu bĕr-jalan; sa-tĕlah sampai ka-pĕseban agong, maka Pateh pun mĕnundok mĕnyĕmbah Sang Nata lalu ia dudok. Maka sireh pada jorong perak pun di-angkat orang ka-hadapan; sa-tĕlah sudah ia makan sireh, maka titah Sang Nata, "Hai Pateh, apa bichara-mu, baik-lah taalokkan nĕgĕri Pulau Pĕrcha, karna ia bĕlum taalok, sakalian nĕgĕri habis sudah taalok." Maka sĕmbah Pateh, "Anohon kawol sĕkang kĕras duli tuanku." Maka titah Sang Nata, "Bawa-lah suatu hikmat kĕrbau-ku yang bĕsar itu adu dĕngan kĕrbau Pateh Suatong, apabila ia alah, maka taalokkan-lah oleh-mu sakali; apabila kita alah, maka kĕmbali ĕngkau sĕgĕra." Maka Pateh Gajah Mada pun mĕnyĕmbah, lalu kĕluar mĕngĕrahkan sĕgala mĕntĕri dan pĕnggawa dan sĕgala rayat bala tĕntĕra-nya bĕrlĕngkap. Sa-tĕlah sudah lĕngkap maka sakalian-nya pun naik-lah ka-atas kĕlĕngkapan-nya dĕngan sĕgala alat sĕnjata-nya: ada pun banyak-nya sĕgala kĕlĕngkapan itu lima-ratus dan pĕnggawa yang pĕrgi itu pĕnggawa yang tiga itu juga

dan bĕbĕrapa pĕnggawa yang kĕchil-kĕchil sĕpĕrti Ngabihi dan Aria Lurah dan Bĕbĕkala Patinggi Kĕbayan dan sĕgala rayat dua kĕti. Maka Sang Nata pun mĕmbĕri pĕrsalin sĕgala pĕnggawa dan dadar akan sĕgala rayat, sĕrta di-pĕrjamu-nya makan minum tiga hari tiga malam. Sa-tĕlah datang-lah pada kĕtika yang baik, maka sĕgala pĕnggawa mĕntĕri pun mĕnyĕmbah Sang Nata dan bĕrmohon kapada Pateh Gajah Mada, lalu ia naik kĕlĕngkapan-nya masing-masing, lalu bĕlayar mĕnuju nĕgĕri Jamban, bĕbĕrapa lama ia di-laut, maka sampai-lah ia ka-Jamban. Sa-tĕlah itu lalu ia mudek ka-ulu Jamban, sa-tĕlah sampai ia ka-ulu Jamban ka-Pĕriangan lalu ia naik ka-darat; maka tĕrdĕngar-lah khabar itu kapada Pateh Suatang; maka Pateh Suatang pun mĕnghimpunkan sĕgala hulubalang dan rayat akan mĕngalau-ngalaukan orang Jawa itu. Maka sĕgala pĕnggawa itu pun sampai-lah ia ka-Pĕriangan; maka ia bĕrhĕnti-lah di-sana bĕrbuat pĕsanggĕrahan: sa-tĕlah sudah, maka ia mĕnyuroh kapada Pateh Suatang sa-orang pĕnggawa mĕmbĕri tahu ia hĕndak mĕngadu kĕrbau. Maka sampai-lah pĕnggawa itu kapada Pateh Suatang, maka Pateh Suatang pun sĕgĕra-lah mĕmbĕri hormat akan pĕnggawa itu mĕnyuroh dudok. Maka pĕnggawa itu pun dudok-lah dĕngan taadzim-nya, lalu ia mĕnyampaikan pĕsan pĕnggawa yang bĕsar itu, hĕndak mĕngadu kĕrbau Sang Nata itu. Maka pĕnggawa itu pun kĕmbali-lah ia janji tujoh hari " Karna hamba lagi mĕnchari kĕrbau akan mĕlawan kĕrbau Sang nata itu." Maka pĕnggawa itu pun kĕmbali-lah ia mĕnyampaikan kata Pateh Suatang itu kapada mĕntĕri yang tiga itu. Sa-tĕlah itu, maka tĕrsĕbut-lah pĕrkata'an Pateh Suatang dĕngan Pateh Kĕtĕmĕnggongan mĕngambil anak kĕrbau yang baik, lagi sasa rupa-nya. Sa-tĕlah sampai lima hari, maka medan Pĕriangan pun di-pĕrbaiki orang; maka anak kĕrbau itu pun di-kurong-nya, tiada di-bĕri-nya mĕnyusu. Sa-tĕlah gĕnap-lah tujoh hari, maka sĕgala rayat pun bĕrsaf-saf-lah di-medan daripada kĕdua pihak itu, maka pĕnggawa yang tiga itu pun bĕrjanji-lah ia dĕngan Pateh Suatang dan Pateh Kĕtĕmĕnggongan; ada pun janji-nya jikalau kĕrbau Sang Nata Majapahit alah, kami sakalian orang Jawa mĕmakai kain chara pĕrĕmpuan sampai ka-mata kaki dan jikalau tuan-tuan alah hĕndak-lah tuan-tuan taalok kapada Sang Nata Majapahit. Maka sahut Pateh Suatang " Baik-lah." Maka di-lĕpaskan-lah kĕrbau-nya oleh orang Majapahit. Maka kĕrbau itu pun sĕpĕrti singa mĕnchari lawan-nya. Maka kĕrbau itu pun bĕrmain-lah di-medan. Maka anak kĕrbau itu pun di-lĕpaskan oleh Pateh Suatang; maka ia pun sangat-lah lapar dahaga, lalu ia mĕnyĕrbu sĕpĕrti kilat mĕngisap kĕrampang kĕrbau bĕsar itu mĕngisap buah peler kĕrbau kĕchil itu tiada lagi di-lĕpaskan-nya. Maka kĕrbau bĕsar itu pun tĕrpusing-pusing tiada lagi ia bĕrdaya hĕndak mĕnandok sukar karna di-bawah kĕrampang-nya. Maka ia lari kasana kamari itu pun tiada juga di-lĕpaskan-nya buah peler-nya oleh anak kĕrbau itu; maka kĕrbau bĕsar itu pun mĕnjĕrit-jĕrit mĕnggulong-gulongkan diri-nya,

maka alah-lah kĕrbau Ratu Majapahit itu; maka sorak orang pun gĕmuroh sĕpĕrti tagar. Maka pĕnggawa yang tiga orang itu pun kĕmalu-maluan, lalu ia hĕndak kĕmbali. Maka kata Pateh Suatang dan Pateh Kĕtĕmĕnggongan "Ya, saudara hamba pĕnggawa Sang Nata, bĕrhĕnti-lah apa tuan hamba dahulu barang dua hari, karna hamba hĕndak bĕsuka-sukaan dĕngan tuan-tuan hamba, tanda kita muafakat, hamba hĕndak makan minum dĕngan tuan-tuan sakalian." Maka kata pĕnggawa itu, "Baik-lah jikalau tuan suka hamba bĕrhĕnti." Maka Pateh Suatang pun mĕmbunoh bĕbĕrapa ratus kĕrbau lĕmbu kambing itek ayam akan tambal; maka makan minum itu dĕngan bĕbĕrapa ratus tapaian kilang dan bĕram tampai. Maka di-isi-nya kapada buloh tĕlang sĕgala minuman itu sa-ruas-ruas buloh sĕrta di-panchong-nya tajam-tajam ujong-nya, ada-lah banyak-nya itu bĕribu-ribu minum-minuman itu. Sa-tĕlah sudah lĕngkap, maka kata Pateh Suatang pada sĕgala hulubalang-nya dan sĕgala rayat-nya, "Hai tuan-tuan sakalian, sa-tĕlah sudah jamu kita makan, maka tuan-tuan datang minuman pada buloh tĕlang itu suatu sa-orang, lalu tuan-tuan tuangkan pada mulut-nya sama-sama sa-orang sa-orang. Sa-tĕlah sudah ia mĕngangakan mulut lalu tuan-tuan sama-sama mĕradakkan, alamat-nya apabila taboh bĕrbunyi hĕndak-lah sama-sama mĕradakkan supaya habis mĕreka itu mati." Sa-tĕlah sudah ia bĕrwaad itu, maka Pateh Suatang itu pun sa-orang hulubalang-nya di-suroh-nya mĕmbĕri tahu sĕgala pĕnggawa Jawa itu, suroh dudok bĕrsaf-saf di-padang hampir nĕgĕri Pĕriangan itu. Sa-tĕlah sudah ia dudok bĕratur, maka sĕgala ayer dan hidangan pun di-angkat orang-lah ka-hadapan sĕgala pĕnggawa itu dan sĕgala mĕntĕri dan sĕgala rayat. Maka kata Pateh Suatang, "Santap-lah sĕgala kiaï-kiaï akan jamu hamba orang Pulau Pĕrcha tiada dĕngan sĕpĕrti-nya." Maka kata sĕgala pĕnggawa itu, "Mĕnĕrima kaseh-lah hamba sakalian akan kaseh tuan-tuan sakalian." Maka makan-lah sakalian mĕreka itu masing-masing pada hidangan-nya. Sa-tĕlah sudah ia makan, maka bĕrdiri-lah sĕgala hulubalang dan rayat mĕmbawa minuman itu sa-ruas sa-orang buloh tĕlang itu lalu ia hampir-lah pada sa-orang sa-orang. Maka hĕndak di-sambut-nya oleh orang Jawa itu tiada di-bĕri-nya oleh sĕgala rayat Pulau Pĕrcha itu, kata-nya, "Tiada dĕmikian adat kami, mĕlainkan kami juga mĕnuangkan dia kapada mulut tuan-tuan akan mĕmbĕri hormat jamu kami itu." Maka sakalian-nya pun bĕrnganga-lah, maka taboh pun bĕrbunyi, maka sakalian-nya pun mĕnuang lalu mĕradakkan ka-kĕrĕngkongan-nya. Maka sa-tĕngah mĕreka itu habis-lah mati, dan sa-tĕngah mĕreka itu lari, maka dalam padang itu bĕbĕrapa banyak-nya pohon-pohon bĕngkudu habis chondong ka-timur daripada di-langgar oleh sĕgala rayat itu, sampai sĕkarang chondong juga bĕngkudu itu sĕmua-nya; jikalau tumboh anak-nya chondong juga ia ka-timur. Maka mayat sĕgala Jawa itu pun busok-lah kapada padang itu, maka di-namaï-nya tĕmpat itu Padang Si-busok datang sĕkarang, dan tĕmpat mĕngadu kĕrbau

itu di-namaï-nya nĕgĕri itu Mĕnangkabau datang sĕkarang ini. Maka sĕgala rayat yang lari itu pun pulang-lah ka-Majapahit dĕngan mashghul-nya dan pĕrchinta-nya, maka kĕluar-lah ia dari Jamban lalu ia bĕlayar mĕnuju nĕgĕri itu, bĕbĕrapa lama-nya ia di-laut, maka sampai-lah ia ka-Majapahit lalu naik ka-darat sakalian-nya mĕngadap Sang Nata, sĕrta bĕpĕrsĕmbahkan pĕri hal-nya daripada pĕrmula'an sampai akhir-nya dĕmikian-lah hal-nya tuanku hal itu. Maka Sang Nata pun tiada tĕrkata-kata lagi, tĕrlalu amat sangat mashghul-nya akan sĕgala pĕnggawa-nya dan sĕgala mĕntĕri baginda yang bĕsar-bĕsar itu yang di-harap-nya. Dĕmikian-lah di-chĕtĕrakan oleh orang yang ĕmpunya chĕtĕra ini.

Tamat-lah hikayat Raja Pasai sĕlamat sĕmpurna yang mĕmbacha dia dan sĕgala yang mĕnĕngarkan dia, istĕmewa yang mĕnyuratkan di-pĕliharakan Allah subhanahu wataala apa-lah kira-nya dari dunia datang akhirat bĕrkat shafaat Nabi Mohammad mustafi sal-lallahhu alaihi was'salam. Tamat hari isnin ka pada hari dua-puloh satu kapada bulan muharram sanat tujoh hijratul-nabi.*

Bahwa ini nĕgĕri yang tĕrsĕbut kapada hikayat Pasai sakalian-nya 1. Nĕgĕri Pasai, raja-nya bĕrnama Ahmad.

2. Nĕgĕri di-Balek Rimba.
3. Nĕgĕri Sĕmĕrlanga.
4. Nĕgĕri Bĕruana.
5. Nĕgĕri Sempang di-ulu Sungai.
6. Nĕgĕri Buloh Tĕlang ratu Mĕgat Iskandar.
7. Nĕgĕri Bĕnua, raja nama-nya Sultan Malik al-Nasar.
8. Nĕgĕri Baras.
9. Nĕgĕri Sĕmudĕra raja Mĕrsilu.
10. Nĕgĕri Miar, raja bĕrnama Sultan Mohammad.
11. Nĕgĕri Pĕrlak raja bĕrnama Sultan.
12. Nĕgĕri Jambu Ayer.
13. Nĕgĕri Rama Kĕndi.
14. Nĕgĕri Tukas.
15. Nĕgĕri Pĕkan ratu-nya bĕrnama Tun Bĕraim.

Bahwa ini nĕgĕri yang taalok kapada ratu nĕgĕri Majapahit kapada zĕman pĕchah-nya nĕgĕri Pasai, ratu-nya bĕrnama Ahmad.

1. Nĕgĕri Timbalan.
2. Nĕgĕri Siatan.
3. Nĕgĕri Jĕmaja.
4. Nĕgĕri Bunguran.
5. Nĕgĕri Sĕrasan.
6. Nĕgĕri Suabi.

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* ١٢٣٥

7. Nĕgĕri Pulau Laut.
8. Nĕgĕri Tiuman.
9. Nĕgĕri Pulau Tinggi.
10. Nĕgĕri Pĕmanggilan Kĕrimata.
11. Nĕgĕri Bĕlitang.
12. Nĕgĕri Bangka.
13. Nĕgĕri Lingga.
14. Nĕgĕri Riau.
15. Nĕgĕri Bĕntan.
16. Nĕgĕri Bulong.
17. Nĕgĕri Sambas.
18. Nĕgĕri Mĕmpauh.
19. Nĕgĕri Sukadan.
20. Nĕgĕri Kota Waringan.
21. Nĕgĕri Banjar Masin.
22. Nĕgĕri Pasir.
23. Nĕgĕri Kotai.
24. Nĕgĕri Bĕrumak.
25. Nĕgĕri Jambi.
26. Nĕgĕri Palembang.
27. Nĕgĕri Ujong Tanah.

Bahwa ini nĕgĕri bawah timur.

1. Nĕgĕri Bandan.
2. Nĕgĕri Bima.
3. Nĕgĕri Sĕmbawa.
4. Nĕgĕri Sĕlaparang.
5. Nĕgĕri Siran.
6. Nĕgĕri Kĕrĕntok.
7. Nĕgĕri Bali.
8. Nĕgĕri Balembangan.

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A List of the Butterflies of Borneo.

By J. C. Moulton, B.Sc., F.E.S.

Curator of the Sarawak Museum.

PART IV.

Papilionidæ.

Parts I and II of this list, dealing with the Nymphalidæ and Lemoniidæ, were published by the late Mr. Shelford in this Journal in 1904 and 1905 (Nos. 41 and 45); Part III, on the Lycaenidæ by the present writer, appeared in 1911 (Journal No. 60). The present part deals with the Papilionidæ, which are divided into two Sub-families, (i) the *Pierinæ*, or Whites, of which 35 species are now known from Borneo, and (ii) the *Papilioninæ*, of which we know 43 Bornean species. The remaining part, dealing with the Hesperidæ, is in preparation.

SUB-FAMILY 1. PIERINÆ.

The progress of our knowledge of the Bornean *Pierinæ* may be seen from the following figures:—Snellen van Vollenhoven[1] in 1865 recorded 13 species from Borneo, one of which probably does not occur in Borneo at all. Two years later, A .R. Wallace[2] published his important paper "On the *Pierinæ* of the Indian and Australian Regions." In this he gives 24 species from Borneo. Druce[3], writing on Low's collections from Borneo gives 25. Distant[4] however records only 20 in his great work "Rhopalocera Malayana," published from 1882-1886; the same writer and W. B. Pryer[5] in 1887 record 28 species; W. B. Pryer and D. Cator[6] published a list in the "British North Borneo Herald," giving 35 Pierines. Bartlett[7] published a similar list in the "Sarawak Gazette" in 1896, in which he records 47 species. Since that date a few forms have been described by various authors, while others

1. Snellen van Vollenhoven, *Essai d'une Faune entomologique de l'Archipel Indo-Néerlandais.* Second monographie: Famille des Pierides, 1865, pp. 1-70, plates I-VII.

2. A. R. Wallace, *Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond.*, 1867, pp. 301-415, plates VI-VIII.

3. H. Druce, *Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond.*, 1873, pp. 337-371, pl. XXXII and XXXIII.

4. W. L. Distant, *Rhopalocera Malayana*, 1882-1886.

5. W. L. Distant and W. B. Pryer, *Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist.* (5) XIX., pp. 41-56, 264-275, 1887.

6. W. B. Pryer and D. Cator, *Brit. North Borneo Herald*, 1894, pp. 285, 286.

7. E. Bartlett, *Sarawak Gazette*, 1896, pp. 220-222.

have been reduced to synonyms. Fruhstorfer[1] in "Seitz's Macrolepidoptera of the World," the latest work on the Butterflies of the Malayan region, recognizes some 45 different forms. In the present paper we recognize 35 species, to which we add 5 subspecies, making 40 different forms in all. It will thus be seen that of late years very little has been added, so we may regard our list as tolerably complete. Very little of Borneo now remains unexplored and we doubt if any butterfly so large and conspicuous as a Pierine still remains unknown. With obscure butterflies like LYCAENIDÆ and HESPERIDÆ the case is different and we may still expect to turn up an occasional new species.

The only new name introduced among the Pierines in the present paper is for a ♀ form of No. 575, *Appias melania athena* which I have called ***ochracea,*** form. nov.

The only departure from the arrangement followed in the last three parts of this list, is the introduction of Keys for the identification of the genera and species. It is hoped that these may be of some use to those who have occasion to study Bornean Butterflies.

The Pierine genera occurring in Borneo may be distinguished thus:—

1 Fore-wing with three or four sub-costal nervules, never with five.	
2 Upper radial in fore-wing emitted beyond cell from sub-costal nervule.	
3 Fore-wing with three sub-costal nervules; costa not serrated.	
4 Second sub-costal nervule emitted from sub-costal nervure	LEPTOSIA.
4[1] Second sub-costal nervule emitted from third ..	DELIAS.
3[1] Fore-wing with four sub-costal nervules.[2]	
4 Costa strongly serrated	PRIONERIS.
4[1] Costa not serrated.	
5 Hind-wing with pre-costal vein.	
6 Fore-wing: second sub-costal nervule emitted before end of cell.	
7 Fore-wing: fourth sub-costal emitted near apex.	
8 Fore-wing: cell long.	
9 Males without abdominal tuft of hairs	HUPHINA.
9[1] Males with abdominal tuft of hairs	APPIAS.
8 Fore-wing: cell short	UDAIANA.
7 Fore-wing: fourth sub-costal nervule emitted before apex.	IXIAS.
6[1] Fore-wing: second sub-costal nervule emitted at apex of cell.	

1. H. Fruhstorfer, *Seitz, Macrolepidoptera of the World,* pp. 119-188, 1910.

2. *Appias panda distanti* usually has three only in the female, but the absence or presence of the fourth sub-costal in this species is a variable feature.

7[2] Hind-wing strongly angulate at end of third median nervule .. .. DERCAS.
7[1] Hind-wing rounded .. .. .. CATOPSILIA.
5[1] Hind-wing without pre-costal vein.
6 First sub-costal in hind-wing emitted from end of cell .. .. TERIAS.
6[1] First sub-costal in hind-wing emitted before the end of cell. .. .. .. GANDACA.
2[1] Upper radial emitted from end of cell in fore-wing .. HEBOMOIA.
1[1] Fore-wing with five sub-costal nervules .. .. .. PARERONIA.

Genus, LEPTOSIA, Hübn.

557. *Leptosia xiphia*, Fab.

Papilio xiphia, Fabricius, Spec. Ins. II., p. 43, 1781.
Pontia nina, Vollenhoven, Mon. Pier., p. 3, 1865.
Pontia nina, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 317, 1867.
Pontia xiphia, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 354, 1873.
Leptosia xiphia, Distant, Rhop. Malay., p. 288, pl. XXVI, fig. 8, 1885.
Leptosia xiphia, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist., (5) XIX., p. 269, 1887.
Leptosia xiphia malayana, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 121, 1910.

Distribution: India and Malaya. Usually very common, from the plains up to 7000 ft.

(a) *Leptosia xiphia malayana*, Fruhstorfer.

A common species in Sarawak. This form also occurs in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula.

Genus, DELIAS, Hübn.

The following key applies to Bornean forms only.

1 No red spot at base of hind-wing below.
2 Fore-wing below white, veins and apex fuscous; basal area of hind-wing below yellow.
3 Hind-marginal border of spots to hind-wing below not red.
4 Hind-marginal spots whitish grey. Expanse of wings 68-80 mm. .. .. SINGHAPURA.
4[1] Hind-marginal spots whitish. Expanse of wings 52-56 mm. .. .. CATHARA.
3[1] Hind-marginal border of red spots to hind-wing below .. .. DIVA.
2[1] Fore-wing below grey-fuscous with whitish spots; basal area of hind-wing below fuscous.
3 Basal half of cell in hind-wing below dark fuscous .. .. CINERASCENS.
3[1] Cell of hind-wing beneath yellow .. .. .. NAUSICAA.
1[1] A long red basal spot below costa on hind-wing beneath.
2 Hind-marginal row of spots in hind-wing below yellow. Fore-wing above in female black, no white bar closing cell .. .. [GLAUCE.]
2[1] Hind-marginal row of spots in hind-wing below red. Fore-wing in female above black with white bar closing cell .. .. EUMOLPE.

1[2] Basal region of hind-wing below (from costa to inner-margin) red.
 2 Base of costa to cell of hind-wing above not red.
  3 Broad pale band across hind-wing above from costa to inner margin. .. .. AGLAIA.
  3[1] Bright yellow band across hind-wing above from costa as far as cell only .. .. PANDEMIA.
 2[1] Base of costa and just into cell of hind-wing above bright crimson .. .. PARTHENIA.

558. *Delias singhapura*, Wallace.

Thyca singhapura, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 353, pl. VII, fig. 2 ♂, 1867.
Delias singhapura, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 355, 1873.
Delias singhapura, Distant, Rhop. Malay, p. 293, fig. 100 ♂, 1885.
Delias singhapura, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 269, 1887.
Delias singhapura, von Mitis, Iris, VI, pp. 108 and 142, 1893.
Delias singhapura, de Nicéville, Journ. As. Soc. Beng. LXIV, p. 489, 1895.
Delias singhapura, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist., (6) XX, p. 156, 1897.
Delias singhapura, Shelford, Journ. Str. Br., Roy. Asiat. Soc., No. 35, pp. 36 and 41, 1901.
Delias singhapura indistincta, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 124, pl. 55, d, ♂ and ♀, 1910.

Distribution: Tenasserim south to Borneo and Sumatra.

North Borneo (Low); Sandakan and Labuan (Butler); Mt. Kinabalu, 2700-3500 ft., Mt. Matang, 3200 ft., Mt. Santubong, 2600 ft., Mt. Penrissen, 4000 ft., Bau and Kuching (Sar. Mus.); South Borneo (Fruhstorfer); S. E. Borneo and Marapok (Adams coll., Brit. Mus.). Also recorded from Singapore and Sumatra.

(a) *Delias singhapura singhapura*, Wallace.

A closely allied sub-species, *D. agoranis*, Gr.-Smith, occurs in Tenasserim and the Shan States. Fruhstorfer separates the Bornean form as a separate sub-species "the fore-wing beneath with the black shading twice as broad as in the preceding" (*singhapura*). A long series in the Sarawak Museum shows that this difference cannot be maintained, as there are some agreeing exactly with Wallace's description and figure of *singhapura* and others with Fruhstorfer's *infumata*: there are also individuals showing a complete gradation between the two forms. The hind-marginal dark shading on the upperside of the hind-wing as shown in Fruhstorfer's figure of the male *infumata* is even more developed in one specimen from Kinabalu, and another example from low country in Sarawak agrees well with the *infumata* form. But others show hardly any fuscous shading on the upperside of hind-wing at all. The shading on the apex of fore-wing varies in intensity in individuals. On the underside the dark shading also varies in development. Two females from Kinabalu (the only females in the Sarawak

Museum) have the veins on the underside more emphasized with dark fuscous shading than in the male: the four lower spots of the hind-marginal row in the hind-wing beneath are greyish as in the male, not yellow as in Fruhstorfer's figure of the female.

A common species on Kinabalu and on Sarawak mountains; but apparently very rare in Singapore and Sumatra, from which countries only single specimens are known.

559. *Delias baracasa,* Semper.

Delias baracasa, Semper, Schmett. Philipp. Ins., p. 230, pl. XXXIV, fig. 2 ♂, 1890.

Delias hyparete, var. *c. mindanaensis* aberr. *baracasa,* von Mitis, Iris, VI, pp. 106 and 140, 1893.

Delias cathara, Grose-Smith Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist., (6) Vol. XII, p. 34, 1893 and Rhopal. Exot. II, Delias, p. 17, pl. V, figs. 7, 8, ♂, 1895.

Delias cathara, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (6) XX, pp. 156, 157, 1897.

Delias cathara, Shelford, Journ. Str. Br., Roy. Asiat. Soc., No. 35, pp. 36 and 41, 1901.

Delias baracasa cathara, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 124, pl. 55, d, ♂, 1910.

Distribution: Borneo and Mindanao.

(a) *Delias baracasa cathara,* Gr.-Smith.

Mt. Kinabalu, 3100 ft., Mt. Penrissen, 3500 ft., Kuching[1] (Sar. Mus.). One other in the Sarawak Museum bears a label "origin rather doubtful but most probably Mt. Matang, June 1907."

This form is only known from the mountains of North Borneo and Sarawak. The type form, *baracasa,* is described from a male, the only known specimen, from South-east Mindanao. From Semper's figure and description it seems very doubtfully distinct from *cathara.* Fruhstorfer notes as a distinction that only the base of the hind-wing is suffused with greenish yellow in *baracasa* and that *cathara* has "entirely yellow upper (*sic*) surface to the hind-wing. Presumably he meant to write *under* surface, as Grose-Smith describes and figures this species with milky-white fore- and hind-wings above. As regards the hind-wing beneath, Semper's figure shows *baracasa* with pale yellow hind-wing, more greenish-yellow at base; a Kinabalu example of *cathara* is similarly yellow at the base but much paler post-discally.

Butler notes the suggestion of von Mitis that "*D. baracasa* is most certainly nothing more than an aberration of *D. mindanaënsis,* in which the whole of the marginal spots on the under-surface of the hind-wings have become white." Butler then writes, "If this is correct, *D. cathara* must be a parallel

1. Mountain forms are occasionally found in the low country round Kuching.

form of *D. hyparete.*" Apart from the difference in size between the species, which Butler points out, the difference in size and arrangement of the marginal spots in *hyparete* is most marked; the two anal spots are very large, the next medium and the hind-marginal spots very small. In *cathara* they are all uniformly small. The hind-wing of *cathara* also is proportionately narrower than in either *singhapura* or *hyparete*. As Butler remarks, it falls naturally into the *singhapura* group. If anything it might be considered a dwarf form of *singhapura*. Those in the Sarawak museum measure 52-56 mm. compared with 68-80 mm. of *singhapura*. A small *hyparete* from Kinabalu 60 mm. compared with 70-75 mm. of ordinary *hyparete* suggests a parallel case. But for the present it seems best to treat it as a separate species.

D. dives, de Nicéville, from Penang is a sub-species of *agostina*, certainly not of *baracasa* as Fruhstorfer places it.

In the Sumatran subspecies, *danala*, de Nicév., the hind-marginal spots below are yellow instead of white.

560. *Delias hyparete*, Linn.

Papilio hyparete Linn., Syst. Nat. (X) i. p. 469, 1758.
Thyca hyparete, Wallace. Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 352, 1867.
Delias hyparete, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 355, 1873.
Delias hyparete, var. *metarete*, Distant, Rhop. Malay., p. 292, pl. XXIV, fig. 13 ♂, *nec* 14 ♀, 1885.
Delias hyparete, var. *metarete*, Distant and Pryer[1], Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 269, 1887.
Delias hyparete var. *metarete*, von Mitis, Iris, VI, p. 106, 1893.
Delias metarete, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (6) XX, p. 145, 1897.
Delias hyparete, Butler, *l.c.*, p. 146.
Delias hyparete diva, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 125, pl. 51, b ♀, 1910.
Delias metarete, Moulton, Journ. Str. Br., Roy. Asiat. Soc., No. 63, p. 84, 1912.

The typical *hyparete* occurs in Java; sub-species are found from the Himalayas and Formosa south to the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago as far as Bali, Celebes and the Philippines.

(a) *Delias hyparete diva*, Fruhstorfer.

Mt. Kinabalu up to 3000 ft., Limbang, Kuching, Mt. Matang, 3200 ft., Mt. Santubong, 2600 ft. (Sar. Mus.). A common species.

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1. Distant and Pryer (*l.c.* p. 270) describe *Delias lucina* in their list of the "Rhopalocera of North Borneo," but without giving any locality. This however is supplied by Butler in 1897 and by Fruhstorfer in 1911 as Sulu Islands, and Staudinger's *joloana* is given as a synonym. In his introductory notes Pryer states that "a considerable number of the specimens mentioned" were taken in the Sandakan district; but he also mentions having collected in the Philippines, so I think it is unnecessary to include this species in our Bornean list.

This sub-species is only known from Borneo. Those from the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Luzon and Formosa show the nearest relationship.

Fruhstorfer writes of *dira* " the yellow shade on the hind-wing again reaches the much broader proximal black bordering of the sub-marginal red spots, which are still more prominent." This is only true of the females, though in some of these the post-discal region is white as in the males, thus approaching *niasana*. In a male from Mt. Matang the fuscous line inwardly bordering the red spots of the hind-wing below is almost obsolete thus approaching the Indian form *hierte*.

Distant describes two forms of female, of which the darker (*form b*) is probably true *metarete*, the lighter the Bornean form *dira*, though he remarks that Sarawak specimens in his collection agree with the form found in the Peninsula. Sarawak males certainly agree well with his description and figure, as do the females with his description of the female *form a;* but I have seen no Bornean specimens dark enough for *metarete* and therefore regard that as the Malay Peninsula form.

561. *Delias orphne,* Wallace.

Thyca orphne, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 361, pl. VIII, fig. 2 ♂, 1867.

Delias georgina, var. *cinerascens*, von Mitis, Iris, VI, pp. 103 and 126, pl. II, fig. 2 ♀, 1893.

Delias cinerascens, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (7) XX, p. 166, 1897.

Delias hermione, Shelford, Journ. Str. Br., Roy. Asiat. Soc., No. 35, p. 41, 1901.

Delias orphne cinerascens, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 130, pl. 54, e ♂, 1911.

Delias hermione, Moulton, Journ. Str. Br., Roy. Asiat. Soc., No. 63, p. 84, 1912.

Distribution: Malacca, Borneo and Sumatra.

(a) *Delias orphne cinerascens,* von Mitis.

Mt. Kinabalu, 3000 to 5150 ft., Mt. Selinguid, 4850 ft., Mt. Matang 3200 ft. (Sar. Mus.).

The typical form (*orphne*) comes from Mt. Ophir near Malacca. The above sub-species is confined to the mountains of North Borneo and Sarawak. Fruhstorfer regards *simanabum* from Sumatra as another sub-species.

The *cinerascens* form was common on the Marei Parei spur of Kinabalu in September and I have seen it equally common on the summit of Mt. Selinguid 200 miles further south. The single example from Mt. Matang (near Kuching, Sarawak) was taken in December 1898.

The males from Kinabalu have the apex and hind-margin of the fore-wing above more strongly shaded with grey. In two examples from Selinguid the shading is entirely absent,

only the narrow dark marginal line from apex towards anal angle left; in a third the shading is faint; in two others nearly as pronounced as in the Kinabalu specimens.

An allied species *georgina*, Feld., occurs on Luzon, with a sub-species *battana*, Fruhst., which flies on Bonthain in South Celebes at an altitude of 5000-6000 ft.

Shelford notes that it is "exactly mimicked by a *Chalcosid* moth *Mimeuploea pieroides*, Wlk." Both moth and butterfly were captured on Kinabalu in September 1913.

Of *orphne* Fruhstorfer writes "Hitherto only 1 ♀ known, which Wallace caught on Mt. Ophir, Malacca." Wallace describes and figures a *male;* Kirby[1] and Butler[2] mention *two males* in the British Museum. Lastly, Whitehead[3], who visited Mt. Ophir, writes in his account of it, "butterflies were represented by one common white and yellow species, *Delias orphne.*"

The female is apparently undescribed, so I append a description[4] from a specimen kindly lent me for study by Dr. R. Hanitsch, Director of the Raffles Museum, Singapore, who informs me that it was taken on Mt. Ophir, alt. 2400 ft., August, 1905.

562. *Delias blanca,* Felder.

> *Pieris blanca*, Felder, Wien Ent. Mon. VI, p. 284, 1862.
> *Delias nausicaa*, Fruhstorfer, Berl. Ent. Zeit., p. 60, 1899.
> *Delias blanca nausicaa*, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 131, pl. 54 f, 1911.

Distribution: Luzon, Mindanao and Borneo.

(a) *Delias blanca nausicaa,* Fruhst.

Only two examples (a pair) of *nausicaa* are known; they were taken on Kinabalu by Waterstradt.

The typical form (*blanca*) is only known from two males from North Luzon; another sub-species, *apameia*, Fruhst., from Mindanao is only known from females.

[**562a. *Delias belisama glauce,*** Butler.

> *Papilio belisama*, Cramer, Pap. Exot. III, pl. CCLVIII, A—D, 1782.

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1. *Catalogue of the Hewitson collection in the British Museum*, 1879, p. 21.
2. *Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist.* (6) XX, p. 166, 1897.
3. *The Exploration of Kina Balu*, p. 16, 1893.
4. *Upperside.* Grey fuscous. Fore-wing, with markings as in female *cinerascens* but much more darkly dusted with grey-fuscous. Hind-wing entirely grey-fuscous, but lightly dusted with yellow scales, the median veins with white scales. Inner margin yellowish white.

Underside. As in the male figured by Wallace. Exp. al. 56 mm.

Type female: Mt. Ophir (Padang Batu, alt. 2400 ft.), Johore territory, Malay Peninsula, August 1905, Coll. R. Hanitsch (Raffles Museum, Singapore).

Pieris glauce, Butler, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 431, pl. XXV, fig. 2, ♂, 1865.
Thyca glauce, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 349, 1867.
Delias glauce, de Nicéville, Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng. LXIV, p. 488, 1895.
Delias glauce, von Mitis, Iris VI, p. 105, 1893.
Delias glauce, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (6) XX, p. 150, 1897.
Delias belisama glauce, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 132, pl. 52 e, ♂, ♀, 1911.

The typical form is common in Java. The sub-species *glauce* was described from Borneo and is recorded as common in Sumatra, where it is mimicked by *Prioneris hypsipyle*, Weymer, a form of *Prioneris* not found in Borneo.

It is curious that this large and conspicuous species, which is so common in Sumatra, does not seem to have been collected in Sarawak: and I can find no record of its capture in Borneo beyond that of the original example from which *glauce* was described.

Wallace, however, in recording *belisama* from Java and Sumatra, writes of *glauce* "Hab.-Borneo (B.M.) a well-marked local form of *T. belisama*."

But I am inclined to think that *glauce* does not occur at all on Borneo, but that it is confined to Sumatra. It evidently belongs to one big species, of which *D. descombesi* is the continental form (which, curiously, also occurs on the lesser Sunda Islands). In Java we get *belisama*, in Sumatra *glauce*, in Celebes *zebuda*, in Mindanao *diaphana* and in Borneo *eumolpe*. The occurrence of *glauce* side by side with *eumolpe* would be peculiar, especially as we now know that *eumolpe* is not confined to Kinabalu but is also found in Western Sarawak, thus precluding the idea that *glauce* might be the Sarawak form of the Kinabalu *eumolpe*. I do not know of the occurrence of this latter species in South Borneo and it is possible that the Sumatran *glauce* may replace it there.][1]

563. *Delias eumolpe*, Gr.-Smith.

Delias eumolpe, Grose-Smith, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. III, p. 312, 1889.
Delias eumolpe, Grose-Smith and Kirby, Rhop. Exot., II. Delias, p. 5, pl. II, figs. 1, 2 ♂, 1893.
Delias eumolpe, von Mitis, Iris, VI, p. 104, 1893.

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1. Since writing the above I have received the following note from Mr. N. D. Riley of the British Museum, who was kind enough to look up the matter for me.

He writes thus:—"In reply to your enquiries of 29th Dec., 1913 re *D. glauce* Butler, received to-day, you are quite correct in your surmises re the locality of the Type. Though labelled Borneo, and described from Borneo, yet the specimen is entered in the Register quite distinctly as from "Sumatra." This you may be sure is the correct locality. We have besides the Type 4 ♂♂, 3 ♀♀ in B. M. and 7 ♂♂, 5 ♀♀ in Adams Collection all from Sumatra."

Delias eumolpe, Shelford, Journ. Str. Br., Roy. Asiat. Soc., No. 35, pp. 35 and 41, ♀, 1901.

Delias eumolpe, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 132, pl. 53 b, ♂ and ♀, 1911.

Mt. Kinabalu 3-4000 ft., Mt. Penrissen 4000 ft. (Sar. Mus.). The males were common on Kinabalu in August and September. Mr. Shelford obtained a pair on Mt. Penrissen in Sarawak. In the female the hind-wing beneath has the yellow ground-colour more dusted with fuscous scales than in Kinabalu females. On the hind-wing of the female above the white discal area is similarly obscured with fuscous scales, and the white oblique bar at the end of the cell in the fore-wing is narrower. I found more examples of this form on Mt. Merinjak 2200 ft. (near Penrissen) in May 1914.

As noted on page 9 this form is not known elsewhere, but it probably represents the continental *descombesi* on Bornean mountains.

Among the Kinabalu specimens is a small male measuring only 62 mm. across the wing, which may be noted in comparison with the average of 78-80 mm. Another male has the ground-colour of the hind-wing below a very pale yellow instead of the ordinary deep yellow.

564. ***Delias aglaia***, Linn.

Papilio aglaia, Linn., Syst. Nat. I, p. 465, 1758.

Thyca parthenope, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 347, *in parte nec* pl. VI, figs. 5, 5a, *nec* pl. VII, fig. 1, 1867.

Delias dione, Distant, Rhop. Malay., p. 290, pl. 24, figs. 5 and 6, 1885.

Delias pasithoe, var., Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 269, 1887.

Delias parthenope, von Mitis, Iris, VI, pp. 101 and 121, 1893.

Delias parthenope, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (7) XX, p. 163, 1897.

Sarawak: Kuching, Mt. Matang, 3,200 ft., Mt. Santubong, 2600 ft., February, April and June, 1897, 1900 and 1902 (Sar. Mus.).

Distribution of aglaia: Formosa, China, India, Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Nias, Borneo and Palawan. The typical form is confined to India.

Various writers record it from Borneo under different names, thus: *parthenope* (Wallace)[1], *dione* (Distant), *aglaia* (Moore), *pasithoe* (Pryer and Cator).

The Sarawak males differ from the Indian males, as figured by Hübner, Drury and Moore, in the development of the postdiscal band of white spots on the hind-wing above. Only slight traces of the two upper spots are visible, the spot on the costa is also hardly distinguishable. On the underside

1. Wallace figures the Singapore form which is taken as the true *parthenope*.

of hind-wing the second long hind-marginal yellow spot is divided by a fuscous line in some specimens, partially divided in another and quite undivided in others. The next long yellow spot below, however, is always divided by a broad fuscous bar and in this point differs from *parthenope*, Wallace. But in his description of *parthenope*, Wallace writes " in the Bornean specimen in the British Museum one of the yellow patches beyond the cell is partly divided, showing an approach to the *pasithoe* form."

Distant's figures of *dione*, male and female, illustrate the above points. The Sarawak female agrees better with Moore's figure of that sex in which the fore-wing below has the apical half grey fuscous, relieved by hind-marginal row of white spots and two more at the end of cell. These are enclosed by the apical fuscous region.

The whitish markings of the fore-wing above and below in typical specimens are distinctly yellow in one male.

Most writers remark on the variability of *aglaia*, so I refrain from giving these Bornean specimens a distinctive name, since no doubt a long series of examples from neighbouring regions would show individuals like those from Borneo. In the north it appears to be replaced by the next species, though Pryer records " *pasithoe* var." in his list for North Borneo, which may be the same as the Sarawak form of *aglaia*.

565. *Delias pandemia*, Wallace.

Thyca pandemia, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 346, pl. VI, figs. 4, 4a ♂, 1867.

Delias pandemia, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 355, 1873.

Delias pandemia, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 269, 1887.

Delias pandemia, von Mitis[1], Iris, VI, pp. 101 and 123, 1893.

Delias pandemia, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (7) XX, p. 163, 1897.

Delias pandemia, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 134, pl. 56 b, ♀, 1911.

Delias pandemia, Moulton, Journ. Str. Br., Roy. Asiat. Soc., No. 63, p. 85, 1912.

North Borneo (Low); Labuan (Butler); Mt. Kinabalu, Lawas, Limbang (Sar. Mus.).

Confined to Borneo and Palawan. Common in certain localities in northern Sarawak, but not further west than the Limbang river.

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1. This author also records the Javan species *crithoe* from Borneo. He writes (*l.c.* p. 125), "Ich hatte Stucke aus Java und Borneo vor mir. Ein im Kaiserlichen Museum in Wien befindliches, von der beruhmten Reisenden Ida Pfeiffer auf Borneo erbeutetes ♀ ist auffallend breitflugelig."

Madame Pfeiffer visited Sarawak in 1851, journeying thence overland to Pontianak and from there on to Java. I suspect that her specimen has been wrongly labelled. It is unlikely that *crithoe* should occur in Borneo; if so, it is remarkable that in all these years no other specimen has been recorded from this country.

566. *Delias ninus*, Wallace.

Thyca ninus, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 347, pl. VI, figs. 5, 5a ♂, *nec* pl. VII, fig. 1, 1867.
Delias parthenia, Staudinger, Iris, V, p. 449, 1892.
Delias parthenia, von Mitis, Iris, VI, pp. 100 and 119, 1983.
Delias parthenia, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (7) XX, p. 165, 1897.
Delias parthenia, Shelford, Journ. Str. Br., Roy. Asiat. Soc., No. 35, pp. 36 and 41, 1901.

Distribution: Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo.

***(a) Delias ninus parthenia*,** Staudinger.

Mt. Kinabalu, Madihit, Malinau, Mt. Penrissen (Sar. Mus.).

The typical form (*ninus*) comes from the Malay Peninsula, a closely allied sub-species (*alluviorum*) from Sumatra and the above sub-species, which is only known from the mountains of North Borneo and Sarawak.

The two females from Penrissen differ from Kinabalu females in the reduction of the yellow discal region of the hind-wing above, caused by a dusting of fuscous scales beyond the cell. The female of *D. eumolpe* from this locality showed a similar tendency to melanism.

Genus, PRIONERIS, Wallace.

The species of this genus are distinguished by the conspicuously dentate or roughened costal margin of the forewing in the males. The genus is confined to India, the Malay Peninsula and Greater Sunda Isles.

The two Bornean species are almost exactly alike on the upperside, but they are easy to distinguish on the underside.

1 Hind-wing below yellow; no white beyond cell; no red spot at base of wing below costa .. .. CORNELIA.
1[1] Hind-wing below yellow; large white spots beyond cell; a red spot at base of wing below costa .. .. .. VOLLENHOVII.

567. *Prioneris cornelia*, Vollenh.

Pieris cornelia, Vollenhoven[1], Mon. Pier., p. 5, pl. 2, fig. 2, ♂, 1865.
Prioneris cornelia, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 386, 1867.
Prioneris cornelia, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 355, 1873.
Prioneris cornelia, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 136, pl. 57 d, 1911.

Mt. Kinabalu, Malinau and Mt. Matang (Sar. Mus.).

Only known from Borneo. Rather an isolated species, to which the Indian *P. thestylis* is the nearest. Wallace remarks on the resemblance of this species to *Delias singhapura*. Frulistorfer however does not accept the suggestion that the

1. Vollenhoven describes it from "un seul individu male de Borneo, don de la societé royale zoologique d'Amsterdam."

rarer *Prioneris* species mimic the commoner *Delias* species, as "mimicry among the in all respects harmless Pierids appears no sort of protection, and properly speaking the smooth-margined *Delias* should rather copy the armed *Prioneris*, if there is assumed to be mimicry at all."

The *Delias* species in Borneo are slow fliers, and easy to capture, as long as they fly reasonably low; this characteristic together with their generally conspicuous colouring suggests that, like Euploeas and Danaids, they possess some unpalatable qualities which render them more or less safe from attack. If the "armed" costa of the *Prioneris* be taken as an unpalatable quality, it suggests a case of Mullerian mimicry, where two distasteful forms escape with half the loss of the number of individuals of each species from young and inexperienced enemies, by living under the protection of the same pattern. But possibly the dentate costa may have a sexual significance, possibly for stridulating purposes as in the South American species of *Ageronia* . This roughened costa is also found in *Catopsilia* and some Papilios.

Unfortunately both the Bornean species are confined to mountainous district where they are rare. According to some writers the allied species *P. thestylis* is common in some parts of India and *P. autothisbe* is found abundantly in Java, so perhaps observers in those countries may be able to throw some light on this point.

568, *Prioneris clemanthe,* Doubleday.

Pieris clemanthe, Doubleday, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. XVII, p. 23, 1846.
Prioneris vollenhovii, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 386, pl. IX, fig. 3, ♂, 1867.
Pieris clemanthe, Druce[2], Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 354, 1873.
Prioneris vollenhovii, Druce, *l.c.* p. 355.
Prioneris clemanthe, Distant, Rhop. Malay., p. 295, 1885.
Prioneris vollenhovii, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 270, 1887.
Prioneris vollenhovi, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 136, pl. 57 d, 1911.

Distribution:—Sikkim and Assam, south to Sumatra and Borneo.

(a) *Prioneris clemanthe vollenhovii,* Wallace.

Mt. Kinabalu, Mt. Matang, Kuching, Quop (Sar. Mus.).

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1. cf. Sharp, *Cambridge Natural History Series. Insects.* Vol. II, p. 354, 1901. In *Ageronia* a clicking noise is caused, apparently by an appendage bearing two hooks at the extreme base of the wing acting against two other processes on the thorax.

2. Druce records both "*Pieris clemanthe*" and "*Prioneris vollenhovii*" in his Bornean list. From his introductory remarks—"I have made the following endeavour to gather together the names of such species, as I could place specimens of in my own collection and study myself......When they came into my hands......"—it is impossible to guess what his "*Pieris clemanthe*" was, presuming that *P. vollenhovii* was correctly identified.

This sub-species is only known from Borneo. The typical *clemanthe* comes from Sikkim and Assam, with other closely allied forms in Burma, the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra.

Fruhstorfer treats *vollenhovii* as a distinct species, but it seems inconsistent to place it on the same level of isolation as *cornelia;* that species has no close ally, *vollenhovii* on the other hand is extremely close to the forms from Burma, Malay Peninsula and Sumatra.

The application of sub-specific nomenclature must necessarily be arbitrary, depending on the individual opinion of each writer, but there is often an unfortunate tendency nowadays to obscure rather than illustrate geographical relationship. Thus a species inhabiting the Indo-Malayan region is split up into a number of sub-species, indicating that different forms of this one species are found in different localities. A number of forms thus divided up, say, over India, Burma, Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Java and Borneo, gives us the impression that the countries forming this region have a similar fauna in a general sense (*i.e.* that a number of equally distinct forms cover this area), but that they have been separate for a sufficiently long period to enable each region to evolve *an equally distinct sub-species.* Now this is totally wrong and entirely obscures the fact that the forms of the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo are almost invariably very much closer to one another than they are to those found in Java. One ought to have some system of showing the relative value of each sub-species compared with the type form. Perhaps in writing a list of species the following arrangement might be used, the lines before the sub-specific name indicating distant relationship, the absence of lines, a close relationship. Thus:

Type-form from Sikkim and Assam is *Prioneris clemanthe.*

Very closely allied sub-species from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, *Prioneris clemanthe themana.*

Very closely allied sub-species from Borneo is *Prioneris clemanthe vollenhovii.*

More distantly allied sub-species from Hainan is *Prioneris clemanthe | euclemanthe.*

Very distantly allied sub-species from Java is *Prioneris clemanthe || philonome.*

To the general lepidopterist it is no doubt sufficient to know that *Prioneris clemanthe* inhabits the Indo-Malayan region, but to the student of any more restricted portion of that region, some more definite system is required. Sub-specific nomenclature is a step onwards, but there is still room for further improvement such as the arrangement suggested above.

Genus, ANAPHÆIS, Hübn.

[568*a*. ***Anaphaeis java coronea,*** Cr.

Pieris coronea, Vollenhoven, Mon. Pier., p. 29, 1865.
Pieris coronea, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 330, 1867.

Vollenhoven records this species from Java, Sumatra Timor, Celebes and Borneo, this last locality on the authority of Cramer; in Sumatra according to Boisduval.

Wallace doubts its occurrence in Sumatra or Borneo, and Doherty, an experienced collector in Malaya, writes as follows:—"Cramer records this species from Borneo, and in the Singapore Museum there is a specimen labelled Jelebu (not far from Malacca). These localities are certainly doubtful, as the butterfly inhabits dry, sterile coasts, and would be quite out of place in forest countries like Malacca or Borneo. On the other hand a coast-butterfly of exceedingly weak flight, but able to float in the air for an indefinite time, would be more apt to be blown out to sea than other insects, and more likely to survive till its arrival in another island. So that stragglers may really have been taken remote from the true habitat of the species." (*Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.* LX. p. 189, 1891). I can find no other records of it in these two countries, so we may safely exclude it from the Bornean list.]

Genus, HUPHINA, Moore.

1 Hind-wing of male above without orange-yellow anal patch PACTOLICUS.
1[1] Hind-wing of male above with orange-yellow anal patch. . LEA.

569. ***Huphina pactolicus,*** Butler.

Pieris pactolicus, Butler, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 455, pl. XXVI, fig. 1, ♂, 1865.
Pieris pactolicus, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 338, 1867.
Pieris pactolicus, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 355, 1873.
Huphina pactolicus, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (7) III, p. 207, 1899.
Huphina pactolicus, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 142, pl. 61 c ♂, 1910.

Mt. Kinabalu, 3000 ft. (Sar. Mus.).

Originally described from "Bogota," an oversight which Wallace pointed out two years later. Only found in Borneo. Kirby (1879) records two examples in the Hewitson collection and Butler (1899) records seven in the British Museum, but neither give more definite locality than "Borneo." Fruhstorfer notes that it "occurs exclusively in alluvial land;" the only specimen in the Sarawak Museum was taken on Kinabalu. Fruhstorfer also states that it is very local, but common in the south-east of Borneo.

The female is unknown.

This is the Bornean form of the continental *nerissa.*

570. *Huphina lea,* Doubleday.

Pieris lea, Doubleday, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. XXVII, p. 23, 1846.
Pieris lea, Vollenhoven, Mon. Pier., p. 23, ♂, 1865.
Pieris amalia, Vollenhoven, *l.c.* ♀ (*nec* ♂), 1865.
Pieris lea, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 335, 1867.
Appias lea, Distant and Pryer[1], Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 272, 1887.
Pieris amalia, Pagenstecher, Abhandl. d. Senckenb. Naturf. Ges. XXIII, p. 375, 1897.
Huphina hespera, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (7) III, p. 208, 1899.
Huphina lea montana and *meridionalis,* Fruhstorfer, Berl. Ent. Zeit., p. 102, 1899.
Huphina lea montana, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 145, pl. 65, a, 1910.
Huphina lea hespera and *meridionalis,* Fruhstorfer, *l.c.* p. 145, 1910.

The typical form (*lea*) comes from Southern Burma, with several sub-species from Siam, Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Banca, Natunas and Borneo. It seems to be a variable species and some of these so-called "sub-species" tend to intergrade[2].

(*a*) *Huphina lea montana,* Fruhstorfer.

Kinabalu (Fruhstorfer).

(*b*) *Huphina lea hespera,* Butler.

Kinabalu; Sarawak: Limbang to Lundu (Sar. Mus.); Sarawak and Labuan (Butler).

Butler also gives Singapore for this form. Fruhstorfer names the Malay Peninsula form *H. lea malaya.* Vollenhoven and Wallace give Borneo and Banca for *H. lea,* and

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1. These authors also give "*Appias aspasia* Stoll" in their list of the "Rhopalocera of North Borneo." The typical form occurs in the Moluccas with subspecies ranging north to the Philippines, including Palawan and Balabac which are islands by no means far from Borneo, so that the occurrence of a form in North Borneo is certainly not impossible. However, the inclusion of *Delias lucina* in Pryer's "Bornean" list suggests the advisability of accepting this record with caution, and for that reason we prefer to omit it.

2. Subspecific names are intended to indicate "species in the making." We know that all species are variable, in fact that no two individuals of any one species are exactly alike. From this variation arises the basis of evolution or the formation of new species. The over-zealous "splitting" of some recent authors suggests poaching on the preserves of future generations of systematists, who will be in a better position to judge of the success of any one species developing into another. The minute variations, which we now seize on and name as an incipient species, may after all come to nothing.

If we start naming every slight variation our task becomes endless. Many writers have shown how necessary it is to use the greatest restraint in describing new species. With subspecies it seems even more advisable to refrain from describing any, without first making sure that the form in question is not an unstable variety connected by transitional forms to the present species. A long series will indicate this; one specimen most certainly will not.

Sumatra for *H. amalia*. De Nicéville, however, writes—"I have a large suite of specimens of *H. lea* from Burma, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo, and am unable to find any constant character by which *H. amalia* can be distinguished from it."

The males from Kinabalu in the Sarawak Museum do not differ from Sarawak males. I have not seen females from this mountain, but from Fruhstorfer's figure of *montana* the only difference between it and *hespera* seems to be the absence of a fuscous border to the inner margin of the fore-wing above in his *montana* and a very slight reduction of the hind-marginal border of the hind-wing.

He remarks of *montana* (no sex, upper or underside indicated) that "the reddish tinge of the hind-wing has almost entirely disappeared." In Sarawak males on the upperside this is a variable character, as in some just the anal region is orange-tinged, the rest of the anal-inner-marginal region pale yellow; in another the whole of this is orange red. The underside of the hind-wing in these males is similarly variable, ranging from pale yellow to red-orange. The fuscous markings on the fore-wing above are also variable in development.

(c) *Huphina lea meridionalis*, Fruhstorfer.

South-east Borneo (Fruhstorfer); Samarinda (Pagenstecher)[1].

Noted as having the black distal border of the hind-wing extending to the cell, which is itself suffused with light yellow. The under surface of the hind-wing with large white spots beyond the cell.

Three Sarawak females have these white spots, in two they are yellow. The cell in hind-wing above is also suffused with pale yellow, but the hind-marginal border does not quite reach the cell.

A long series of females would doubtless show intermediate forms connecting all these three Bornean sub-species.

Genus, Appias, Hübn.

The following key applies to the Bornean forms only.

1 Neuration of hind-wing below marked out with fuscous scales except the median, submedian and interior nervures .. .. LYNCIDA ENARETE.

1[1] Neuration beneath not delineated with fuscous scales.

2 General colouring red.

3 Veins marked with fuscous scales .. NERO CHELIDON.

1. Pagenstecher notes that an example of *Pieris amalia* from Samarinda agrees with Distant's figure of the upperside; but "unterseitz sind die Aden schwarzlich angelaufen." It may be Fruhstorfer's *meridionalis* form.

3[1] Veins not marked with fuscous scales NERO FLAVIUS.
2[1] General colouring white or yellow.
3 Hind-wing below fuscous .. .. PANDIONE WHITEHEADI.
3[1] Hind-wing below white or yellow.
4 Male pearly white except for grey-shaded costa in fore-wing. Female with narrow fuscous borders; yellow ground-colour or white with pearly sheen .. .. .. ALBINA NEOMBO.
4[1] Male with white spotted fuscous apex.
5 Apical region of fore-wing above in male lightly fuscous; hind-marginal spots on hind-wing above. Female with heavy fuscous margins above; hind-wing below yellow .. MELANIA ATHENA.
5[1] Apical region of fore-wing above in male broadly black, relieved by two small white spots. Apex of hind-wing above lightly edged with black. Female with narrow black hind-marginal border to hind-wing above; below dirty white, not yellow .. .. .. LEPTIS PLANA.
1[2] Neuration of hind-wing beneath marked out with fuscous scales .. .. .. CARDENA.

571. ***Appias lyncida,*** Cramer.

Papilio lyncida, Cramer, Pap. Exot. ii. pl. 131, fig. B. ♂, 1779.
Pieris enarete, Boisduval, Spéc. Gén. Lep. i. p. 480, 1836.
Tachyris enarete, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 366, 1867.
Tachyris enarete, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 355, 1873.
Appias enarete, var., Distant, Rhop. Malay., p. 312, fig. 102, ♂, 1885.
Appias enarete, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 271, 1887.
Tachyris lyncida, Pagenstecher, Abhandl. d. Senckenb. Naturf. Ges. XXIII, p. 376, 1897.
Appias lyncida enarete, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 149, pl. 58 e, ♂, 1910.

Distribution of species: India and Ceylon east to Formosa and the Philippines and south to Celebes, Sumbawa, Flores and Java.

(*a*) ***Appias lyncida enarete,*** Boisduval.

Kinabalu, Lawas, Trusan, Satap, Quop (Sar. Mus.). North and South Borneo (Fruhstorfer). "Abundant on river-banks" (Pryer).

Boisduval describes this from the Moluccas, of which Wallace writes "This is doubtless an error, as I took it in Borneo, and it is so closely allied to the *T. hippo* of Malacca and Sumatra." In the Moluccas *Appias ada* Cramer replaces this species.

Distant describes the male as having sub-apical spot of fore-wing beneath white, not yellow as in *lyncida*. Sarawak examples mostly have it yellow; in one these spots are white, in others lightly dusted with pale yellow scales.

The females vary in size: exp. al. 50-63 mm.

572. *Appias nero,* Fab.

Papilio nero, Fabricius, Ent. Syst. III. i. p. 153, 1793.
Pieris nero, Vollenhoven, Mon. Pier., p. 47, 1865.
Tachyris nero, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 378, 1867.
Pieris figulina, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat Hist. (3) XX, p. 399, pl. 8, fig. 1, 1867.
Tachyris nero, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 355, 1873.
Appias nero, Distant, Rhop. Malay., p. 311, pl. XXIV, figs. 9 ♂, 10 ♀, 1885.
Appias nero, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 271, 1887.
Appias flavius, Grose-Smith, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist., p. 427, 1892.
Appias nero chelidon, Fruhstorfer, Deut. Ent. Zeit., p. 47, 1905.
Pieris nero, Piepers, Rhop. Java, p. 18, pl. II, fig. 1 ♀, 1909.
Appias nero chelidon, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 151, 1910.

A widely spread species ranging from Hainan and Burma south to the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago.

(a) *Appias nero chelidon,* Fruhstorfer.

Kinabalu, Limbang, Balinean, Bau, Quop (Sar. Mus.).

Sarawak forms vary from dark crimson to orange red. The veins are emphasized with fuscous scales.

Wallace notes the "Borneo specimens seem to have rather acuter and more falcate wings."

Piepers figures a female which he states may not be from Java but from S. E. Borneo. It agrees well with a Kinabalu female in the Sarawak Museum, except that the three orange spots of the hind-marginal border of the hind-wing are more pronounced in Piepers' figure.

(b) *Appias nero flavius,* Grose-Smith.

Taganac Isles, off the East coast of North Borneo.

Differs from the typical Bornean form in lacking the fuscous scales on the veins.

573. *Appias pandione,* Hubner.

Hyposeritia pandione, Hubner, Zutr. Exot. Schmett., fig. 651-2, ♂, 1832.
Tachyris pandione, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 381, 1867.
Appias whiteheadi, Grose-Smith, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XX, p. 434, 1887. *Id.,* Rhop. Exot. I, p. 5, pl. II, (Pier.), figs. 4. 5 ♂, 1889.
Hyposeritia whiteheadi, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (7) II, p. 393, 1898.
Appias pandione whiteheadi, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 153, 1910.

Three distinct geographical races make up this species: the typical form is found in Java, with a sub-species in Sumatra and another confined to Kinabalu.

(a) *Appias pandione whiteheadi*, Grose-Smith.

Mt. Kinabalu, 2500-3500 ft. (Sar. Mus.). Fairly plentiful in September. In Sumatra *pandione* is taken all the year round.

574. *Appias albina*, Boisd.

Pieris albina, Boisduval, Spéc. Gén. Lep. i. p. 480, 1836.
Pieris neombo, Boisduval, *l.c.* p. 559, 1836.
Tachyris neombo, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 355, 1873.
Appias albina, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 271, 1887.
Catophaga albina, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (7) II, p. 397, 1898.
Appias albina neombo, Fruhstorfer, Seitz, Macrolep., p. 155, pl. 60, d ♀, 1910.

This species ranges from India to Malaya as far as the Philippines and Moluccas.

(a) *Appias albina neombo*, Boisduval.

Mt. Kinabalu, about 3000 ft. (Sar. Mus.).

This sub-species is restricted by Fruhstorfer to the Malay Peninsula, Java, Sumatra and Borneo, but some of the female forms appear to be exactly the same in Ceylon, Palawan, etc.

Three males, one white female and one yellow female (♀ form *flava* Röber) were taken from September 11th-28th 1913 on Mt. Kinabalu. This last agrees exactly with Fruhstorfer's figure (named *neombo* ♀ in plate). The white female is very close to his females of *galathea* and *confusa* (named in plate *darada*) but differs in having the fuscous region at the base of the fore-wing above a little less developed. There is a white pearly sheen on this specimen as in the males taken with it on Kinabalu.

575. *Appias melania*, Fab.

Papilio melania, Fabricius, Syst. Ent., p. 475, 1775.
Papilio paulina, Cramer, Pap. Exot. II, pl. CX. E, F, 1779.
Catophaga leis, Hubner, Zutr. Ex. Schmett. f. 771, 772, 1832.
Pieris agave, Felder, Wien Ent. Monat. VI, p. 286, 1862.
Tachyris alope, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 372, 1867.
Appias leis, Distant, Rhop. Malay., p. 313, pl. XXV, figs. 7, ♂, 6 and 10 ♀ vars, 1887.
Appias leis, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 271, 1887.
Tachyris agave, Pagenstecher, Abhandl. d. Senckenb. Naturf. Ges. XXIII, p. 377, 1897.
Catophaga agave, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (7) II, p. 395, 1898.
Appias melania athena, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 155, pl. 61 b ♀, 1910.

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1. Fruhstorfer places *galathea* Felder, as a form of *melania* and remarks that "the female appears to be still unknown, for what Moore figures as such in Lep. Ind. VII. t. 553, belongs to *albina* and its ♀—ab. *semiflava*." Presumably the same remark also applies to Fruhstorfer's figure of *galathea* female!!

Distribution: Burma and Philippines south to Australia and New Caledonia.

(a) *Appias melania athena,* Fruhstorfer.

Mt. Kinabalu, Limbang, Mt. Matang, Quop and Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

This sub-species is confined to North Borneo and Sarawak.

Distant comments on the variation shown in a series from North Borneo. The Sarawak museum series bears this out; both males and females vary in the development of the black markings above. On the underside three females from Kinabalu and one from Matang have the heavy hind-marginal border to the hind-wing below and the apex of fore-wing below dark violaceous fuscous, while in one from Kinabalu and in one from Kuching this dark colouring is practically absent. There appear to be no intermediates, so the former might be regarded as the typical female form and for the latter I propose the name *ochracea*.

576. *Appias leptis,* Felder.

Pieris leptis, Felder, Reise, Nov. Lep. II, p. 163, 1865.
Tachyris leptis, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 373, 1867.
Tachyris leptis, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 355, 1873.
Appias plana, Butler, Trans. Linn. Soc. (2), Zool. I, p. 551, 1879.
Appias leptis, var. *plana*, Distant, Rhop. Malay., p. 314, pl. XXV, fig. 9 ♀, 1885.
Appias leptis, var. *plana*, Distant, and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 272, 1887.
Hyposcritia plana, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (7) II, p. 393, 1898.
Appias leptis aemilia, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 157, 1910.

Distribution: Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Nias, Borneo, Palawan, Java, Bali and Lombok.

(a) *Appias leptis plana,* Butler.

Mt. Kinabalu, Limbang, Malinau, Matang, Mt. Santubong, Quop, Busau, Kuching (Sar. Mus.). Exp. al. ♂ 50-63 mm. ♀ 52-58 mm.

This sub-species also occurs in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra.

Fruhstorfer separates the Bornean form from *plana* because " the white sub-apical spots of the fore-wing are smaller and the black sub-apical band is wider." The Sarawak specimens are variable in these two features, some examples having larger white spots than in *plana* figured by Fruhstorfer, others having them smaller. The same applies to the black sub-apical band. Wallace notes that his " specimen from Borneo is rather larger than the type from Java, and has a narrow black border only near the outer angle of the lower wings."

577. *Appias cardena*, Hew.

Pieris cardena, Hewitson, Exot. Butt. Vol. II. Pieris III. Nos. 17, 18, p. 7, pl. IV, 1860.
Pieris hagar, Vollenhoven, Mon. Pier., p. 38, pl. 4, fig. 6, ♂, 1865.
Tachyris cardena, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 363, 1867.
Tachyris cardena, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 355, 1873.
Appias cardena, Distant, Rhop. Malay., p. 316, pl. XXXIII, fig. 3, ♂ 1885.
Appias cardena, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 157, pl. 60, b, ♂ and ♀, 1910.

Mt. Kinabalu, Mt. Selinguid 4850 ft., Limbang, Mt. Matang 3200ft., Mt. Santubong 2700 ft. (Sar. Mus.).

This species is confined to the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo. Fruhstorfer[1] separates these in each country as sub-species, but the variation in a series of Sarawak males embraces the few small points of difference and thus indicates that separation is unnecessary.

Wallace notes "my specimens are intermediate between Hewitson's and Vollenhoven's figures, and I have no doubt but that they represent one rather variable species." Distant notes that this remark exactly applies to a Perak specimen examined and figured by him.

578. *Appias panda*, Godart.

Pieris panda, Godart, Encyc. Méth. IX, p. 147, 1819.
Pieris nathalia, Felder, Wien Ent. Monat. VI, p. 285, 1862.
Tachyris nathalia, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 369, 1867.
Tachyris nathalia, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 355, 1873.
Saletara nathalia, Distant, Rhop. Malay., p. 317, pl. XXVI, figs. 1, ♂, 2, ♀, 1885.
Saletara nathalia, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 272, 1887.
Tachyris nathalia, Pagenstecher, Abhandl. d. Senckenb. Naturf. Ges. XXIII, p. 377, 1897.
Saletara distanti, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (7) II, p. 400, 1898.
Saletara panda distanti, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 182, 1910.

Distribution: Malay Peninsula, Nicobars, Nias, Sumatra, Billiton, Java, Borneo, Philippines and Celebes.

(a) *Appias panda distanti*, Butler.

North Borneo (Pryer); Limbang, Santubong, Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

This form is also found in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra.

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1. The Bornean forms figured by this author appear to be nearly always from British North Borneo and taken by themselves often suggest slight, but constant, differences from Sumatra and Malay Peninsula forms. Sarawak specimens however often show intermediate stages linking up the three, as in this and the last species.

Distant places this species in a separate genus on the structural characters of the sub-costal nervules of the fore-wing. He notes the variability of this feature, which is further commented on by Butler and is borne out by a series of Sarawak specimens in which there are 5 males with the 4th sub-costal present, one with it present in one wing, but absent in the other. One female has this nervule, the other males and females lack it, as described by Distant for *panda* in contradistinction to *nathalia*. Such an unstable feature seems insufficient to warrant generic distinction, therefore it is better to regard the species of this section as forming only a sub-genus of *Appias*, *i.e.* "a genus in the making." There are two Sarawak females with yellow hind-wings; one of them has the 4th sub-costal nervule noted above. The others are whitish like the males, but faintly tinged with pale lemon-yellow.

Genus, Udaiana, Distant.

579. ***Udaiana cynis***, Hewitson.

Pieris cynis, Hewitson, Exot. Butt. III. Pier., pl. 8, fig. 54, ♂, 1866.
Udaiana pryeri, Distant, Rhop. Malay., p. 301, ♂, 1885.
Udaiana pryeri, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 270, 1887.
Udaiana androides, Hagen, Iris, VII, p. 32, 1894.
Udaiana cynis, de Nicéville, Journ. As. Soc. Beng. LXIV, p. 494, 1895.
Udaiana cynis pryeri, Fruhstorfer, Seitz' Macrolep., p. 183, pl. 62, c, ♂, 1910.

Udaiana is a monotypic genus confined to the Malay Peninsula (Mt. Ophir), Sumatra and Borneo. The Bornean forms, separated by Fruhstorfer as *pryeri*, Dist., are rather darker, with the basal area of hind-wing in male below more broadly green.

North Borneo (Sar. Mus.). Not known in Sarawak or Dutch Borneo.

The females in the Sarawak Museum differ from the *cynis* form in the greater development of fuscous colouring, which leaves only a small white discal patch in the hind-wing above; the two white spots between the median nervules in the fore-wing above are smaller in these Bornean females. A light ♀ form in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra is named *androides*.

Pryer notes it as "abundant around bushes on river-banks." De Nicéville and Martin record the three forms taken together in Sumatra and for this reason keep them together as one species.

Genus, Ixias, Hübn.

580. *Ixias undatus*, Butler.

Ixias undatus, Butler, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 252, pl. 19, fig. 4, ♂, 1871.
Ixias undatus, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 356, 1873.
Thestias pyrene, Kirby, Cat. Diurn. Lep. Coll. Hew., p. 32, 1879.
Ixias pyrene undatus, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 159, pl. 71, b, ♂, 1910.
Ixias undatus, Rothschild, Novit. Zool. XX, p. 279, ♀, 1913.

Mt. Kinabalu, Limbang, Malinau, Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

A local species, fairly plentiful in the upper waters of the Limbang River. The female is very rare and has only recently been described, though the male has been known for over 40 years.

Rothschild notes that the female "on the underside is quite unlike any other *Ixias*, and is in appearance a mimic of *Prioneris cornelia* Vollh."

Genus, Dercas, Doubld.

581. *Dercas gobrias*, Hew.

Gonepteryx gobrias, Hewitson, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 246, pl. XVI, fig. 1, ♂, 1864.
Rhodocera gobias, Vollenhoven, Mon. Pier., p. 63, 1865.
Dercas gobrias, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 398, 1867.
Dercas gobrias, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 356, 1873.
Dercas gobrias, Distant, Rhop. Malay., p. 308, pl. XXVI, fig. 18, ♂, 1885.
Dercas gobrias, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 271, 1887.
Dercas gobrias, Fruhstorfer, Seitz, Macrolep., p. 161, pl. 67 e, ♀, 1910.

The males of this species are not uncommon in many places in Borneo up to 3000 ft. Only one female in the Sarawak Museum, agreeing well with Wallace's description.

Vollenhoven records two males in the Leiden Museum taken by Mons. Diard in Borneo.

Distribution: Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Nias and Borneo. In Sumatra the female is yellow like the male. Fruhstorfer records one example (*herodorus*) from Java.

Genus, Catopsilia, Hübn.

In placing *crocale* and *catilla* as one species we have only two species of this genus in Borneo which may be distinguished thus:—

1 No irrorations on underside .. .. CROCALE.
1[1] Small brownish transverse irrorations on underside of both wings .. .. PYRANTHE.

It is curious that no record for Borneo apparently exists of the Indo-Malayan species *C. scylla*, which should be easily recognized by its orange-yellow hind-wings.[1]

1. In reply to my inquiries about this, Mr. N. D. Riley of the British Museum, neither is he able to find any reference to its capture in Borneo. Herr Fruhstorfer also informs me that he knows of none from Borneo.
Herr Fruhstorfer also informs me that he knows of none from Borneo.

582. *Catopsilia crocale*, Cram.

Papilio crocale, Cramer, Pap. Exot. i, pl. 55, figs. C, D, ♀, 1775.
Papilio pomona, Fabricius, Syst. Ent., p. 479, 1775.
Papilio catilla, Cramer, Pap. Exot. iii, pl. 229, figs. D, E, ♀, 1781.
Callidryas hilaria, Vollenhoven, Mon. Pier., pp. 60, 61, 1865.
Callidryas alcmene, Vollenhoven, *l.c.*
Callidryas alcmeone, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 400, 1867.
Callidryas hilaria, Wallace, *l.c.*
Callidryas crocale, Butler, Lepid. Exot., p. 22, pl. IX, figs. 1, 2, 3, 6, 1869.
Callidryas catilla, Butler, *l.c.* p. 24, pl. IX, figs. 7 to 10, 1869.
Callidryas crocale, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 355, 1873.
Callidryas catilla, Druce, *l.c.*
Catopsilia crocale, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 270, 1887.
Catopsilia catilla, Distant and Pryer, *l.c.*

A common species in Borneo. The *crocale* form of male appears to be the more common. On Kinabalu in August and September, 1913, only *crocale* males and only *pomona* females were taken. At Lawas in August 1909 a male and female of the typical *crocale* form were taken *in cop.*

The male form *flavescens*, Fruhst., and the female form *crocale* are rare in Sarawak. Two females from Kinabalu have the large brown patches on both wings beneath characteristic of the *catilla* form. This form is very rare in Sarawak.

In regard to the old question of uniting or separating the two forms we may notice the following recent opinions: de Nicéville[1] in his list of Sumatran Butterflies writes that he has bred both species from found larvae and that he failed to find any difference in larva and pupa: he therefore unites the two as one species. Dr. Martin, his co-author[2], however, separates them on various characters, *e.g. Catilla* is a forest insect with red antennæ, *crocale* has black antennæ and occurs in abundance, the larvae doing enormous damage to cultivated land.

Fruhstorfer[3] writes, "for the sake of simplicity we follow here the majority of entomologists and treat *pomona* as a separate species." Capt. W. H. Evans[4] in his Indian list also treats them as distinct, noting that "Mr. Bell has proved that these two species have distinct larvæ." The said Mr. Bell, however, in his last paper (published Dec. 20th 1913) writes "These two forms are so close together and grade so completely into each other in both sexes that it is impossible to separate them absolutely."

1. *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.* LXIV, p. 490, 1895.
2. *Id.* p. 491.
3. *Seitz, Macrolepidopt.* IX, p. 163, 1910.
4. *Journ. Bomb. Nat. Hist. Soc.* XXI, p. 979, 1912.
5. *Journ. Bomb. Nat. Hist. Soc.* XXII, p. 520, 1913.

The Sarawak series bears this out, so we side with the "lumpers" and treat the two forms as one variable species.

583. *Catopsilia pyranthe,* Linn.

Papilio pyranthe, Linnaeus, Syst. Nat. X, p. 469, 1758.
Papilio chryseis, Drury, Ill. Exot. Ent. i, pl. 12, figs. 3, 4, ♂, 1773.
Catopsilia chryseis, Distant, Rhop. Malay., p. 300, pl. 25, figs. 1, 2, ♀, ♂, and pl. 26, fig. 20, ♀ var., 1885.
Catopsilia pyranthe, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 162, 1910.

Common in Sarawak.

Distribution: India, China and Formosa south to Malaya and Australia.

Genus, Terias, Swains.

Each writer on this genus proposes a new arrangement for the species contained in it, but until extensive breeding experiments are carried out no arrangement can be anything more than pure guess-work. Having no new facts to offer I follow Fruhstorfer's general arrangement with one or two exceptions which seem necessary from an examination of the Sarawak Museum specimens.

The two species or groups of species which occur in Borneo may be easily distinguished thus:—

1 Inner margin of fore-wing yellow .. .. .. HECABE-SARI.
1[1] Inner margin of fore-wing above with dark fuscous border .. .. TILAHA-RAHEL.

584. *Terias hecabe,* Linn.

Papilio hecabe, Linnaeus, Syst. Nat. X, p. 470, 1758.
Terias hecabe, Vollenhoven, Mon. Pier., p. 67, 1865.
Terias hecabe, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 325, 1867.
Terias hecabe, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 270, 1887.
Eurema hecabe, Pagenstecher, Abhandl. d. Senckenb. Naturf. Ges., p. 378, 1897.
Terias nicobariensis, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (7) I, p. 71, 1898.
Terias hecabe borneensis, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 167, pl. 73, e, ♂ and ♀, 1910.

Distribution of *hecabe* forms: Corea and Japan south to Australia.

The long series of the *hecabe-sari* forms in the Sarawak Museum I have divided up thus:—

1 Two irregular marks in cell of fore-wing beneath, either well-marked or very indistinct; apex of fore-wing below yellow or irregularly brown with some yellow near the apex, never uniformly brown; black margin in fore-wing above usually angulately excavate below costa and not obliquely excavate in its continuation from third to first median nervule.
2 Basal marks in cell below prominent and well defined; apex of fore-wing brown below; cilia fuscous .. .. BORNEENSIS.

2[1] Basal marks in cell below obsolescent; apex of fore-wing below yellow never brown;
3 Cilia of hind-wing yellow; expanse of wings 41-51 mm. .. .. HECABE.
3[1] Cilia fuscous; expanse of wings 24-36 mm. .. SMALL VAR.
1[1] One distinct spot in cell of fore-wing beneath;
2 Apex of fore-wing below quadrately uniform brown; black margin in fore-wing above evenly curved from costa to third median nervule, not angulate, and continued obliquely excavate. Hind-marginal border of hind-wing narrow, cilia fuscous. Expanse of wings 39-43 mm... .. .. .. SARI.
2[1] Apex of fore-wing yellow below; black margin on fore-wing above not oblique from third to first median nervule. Expanse of wings 29-31 mm. .. LACTEOLA.

(a) *Terias hecabe borneensis*, Fruhstorfer.

Sarawak, up to 4800 ft., taken in January and March to October; no records for February, November or December.

Fruhstorfer describes the Bornean form of *hecabe* under this name:—"*borneensis* sub-sp. nov. has especially in the ♀ a strongly marked distal border." He figures the upperside of male and female which agree well with the Sarawak specimens as distinguished by this name in the foregoing key.

(b) *Terias hecabe*, forma typica.

Sarawak low-country, up to 3000 ft. on Kinabalu, taken in February, April, June to September and in December; no records for January, March, May, October or November. (Sar. Mus.).

There are four intermediates between this and the last in the Sarawak Museum; (i) a Kinabalu (Sept.) male with small but distinct cell spots and small pre-apical brown patch in fore-wing beneath; above with very narrow hind-marginal border to hind-wing, cilia yellow; (ii and iii) two females from Kuching district (April) referable to typical *hecabe* except for small pre-apical brown patch in fore-wing beneath, and (iv) a Kuching male (June) also referable to typical *hecabe* except for the colour of the cilia which is fuscous with only a yellow tinge at the anal angle.

(c) *Terias hecabe*, small var.

Sarawak low-country and Kinabalu 2500 ft., taken in April, May, July, August and November.

This may be Distant's *ada*, but he does not mention any spots in the cell of fore-wing below, so I follow Fruhstorfer in reserving that name for the Bornean form of *lacteola* (which by the way is also described and figured by Distant without cell spots in fore-wing beneath); Fruhstorfer places it in the *sari* group, characterized by one spot at the base of cell.

The wet and dry seasons are not very marked in Borneo and the months in which these three forms have been taken do not suggest any separation on account of seasonal differences. In general lines *hecabe* in Borneo appears to be dimorphic, with a tendency however to produce a dwarf race and an occasional intermediate.

Fruhstorfer separates *blanda* Boisd. as a another species distinguished by three cell marks instead of two. He describes several sub-species from Indo-Malayan countries and suggests that *snelleni* Moore from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra probably occurs in Borneo. I can find none among the Sarawak specimens of *Terias*. Druce records in Borneo *T. silhetana* which is now regarded as the Assam and Sikkim form of *T. blanda*. Perhaps it is best omitted from our list until more definite information is available.

585. *Terias sari*, Horsfield.

Terias sari, Horsfield, Cat. Lep. E. I. C., p. 136, 1829.
Terias sari, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 326, 1867.
Terias sari, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 354, 1873.
Terias sodalis, Moore, Journ. Linn. Soc., Zool. XXI, p. 45, 1886.
Terias sari, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 271, 1887.
Terias sari obucola, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 170, 1910.

Limbang and Kuching, taken from April to June (Sar. Mus.). Apparently rare in Sarawak or perhaps passed over in mistake for *hecabe*.

Fruhstorfer separates the form from Borneo, Natuna and Palawan as *obucola*, having " still broader black-brown margins on the hind-wing." One of the Sarawak specimens agrees with Moore's figure of *sodalis* (*kana*)[1], two others have the margin very slightly broader. The width of this border is notoriously variable in *Terias* species, so the introduction of a new name on such a character seems unnecessary.

Distribution: India, Ceylon to Malay Peninsula, Greater Sunda Isles and Philippines. Wallace gives in addition, Flores, Timor and Australia.

586. *Terias lacteola*, Dist.

Terias biformis, Butler, *op. cit.* (7) I, p. 71, 1898.
Terias lacteola, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 271, 1887.
Terias ada, Distant and Pryer, *l.c.* p. 271, 1887.
Terias biformis, Butler, *op. c.* (7) I, p. 71, 1898.
Terias lacteola ada, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 170, pl. 73 d, ♀, 1910.

Type of *lacteola* from Singapore. Distant and Pryer record it from North Borneo as " common in some places " and describe *T. ada* from the same district. Fruhstorfer confines

1. *Lepidopt. Indica* Vol. VII, pl. 573, 1 d, 1 e, 1905-1910.

lacteola to Siam, Annam and the Malay Peninsula and regards *ada* as the Bornean form of it, with other sub-species in Palawan, Natunas, Sumatra and Java.

Having no reason to doubt Distant's identification of his own species (*lacteola*), it appears that both *lacteola* and *ada* occur together in Borneo and that the former therefore should be regarded as a dimorphic species, and possibly, as Fruhstorfer suggests, only an extreme form of *sari*.

(*a*) Form *ada,* Distant.

Mt. Santubong, 2700 ft. (Sar. Mus.).

The two specimens I have referred to this form have the single cell-spot as in *sari,* but differ from that species in lacking the brown apical patch in fore-wing below, in the general paler yellow colouring and smaller size (*exp. al.* 29-31 mm.).

587. *Terias tilaha,* Horsf.

Terias tilaha, Horsfield, Cat. Lep. E. I. C., p. 136, 1829.
Terias tilaha, Vollenhoven, Mon. Pier., p. 65, 1865.
Terias tilaha, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 326, 1867.
Terias tilaha, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 354, 1873.
Terias gradiens, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XVII, p. 223, pl. V, fig. 9, 1886.
Terias tilaha, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 270, 1887.
Terias gradiens, Butler, *op. cit.* (7) I, p. 78, 1898.
Terias tilaha, Butler, *l.c.* p. 79, 1898.
Terias tilaha gradiens, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 170, 1910.

Sarawak: Kuching and Simunjan (Sar. Mus.).

Distribution: The Greater Sunda Isles and Sulu Archipelago. Vollenhoven records it also from Celebes.

In the Sarawak series there are, (i) a pair in which the ground-colour is light-yellow (= the Javan form, *tilaha*), (ii) two males with narrow hind-marginal border to the hind-wing and narrow inner-marginal border to the fore-wing grading into broader margined examples (= *gradiens*). Nearly all the females show the distal margin broader than in the male (= the Sumatra form, *nicévillei*). On these grounds it appears inadvisable to split up a variable species into badly defined sub-species.

588. *Terias rahel,* Fab.

Papilio rahel, Fabricius, Mant. Ins. ii. p. 22, 1787.
Terias alitha, Kirby, Cat. Diur. Lep. Coll. Hew., p. 30, 1879.
Terias rahel, Holland, Proc. Bost. Soc. Nat. Hist. XXV, p. 76, 1890.
Eurema tilaha, Pagenstecher, Abhandl. d. Senckenb. Naturf. Ges. XXIII, p. 378, 1897.
Terias rahel, Butler, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (7) I, p. 79, 1898.
Terias tominia horatia, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 171, pl. 73 g, ♂ and ♀, 1910.

Sarawak: Simunjan, Tegora, Quop (Sar. Mus.); Pontianak, South Borneo[1] (Fruhstorfer). Kirby records eight specimens of *T. alitha* in the Hewitson collection from Borneo and Makian . Probably the Bornean specimens should be referred to *rahel.*

The Sarawak specimens agree well with Fruhstorfer's figures of *horatia.* A pair from Simunjan have light yellow ground-colour as in the pair of *tilaha* noted above; the others are darker yellow as in normal *tilaha.*

Fruhstorfer writes that the diagnosis of Fabricius is inadequate to recognize *rahel,* hence his introduction of the new name *horatia.* However, until proof is forthcoming that these specimens are *not* the *rahel* of Fabricius I prefer to retain this old name for the form which has long been known as such.

In Celebes occurs a very similar form, which may be regarded as a sub-species of *rahel;* this is *tominia,* Vollenhoven, with several local races, of which the typical form from North Celebes and *battana,* Fruhst. from South Celebes are perhaps most like the Bornean *rahel.* Holland however notes that "they (*tondana* [= *tominia*] and *rahel*) are abundantly distinct.... The absence in *Rahel* of the sex mark on the under surface of the primaries, which is so conspicuous in *Tondana,* is alone sufficient to distinguish them........." Pagenstecher, on the other hand has treated *tilaha*[2], *tominia* and *tondana* as one species.

The curious distribution of this species (*viz.* Borneo and Celebes) may perhaps be explained if *rahel* turns out to be only the darkened form of *tilaha.*

In Sarawak it is rare, and the absence of records of it from North or East Borneo rather supports this suggestion. Thus, as a darkened form of *tilaha* it may be regarded as obsolescent in Borneo, giving way before the lighter form (= typical *tilaha*), but persistent in Celebes where the lighter form never occurred or perhaps has since died out. In many species in Celebes there is a tendency to melanism; in this particular group of *Terias* we may mention as instances, *mangolina.* Fruhst., *zita,* Feld. and *exophthalma,* Fruhst.

Genus, GANDACA, Moore.

589. *Gandaca harina,* Horsf.

> *Terias harina,* Horsfield, Cat. Lep. E. I. C., p. 137, 1829.
> *Terias harina,* Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 320, 1867.
> *Terias harina,* Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 354, 1873.

1. Pontianak is on the Equator in West Borneo.
2. Pagenstecher remarks of the Bornean specimen that it has "beinahe schwarze Vorderflugel, die nur in Discus gelb angeflogen sind," so I place it under *rahel* rather than with *tilaha,* Horsfield.

Terias harina, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 271, 1887.

Eurema harina, Pagenstecher, Abhandl. d. Senckenb. Naturf. Ges. XXIII, p. 378, 1897.

Gandaca harina elis, Fruhstorfer, Seitz, Macrolep., p. 173, 1910.

Sarawak: Limbang, Mt. Selinguid, 4800 ft., Santubong, Tegora, Bau, Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

Distribution: Sikkim, Hainan and the Philippines south through Malaya to New Guinea.

Fruhstorfer separates the Bornean forms as *elis* sub-sp. nov., which he describes from North Borneo as having "a white ♀ with strikingly broad, strongly dentate border on the fore-wing."

A Kuching female shows absolutely no trace of dentation in the distal border, in others the only fuscous projection from the hind-marginal border is on the 3rd median nervule, in two others this border is certainly more dentate. The width is variable. In the males this fuscous border is also variable.

Genus, Hebomoia, Hübn.

590. *Hebomoia glaucippe*, Linn.

Papilio glaucippe, Linnaeus, Syst. Nat. X, p. 469, 1758.

Iphias glaucippe, Vollenhoven, Mon. Pier., p. 52, 1865.

Iphias borneensis, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 396, 1867.

Hebomoia borneensis, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 356, 1873.

Hebomoia glaucippe, Kirby, Cat. Diurn. Lep. Coll. Hew., p. 32, 1879.

Hebomoia borneensis, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 272, 1887.

Hebomoia borneensis, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 176, pl. 70, d, ♂, 1910.

Distribution: India, China and the Philippines south to the Moluccas.

(a) *Hebomoia glaucippe borneensis*, Wallace.

The males are not uncommon in Sarawak and on Kinabalu up to 3000 ft., but the females are particularly rare.

The Sarawak males show little variation in size or colouring. The four spots in the orange pre-apical patch of the fore-wing above are clear in some specimens, but in others, the upper, or lower, or both, are fused with the fuscous apical border. In the hind-wing a few dark hind-marginal spots are irregularly developed, in one absent altogether, in another there are faint signs of a post-discal row.

Vollenhoven writes that it is not rare in Borneo and that "les plus petits sont ceux de Java et de Borneo."

De Nicéville notes that "the Sumatran race is identical with the Bornean one:" Fruhstorfer, however, states that "*sumatrana* Hagen has the proximal black bordering of the

orange spot considerably narrower than in *borneensis,* the apical spot itself broader, adorned with somewhat larger wedge-spots."

Genus, PARERONIA, Bingham.

591. *Pareronia valeria,* Cramer.

Papilio valeria, Cramer, Pap. Exot. I, pl. 85, fig. A, ♂, 1779.
Eronia valeria, Vollenhoven, Mon. Pier., p. 56, 1865.
Eronia valeria, Wallace, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 388, 1867.
Eronia valeria, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 355, 1873.
Nepheronia lutescens, Butler, Cist. Ent. II, p. 431, 1879.
Eronia valeria, Kirby, Cat. Diurn. Lep. Coll. Hew., p. 32, 1879.
Nepheronia valeria, Distant and Pryer, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XIX, p. 272, 1887.
Nepheronia lutescens, Distant and Pryer, *l.c.*
Eronia valeria, Pagenstecher, Abhandl. d. Senckenb. Naturf. Ges. XXIII, p. 380, 1897.
Pareronia valeria lutescens, Fruhstorfer, Seitz Macrolep., p. 178, pl. 66 e, ♂ and ♀, 1910.

(*a*) *Pareronia valeria lutescens,* Butler.

Mt. Kinabalu up to 5000 ft., Limbang, Kuching, Quop (Sar. Mus.).

Wallace notes "the Bornean males have rather more elongate fore-wings, with a slightly concave outer margin." Vollenhoven draws attention to the possibility of separating the Bornean form.[1] Distant and Pryer record, without comment, both *valeria* and *lutescens* in their list for North Borneo. Pagenstecher writes "Die hinterflügel zeigen bei einen von Borneo (Samarinda) vorliegenden Exemplare auf der Oberseite weit mehr Gelb, die Unterseite derselben ist verwaschen am Aufsenrande und am Grunde mit stärkerem gelblichem Anflug."

SUB-FAMILY 2. PAPILIONINÆ.

The standard work on the Oriental species of this sub-family is that of Rothschild and Jordan published in *Novitates Zoologicæ* Vol. II. 1895,[1] and now brought up to date by the latter author in Seitz's *Macrolepidoptera of the World*, 1908-1909. As these authors have so carefully studied the complete synonymy of these butterflies it is unnecessary to quote numerous references to other works, so in the following pages—with few exceptions,—only

1. "Le type se trouve en Java, Sumatra, Banca et Borneo, la variété dans cette dernière ile et sur le continent Indien, où la forme que nous avons décrite comme le type, semble ne pas se rencontrer. Horsfield soulève donc la question si ces deux formes ne seraient pas deux espèces distinctes."

2. "A Revision of the Papilios of the Eastern Hemisphere excluding Africa." (*Novitat. Zoolog.* II, pp. 165-463, 1895).

three references are given: first to the original descriptions and figures, then to the 1895 "Revision" and lastly to Seitz's *Macrolepidoptera of the World.*

Forty-three species are recognized in the present paper from Borneo. Former writers on Bornean butterflies give the following numbers: Wallace (1865) in his historic memoir on the Papilios of the Malayan region allows 29 for Borneo. Druce (1873) gives 30, many of which are not allowed now. Distant and Pryer (1887) give 21. Pryer and Cator (1894) increase this to 50 and Bartlett (1896) to 61. The present reduction to 43 is due to the introduction of subspecific nomenclature and rather broader views as to varieties of one species. Thus although only 43 species are recognized here, we count some 70 different named forms, several of which originally passed as distinct species, but are now considered as aberrations, sexual forms or sub-species.

The following new names are proposed here:

No. 608. P. polytes theseus form **ignea,** form. nov.

No. 617. P. antiphates itamputi ab. **aperta,** ab. nov.

In regard to geographical distribution of Bornean Papilios, this will be treated in detail on some future occasion. Here we may briefly note one or two points of interest. Of our 43 species occurring in Borneo, only 4 are peculiar to the country, though we might add several sub-species, which, though very similar and closely allied to forms in neighbouring countries, are nevertheless peculiar to Borneo. However, if we treat the term "species" in its broader, more up-to-date sense we have only four peculiar to Borneo. Of the remainder, 35 are found in Sumatra, 33 in the Malay Peninsula, but only 25 in Java, the majority of which are wide-ranging species found from India to Australia.

The above figures show very clear the close relationship between the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo and the comparative isolation of Java. Wallace noted this in 1865 and it is of interest to record his actual words[1] :—

"An examination of the relations of the species of the adjacent islands will thus enable us to correct opinions formed from a mere consideration of their relative positions. For example, looking at a map of the archipelago, it is almost impossible to avoid the idea that Java and Sumatra have been recently united; their present proximity is so great, and they have such an obvious resemblance in their volcanic structure. Yet there can be little doubt that this opinion is erroneous, and that Sumatra has had a more recent and more intimate connexion with Borneo than it has had with Java. This is strikingly shown by the mammals of these islands—very few of the species of Java and Sumatra being identical, while a considerable number are common to Sumatra and Borneo. The birds show a somewhat similar relationship;

1. Trans. Linn. Soc. Lond. XXV, p. 29, 1865.

and we shall find that the group of insects we are now treating of tells exactly the same tale. Thus:—

Sumatra	..	21 sp.	20 sp. common to both islands;
Borneo ..	..	29 sp.	
Sumatra	..	21 sp.	11 sp. common to both islands;
Java ..	..	27 sp.	
Borneo ..	..	29 sp.	20 sp. common to both islands;
Java ..	..	27 sp.	

showing that both Sumatra and Java have a much closer relationship to Borneo than they have [to] each other—a most singular and interesting result when we consider the wide separation of Borneo from them both, and its very different structure."

Since Wallace wrote those lines, further collections abundantly corroborate his statement that Sumatra has a much closer relationship to Borneo than to Java, but the statement that Java too is closely related to Borneo in not borne out. From our knowledge to-day we can assert that Sumatra and Borneo, with the addition of the Malay Peninsula, present a very similar fauna indicating a close and recent relationship between the three countries, but that Java has been separated for a long time and now has a more generalized Indian fauna in addition to its specialized Javan fauna, while the three countries mentioned above are characterized by an essentially specialized Malayan fauna.

The two Papilionine genera occurring in Borneo may be distinguished thus:—

1 **Expanse of wings: 70-190 mm. First subcostal nervule of fore-wing emitted nearer apex of cell than base .. ..** PAPILIO.

1[1] Expanse of wings: 36-47 mm. First subcostal nervule of fore-wing emitted nearer base of cell than apex .. .. .. LEPTOCIRCUS.

In compiling the following key to the Bornean species of *Papilio* I have chosen superficial characters in preference to small differences in neuration, which do not appear very satisfactory.

1 **Wings large, 120-190 mm.; cell of hind-wing above, with the exception of a small black basal portion, always green or yellow, which colour always extends above, beyond and below the cell. Fore-wing never with red basal spot. Hind-wings never tailed.**

2 **Fore-wings abnormally long and narrow, hind-wings small. General colouring velvety black with prominent green serrated band from apex to inner margin and across hind-wing .. ..** BROOKEANA.

2[1] Both wings normally broad. Ground-colour of fore-wing fuscous, of hind-wing yellow.
   3 With red hairs on sides of thorax below .. .. HELENA CERBERUS.
   3[1] Without red hairs.
      4 Male with very noticeable blue sheen on fore-wing above .. MIRANDA.
      4[1] Male without blue sheen.
         5 Male without yellow (or faintest trace only) on fore-wing. Female fore-wing above greyish.
            6 Female above white-grey ANDROMACHE.
            6[1] Female above brown-grey ANDROMACHE MARAPOKENSIS.
         5[1] Male with yellow vein-stripes in fore-wing. Female fore-wing above with basal half dark fuscous, outer half with broad grey vein-stripes .. AMPHRYSUS FLAVICOLLIS

1[1] Wings of moderate expanse, 70-115, rarely to 140 mm; cell of hind-wing usually fuscous, sometimes white; but if green, the apex of cell and beyond is fuscous; if yellow, the fore-wing has prominent red basal spot. Hind-wings sometimes tailed, sometimes not.
   2 Fore-wing: vein 11 not anastomosed with 12.
      3 Ground-colour of fore-wing fuscous, never green glossed or white. General pattern without band from apex of fore-wing to inner margin and across hind-wing, with one exception, in which the hind-wings have long spatulate tails.
         4 No spots at base of wings below.
            5 Hind-wings without yellow discal patch or band.
               6 Red spots bordering the thorax below.
                  7 Both wings above uniform blue-black in male, fuscous relieved with light-grey vein-stripes in female; without tails or red spots on hind-wing.
                     8 Male fore-wing rather broad. Female vein-stripes yellowish-grey .. .. NOX NOCTIS.
                     8[1] Male fore-wing narrower. Female vein-stripes whitish NOX BANJERMASINUS.
                  7[1] With tails and red spots on hind-wing.
                     8 Terminal portion of abdomen yel-

low; red spots on hind-wing post-discal .. .. .. NEPTUNUS DORIS.

8[1] Terminal portion of abdomen not yellow; red spots on hind-wing below marginal above obsolescent .. ARISTOLOCHIAE ANTIPHUS.

6[1] White spots on thorax below and on patagia.

7 General colouring uniform brown fuscous, with a yellow spot at anal angle of hind-wing .. .. .. SLATERI HEWITSONI.

7[1] General colouring brown fuscous, with blue gloss on males, and usually with prominent white spot at end of cell in females. Hind-wing without yellow anal spot .. .. .. PARADOXA TELESICLES.

5[1] Hind-wings with yellow or yellow-green patch discally or post-discally. Tails to hind-wing.

6 A yellow-green band from apex of fore-wing to inner margin and across disc of hind-wing .. .. .. DEMOLION.

6[1] Broad pale yellow patch beyond cell in hind-wing.

7 Pale yellow apical band in fore-wing above.

8 Apical band of 5 or 6 oblong spots, pale yellow in the male, whitish in the female .. .. NEPHELUS ALBOLINEATUS.

8[1] Apical band reduced to 2 oblong spots with faint indication of a third NUBILUS.

7[1] Fore-wing uniform fuscous-black; no yellow apical band.

8 Hind-wing below without trace of blue spots across the post-discal region; above with three yellow spots, sharply limited by the radial nervure HELENUS ENGANIUS.

8[1] Hind-wing below with narrow blue or

bluish-white spots across the post-discal region; above with four yellow spots.	
9 Hind-wing below without hind-marginal row of orange-red spots	ISWARA ARASPES.
9^1 Hind-wing below with regular series of orange-red spots along the hind-margin	FUSCUS DAYACUS.
5^2 Hind-wing with complete discal band of pale greenish-yellow spots (♂) or incomplete discal band of red spots (♀)	POLYTES THESEUS.
4^1 Spots at base of hind-wing below.	
5 Short ochreous band enclosing three black patches on hind-wing below towards anal angle	ACHERON.
5^1 No ochreous spots on hind-wing below.[1]	
6 Hind-wing tailed ..	LOWI.
6^1 Hind-wing without tails..	MEMNON.
3^1 Fore-wings: with green or green-blue metallic gloss.	
4 Fore-wings without green band	KARNA CARNATUS.
4^1 Fore-wings with green median band	PALINURUS.
3^2 Fore-wings: ground colour white; with dark fuscous bands across the cell and bordering the hind-margin.	
4 Hind-wing above with red anal spot.	
5 Light submarginal band in fore-wing much broader than black marginal border ..	AGETES KINABALUENSIS.
5^1 Light submarginal band in fore-wing much narrower than black marginal border ..	STRATIOTES.
4^1 Hind-wing above without red anal spot.	
5 Hind-wing below with row of red spots from costa to inner margin	ARISTEUS HERMOCRATES.
5^1 Hind-wing below without red spots.	
6 Inner portion of black median band in hind-wing below continued well beyond apex of cell ..	ANTIPHATES ITAMPUTI.

1. Some of the female-forms of *memnon* have discal or post-discal region yellowish.

6[1] Inner portion of black median band in hind-wing below not extending beyond apex of cell .. EUPHRATES DECOLOR.

3[3] General pattern above consists of light coloured band on dark ground colour from apex of fore-wing to centre of inner-margin and across to inner margin of hind-wing

4 Fore-wings very hooked; a tawny orange band on brown-fuscous ground-colour. Hind-wing with long tails .. .. PAYENI BRUNEI.

4[1] Fore-wings slightly hooked; fore-wing with reduced band of greenish-yellow spots on grey-fuscous ground-colour. Discal region of hind-wing light-grey. Tails shorter .. .. .. EMPEDOCLES.

4[2] Green band on dark fuscous ground colour. Tails very short or absent altogether.

5 Band across both wings; spots composing it for the most part confluent.

6 Fore-wing above without hind-marginal row of green spots and without spots in cell .. .. SARPEDON.

6[1] Fore-wing above with hind-marginal row of green spots and with spots in cell.

7 Red spots in anal region of hind-wing below.

8 Short subcostal band bearing red spot not joining basal band on hind-wing below DOSON EVEMONIDES.

8[1] Short subcostal band on hind-wing below joining basal band.

9 No red spot near costa .. EVEMON ORTHIA.

9[1] A red spot on the short subcostal band just below the costa .. .. EURYPYLUS MECISTEUS.

7[1] Orange-yellow spots in anal region of hind-wing below.

8 Short subcostal band on hind-wing below not joining basal band, nor

entering cell. Green band on fore-wing above larger .. .. PROCLES.
8[1] Subcostal band crossing cell running parallel to basal band, and joining the submarginal border BATHYCLES BATHYCLOIDES.
5[1] Band in both wings broken up into spots.
6 Hind-wing tailed .. AGAMEMNON.
6[1] Without tails .. .. ARYCLES.
2[1] Fore-wing, vein 11 anastomosed with 12. General pattern not banded, but with white internervular stripes on fuscous ground-colour[1] in mimicry of *Danais* or *Euploea*.
3 Abdomen with black median line on underside.
4 Hind-wing below without yellow spot.
5 Danaine mimic, with white stripes in fore-wing .. .. MACAREUS MACARISTUS.
5[1] Euploeine mimic, with uniform fuscous fore-wing .. LEUCOTHOE RAMACEUS.
4[1] Hind-wing below with yellow anal spot .. .. DELESSERTI.
3[1] Abdomen without black median line on underside .. .. MEGARUS.

Genus, Papilio, Linn.

592. *Papilio brookeana,* Wallace.

Ornithoptera brookiana, Wall. ♂, Proc. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 104, 1855.
Ornithoptera brookiana, Hewitson, Exot. Butt. 1, 1856.
Ornithoptera brookeana, Hewitson, *l.c.* fig. 1. ♂.
Ornithoptera brookeana, Wall., Trans. Linn. Soc., Lond., p. 40, 1865.
Troides brookianus, Rothschild, Novitat. Zool. II, p. 198, 1895.
Papilio brookiana, Jordan, Seitz, Macrolep., p. 17, 1910.

Mt. Kinabalu up to 4500 ft., Lawas, Limbang, Kuching, Quop (Sar. Mus.). Not uncommon in many localities in Sarawak; usually prefers inland jungle and streams; occasionally to be seen feeding at wet places on rock or sand, but more often at flowers, or flying rapidly up and down half sunlit mountains and streams.

The typical form occurs in Borneo and the island of Balabac off the north coast. Closely allied geographical races are found in Perak, the Natunas and Sumatra. An allied species, *P. trojana,* Staud., is found in Palawan.

1. As Jordan states, no doubt the ground-colour is white, and the veins have the super-imposed fuscous scales; but for the purposes of this key—inevitably artificial—we may treat it as the reverse.

Although in Wallace's original description the name of this species is spelt with an 'i,' it seems unnecessary to perpetuate this mistake, as Wallace himself gives the heading "*Brookeana* group" and writes *Ornithoptera brookeana* in his paper on the Malayan Papilionidæ in 1865. Hewitson figures the species in 1856 as *brookeana*, but writes *brookiana* on the page of text facing his figure! And in a foot-note he writes untruthfully, "It has been named by Mr. Wallace, in compliment to Captain Brooke, the Rajah's brother."[1]

A curious aberration of the male from Kinabalu with grey-fuscous costal margin and patch of same colour at termination of the 3rd median nervule and radial in the hind-wing above, instead of the usual velvety black. In this specimen the fore-wing below has prominent white spots and those of the hind-marginal row in hind-wing below are large and continuous (the black veins alone separating them).

593. *Papilio helena,* Linn.

Papilio helena, Linn., Syst. Nat. (X), p. 461, 1758.
Papilio cerberus, Felder, Verh. Zool.-bot. Ges. Wien, p. 291, 1864.
Troides helena cerberus, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 219, 1895.
Papilio helena cerberus, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 24, 1910.

Distribution: Hainan and North India through Malaya to New Guinea.

(a) *Papilio helena cerberus,* Felder.

Mt. Matang 3,200 ft., Samarahan, Quop (Sar. Mus.).

This sub-species occurs from Sikkim and Assam south through Burma and the Malay Peninsula to Borneo and the Natunas.

The Sarawak males show no variation; the females vary in the white edging to the veins of the fore-wing above, which in some is hardly noticeable, in others well developed. The double hind-marginal row of black spots also varies in development, in one all the spots of the inner row touch one another and are fused with the outer row, in others they are separated from one another but fused with the outer margin, and in others they are entirely separate. In size the females range from 126-172 mm.

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1. Captain Brooke was the *nephew* of Sir James Brooke, and brother of the present Rajah, who succeeded on the death of Sir James Brooke in 1868. Captain Brooke died the same year. Wallace, however, dedicates the species to Sir James Brooke in these words, "'My specimen (kindly given me by Captain Brooke) came from the Rejang river; but I have myself once seen it on the wing near Sarawak. I have named it after Sir J. Brooke, whose benevolent Government of the Country in which it was discovered every true Englishman must admire.''

594. *Papilio miranda,* Butl.

Papilio miranda, Butler, Lep. Exot., p. 3, pl. I. ♂ and ♀, 1869.
Troides mirandus, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 227, 1895.
Papilio miranda, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 26, pl. 14, b ♂, c ♀, 1910.

Distribution: Borneo and Sumatra.

(a) Papilio miranda miranda, Butler.

Sandakan (Pryer); Trusan and Limbang (Sar. Mus.).

The type form from Borneo only, with a closely allied subspecies, *neomiranda*, Fruhst., in Sumatra.

Described from Sarawak specimens collected by "Mr. Lowe" (presumably Sir (then Mr.) Hugh Low). Jordan states that it is "no rarity in the hilly country of North Borneo." Collecting in Sarawak does not bear this out.

595. *Papilio andromache,* Stdgr.

Papilio andromache, Staudinger, Iris, V, p. 393, 1892.
Troides andromache, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 228, 1895.
Papilio marapokensis, Fruhstorfer, Berl. Ent. Zeit., p. 419, 1899.
Papilio andromache, Jord., *l.c.* p. 26, pl. 13, c ♂ and ♀, 1910.
Papilio andromache marapokensis, Jord., *l.c.* p. 26, 1910.

Confined to the mountains of North Borneo. The type form on Kinabalu, with a sub-species on Mt. Marapok.

(a) Papilio andromache andromache, Staudinger.

I saw the female of this sub-species flying slowly up the Minitindok gorge on Kinabalu, alt. 3,000 ft.; a few were taken in the neighbourhood, but no males.

(b) Papilio andromache marapokensis, Fruhstorfer.

Only known from the Marapok Mts. near Lawas.

596. *Papilio amphrysus,* Cr.

Papilio amphrysus, Cramer, Pap. Exot. III, p. 43, pl. 219, fig. A, 1782.
Ornithoptera flavicollis, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 356, 1873.
Troides amphrysus flavicollis, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 231, 1895.
Papilio amphrysus flavicollis, Jord., *l.c.* p. 28, 1910.

The species ranges over Sumatra, Java, Borneo and the Malay Peninsula, also occurring on the outlying islands of Banguey off the north coast of Borneo and on the islands off the west coast of Sumatra.

(a) Papilio amphrysus flavicollis, Druce.

Mt. Kinabalu, Trusan, Limbang, Baram, Kakus (Sar. Mus.)

This sub-species is confined to Borneo and Banguey Island. Two female forms are recognized.

(i) ♀ form *actinotia*, Jordan, is the dark form with outer end only of cell greyish.

(ii) ♀ form *olympia*, Honrath, is the light form with cell for the most part or entirely greyish.

The colouring of the collar is variable and yet further names are introduced by Fruhstorfer to note these variations. Thus the red-collared form of the male is called ab. *gardineri*, females with collar brownish are ab. *bruneicollis* and the black-collared form is ab. *nigricollis*. In many Sarawak specimens only the barest trace of a collar is visible and there are intermediates grading up to a well-defined yellow or red collar from none at all (*i.e.*, the whole head and thorax black).

Jordan states that the yellow-collared is the common form. This is not so in Sarawak, where red-collared species predominate, and only the female form *actinotia* has so far been brought to the Sarawak Museum. These vary greatly in size, the expanse of wings in one reaching 7½ inches, in another only 5¼ inches.

In the males the yellow vein-stripes vary in development, in some well-marked and long, in others obsolescent. The yellow scales at the end of the cell are absent in one specimen.

Nox-Group.

597. *Papilio nox*, Swains.

Papilio nox, Swainson, Zool. Ill., III. t. 102, ♀, 1822-3.
Papilio noctis, Hewitson, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 423, pl. 66, figs. 5, 6, 1859.
Papilio noctula, Westwood, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 90, pl. 4, fig. 3, ♂, 1872.
Papilio strix, Westwood, *l.c.* p. 92, pl. 4, fig. 4, ♀, 1872.
Papilio noctula, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 259, and *P. noctis*, p. 260, 1895.
Papilio nox noctis, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 30, pl. 18 c, ♂ and ♀ and form *noctula*, pl. 18 b, ♂ and ♀, 1910.

Distribution: Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Nias, Java, Bali and Borneo. The typical form occurs on Java only.

(a) *Papilio nox noctis*, Hewitson.

This sub-species is confined to North Borneo, where it occurs in two forms. The typical form has no yellow-grey vein stripes on the fore-wing below in the male. In the typical *noctis* female the yellowish-grey stripes on the hind-wing are merged together into a broad hind-marginal band.

(i) forma typica. Limbang, Baram, Mt. Lingga, Quop and Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

(ii) ♂ form *noctula*, distinguished by strong blue gloss above and yellow grey vein-stripes in fore-wing below. The female of this form is called *strix*; in it the veins of the hind-wing are striped with yellowish grey.

Kinabatangan, British North Borneo (Sar. Mus.).

(b) *Papilio nox banjermasinus*, Fruhstorfer.

Confined to South Borneo.

The fore-wing of the male is rather narrower then in *P. nox noctis*. The stripes in the female are whitish, not yellow-grey.

Coon-Group.

598. *Papilio neptunus*, Guér.

Papilio neptunus, Guérin, Rev. Zool., p. 43, 1840.
Papilio neptunus, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 255, 1895.
Papilio neptunus doris, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 33, 1910.

Distribution: Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Nias, Borneo. The typical form comes from the Malay Peninsula.

(a) *Papilio neptunus doris*, Rothschild.

Limbang, Malinau, Banting and Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

Confined to North Borneo, but closely allied to the Malay Peninsula form *neptunus* and through that to the Sumatran form *sumatrana*, Hagen.

Hector-Group.

599. *Papilio aristolochiae*, Fab.

Papilio aristolochiae, Fabricius, Syst. Ent., p. 443, 1775.
Papilio acuta, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 358, 1873.
Papilio antiphus, var. *periphus*, Oberthur, Etud. d'Entom. IV, pp. 43 and 113, 1879.
Papilio aristolochiae acutus and *antiphus*, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 251, 1895.
Papilio aristolochiae antiphus, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 38.

Distribution: China, India, Ceylon, Malay Peninsula and Archipelago as far as Flores.

Typical form occurs in India.

(a) *Papilio aristolochiae antiphus*, Fab.

Mt. Kinabalu, Limbang, Satap, Quop, Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

This sub-species ranges from the Natunas, Nias and Sumatra to Borneo and Djampea.

Two varieties occur in Borneo:

(i) ab. *acuta*, Druce, black specimens with narrow tail. Lawas, Baram, Samarahan, Satap, Quop (Sar. Mus.).

(ii) ab. *periphus*, Oberthur, specimens with short tail.

Agestor-Group.

600. *Papilio slateri*, Hewitson.

Papilio slateri, Hewitson, Exot. Butt. II. Pap., pl. 4, fig. 9, 1859.
Papilio hewitsonii, Westwood, Proc. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 10, 1864.
Papilio slateri hewitsoni, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 363, 1895.
Papilio hewitsoni, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 42, pl. 20 b, 1909.

Distribution: North India to Sumatra and Borneo. Typical form from Sikkim and Assam.

(a) *Papilio slateri hewitsoni*, Westwood.

Limbang, Matang, Quop (Sar. Mus.).

Confined to Borneo, but hardly separable from the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra form, *perses*, de Nicéville.

A variety with white stripes on hind-wing is named *persides* Fruhstorfer. One from Quop and another from the summit of Mt. Matang show these white stripes slightly developed and therefore may be referred to this variety.

CLYTIA-GROUP.

601. *Papilio paradoxa*, Zink.

Zelima paradoxa, Zinken, Nov. Act. Ac. Nat. Cur., p. 162, pl. 15, figs. 9, 10, 1832.
Papilio caunus, Westwood, Cab. Or. Ent., pl. IX, fig. 2, 1848.
Papilio telesicles, Felder, Verh. Zool.-bot. Ges. Wien, pp. 308 and 355, 1864.
Papilio kerosa, Butler, Lep. Exot., p. 33, pl. XIII, fig. 2, ♂, 1870.
Papilio juda, Butler, *l.c.* p. 34, pl. XIII, figs. 3, 4, ♂ and ♀, 1870.
Papilio zanoa, Butler, *l.c.* p. 33, pl. XIII, fig. 1, ♂, 1870.
Papilio paradoxus telesicles, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 372, 1895.
Papilio caunus mendax, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 376, 1895.
Papilio paradoxus telesicles, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 44, pl. 20 b, ♂, 49 a, ♀ (*nec* 32 b), 32 a, ♀ (*nec* 32 c), 1909.

Distribution: North India through Malay Peninsula to Greater Sunda Isles and Palawan.

(a) *Papilio paradoxa telesicles*, Felder.

This sub-species occurs in Borneo only.

There are two groups of forms which until recently were looked upon as two distinct species, but Dr. Jordan now suggests that they really represent one.

1. *Paradoxa*-forms.

We have two forms of the male and four of the female.

(i) ♂ form *telesicles*, Feld.

Malinau, Matang, Satap, Quop, Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

Distinguished by the light blue discal stripes on fore-wing and hind-marginal row of white spots to both wings.

(ii) ♂ form *eucyana*, Jord.

North and South-east Borneo (Tring Mus.).

Discal stripes are absent and sub-marginal spots of fore-wing obsolescent.

(iii) ♀ form *leucothoides*, Honr.

Limbang and Kuching (Sar. Mus.); North and South-east Borneo (Tring Mus.).

Both wings brown; hind-marginal row of white spots in hind-wing above.

(iv) ♀ form *russus,* Rothsch.

Limbang and Kuching (Sar. Mus.); North Borneo (Tring Mus.).

Similar to last, but with the addition of white apical stripes and a white spot at end of cell. The four examples in the Sarawak Museum have five white apical stripes as described by Rothschild for this form. Jordan figures four only (pl. 49 a *nec* 32 b).

(v) ♀ form *albostriatus,* Rothsch.

North Borneo (Tring Mus.).

Both wings with long white stripes, but no blue gloss.

(vi) ♀ form *juda,* Butler[1] (= *daja,* Rothsch.).

Matang and Kuching (Sar. Mus.). North and South-east Borneo (Tring Mus.).

Distinguished by the blue gloss on the outer half of the fore-wing, by the row of white hind-marginal spots in both wings and faint discal stripes, blue-white spot at end of cell and post-discal series of similar spots.

2. *Caunus*-form.

This is the rarer form in Borneo; both male and female are wonderful mimics of the common Euploea, *E. diocletianus lowi.*

(vii) ♂ and ♀ form *mendax,* Rothsch.

Malinau, Matang and Lundu (Sar. Mus.); North and South-east Borneo (Tring Mus.).

HELENUS-GROUP.

602. ***Papilio demolion,*** Cr.

Papilio demolion, Cramer, Pap. Exot. I, p. 140, pl. 89, figs. A, B, 1776.

Papilio demolion, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 283, 1895.

Papilio demolion Jordan, *l.c.* p. 51, pl. 21 a, 1909.

Distribution: Tenasserim and Siam south to Sumatra, Java, Lombok and Borneo, with a sub-species on Nias and another on Palawan.

(a) ***Papilio demolion demolion,*** Cramer.

Mt. Kinabalu, Limbang, Kuching, Lundu (Sar. Mus.). A common butterfly in Sarawak.

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1. Rothschild uses this name for a male form of *paradoxa telesicles,* but as it does not represent any well marked form, only one phase in a complete gradation of male forms, it has been rightly dropped by Jordan. The name is therefore still available for the very distinct female accurately described and figured by Butler in *Lepidoptera Exotica* 1870, pl. XIII, fig. 4. Rothschild's name *daja* appeared in 1895.

603. *Papilio nephelus*, Boisd.

Papilio nephelus, Boisduval, Spec. Gen. Lep. I, p. 210, 1836.
Papilio albolineatus, Forbes, Naturalist's Wand. E. Arch., p. 275, 1885.
Papilio nephelus saturnus, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 290, 1895.
Papilio nephelus albolineatus, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 52, 1909.

Distribution: Malay Peninsula, Borneo, Java, Sumatra and the islands off the west coast of Sumatra. The typical form occurs in Java.

(a) *Papilio nephelus albolineatus*, Forbes.

Limbang, Malinau, Quop, Kuching (Sar. Mus.).
Confined to Sumatra and Borneo.

604. *Papilio nubilus*, Staud.

Papilio nubilus, Staudinger, Iris VII, p. 344, 1895.
Papilio nubilus, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 291, 1895.
Papilio nubilus, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 52, 1895.

A rare species only known from a single Brunei specimen, with a sub-species from South-east Sumatra, similarly only known from one specimen. Possibly these two specimens are only varieties of *nephelus*.

605. *Papilio helenus*, L.

Papilio helenus, Linn., Syst. Nat. (X), p. 459, 1758.
Papilio helenus, var. *enganius*, Doherty, Journ. As. Soc. Beng., p. 31, 1891.
Papilio helenus palawanicus, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 287, 1895.
Papilio helenus enganius, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 54, 1909.

Distribution: Japan, China and India south to Malay Peninsula and Archipelago as far as Timor, but not on Celebes.

(a) *Papilio helenus enganius*, Doherty.

Mt. Kinabalu, Malinau, Dulit, Santubong and Satap (Sar. Mus.).

This sub-species occurs on Borneo, Sumatra, Java and Lombok. I noticed it as common by the side of a rocky stream on Kinabalu, where six to ten were often seen together drinking at some moist spot. With wings expanded but fore-wings lowered over the bright yellow spot on the hind-wing they easily escaped notice, but on being disturbed, raised the fore-wings and quite astonished me by the sudden display of colour, before taking flight.

The red lunules on the hind-margin of the hind-wing below vary in number from one to five, the two at the base of the tail disappearing first.

606. *Papilio iswara*, White.

Papilio iswara, White, Entomolog. I, p. 280, 1842.
Papilio araspes, Felder, Wien, Ent. Mon. III, p. 321, 1859.
Papilio iswara, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 289, 1895.
Papilio iswara araspes, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 55, 1909.

Distribution: South Tenasserim, Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Banka, Borneo, and Natunas.

(a) *Papilio iswara araspes*, Felder.

Marapok Mts., Mt. Matang, Mt. Santubong and Kuching (Sar. Mus.)

Only on Borneo and the Natunas.

607. *Papilio fuscus*, Goeze.

Papilio fuscus, Goeze, Ent. Beytr. III. (I), p. 87, 1779.
Papilio fuscus prexaspes, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 297, 1895.
Papilio fuscus dayacus, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 56, 1909.

Distribution: Andamans to Solomons, though not found in Sumatra, Java, the small Sunda Isles or in the Philippines. A curious distribution suggesting direct communication between India and Papua via Borneo and Celebes.

(a) *Papilio fuscus dayacus*, Rothsch.

Mts. Santubong and Matang, Quop, Bau and Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

Known from North and South Borneo, with closely allied sub-species in the Andamans and Malay Peninsula.

Polytes-Group.

608. *Papilio polytes*, Linn.

Papilio polytes, Linn., Syst. Nat. (X), p. 460, 1758.
Papilio theseus, Cramer, Pap. Exot. II, p. 128, pl. 180, fig. B, 1779.
Papilio polytes theseus, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 349, 1895.
Papilio polytes theseus, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 61, pl. 30 c, ♀, 1909.
Papilio polytes valeria, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 62, 1909.

Distribution: India and China to Moluccas.

(a) *Papilio polytes theseus*, Cr.

Kinabalu, Limbang, Kuching (Sar. Mus.). A common butterfly in Sarawak.

This subspecies also occurs in Sumatra.

Four forms of the female have been recognized from Borneo, to which I now add one more.

(i) *nonia*, Jord., coloured like the male.

(ii) *theseus*, Cram., with red spots on hind-wing, but no white spots.

This is the common form of female in Sarawak. The red discal spots are variable, in some there are four, in others three, two, or only one on the inner margin. In one the spots are slightly elongated, showing an approach to the next form.

(iii) *melanides*, De Haan., red discal spots lengthened into stripes.

(iv) *numa,* Weber, discal spots of hind-wing white.

The two Sarawak examples of this form have two well developed white spots above the second and third median nervule and a third smaller one between the first and second median nervules. These white spots do not invade the cell.

(v) *ignea,* form. nov., has one large yellow spot in the end of cell and extending over the bases of the radial and median nervules, and outwardly bordered by the ordinary *theseus* row of red discal spots.

A single specimen from Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

(*b*) *Papilio polytes valeria,* Jordan.

Described from three females from Baram, Lawas and Mantanani Isles.

609. *Papilio acheron,* Gr. Sm.

Papilio acheron, Grose-Smith, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XX, p. 432, 1887.
Papilio acheron Grose-Smith and Kirby, Rhop. Exot. I, p. 11, pl. V, (Pap.) figs. 1, 2, ♂, 1888.
Papilio acheron, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 331, 1895.
Papilio acheron, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 71, pl. 27 a, 1909.

Mt. Kinabalu, circ. 3,000 ft. (Sar. Mus.).

Only known from the mountains of North Borneo, (Kinabalu, Mulu, and Dulit).

A closely allied species or sub-species, *P. forbesi*, Gr.-Smith, occurs in the mountains of Sumatra.

The Kinabalu specimens vary slightly in the ochraceous band in hind-wing below, which in some examples fails to enclose the black patch below the third median nervule. In one the red pre-costal spot extends slightly below the costal nervure.

610. *Papilio lowi,* Druce.

Papilio lowii, Druce, Proc. Zool. Soc. Lond., p. 358, pl. XXXIII, fig. 6, 1873.
Papilio lowi, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 321, 1895.
Papilio lowi, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 71, pl. 25 b, ♂, and 29 b, ♀, 1909.

Two forms of the female are recognized:

(i) form *zephyria* Jordan, in which the hind-wing has a "large white distally yellowish central area," and

(ii) form *suffusus* Lathy, in which the hind-wing is nearly all black, without the white area.

This species is said to come from North Borneo, Palawan and Balabac. Rothschild draws attention to the fact that Mr. Low's butterflies came from many islands besides Borneo and that they passed through several hands before coming to Mr. Druce who described this species, giving "Borneo" as locality. I suspect that the locality "Borneo" is wrong and that the

species is really a tailed form of *memnon* confined to Palawan and Balabac, while Borneo has the tailless *memnon* only.[1]

611. *Papilio memnon,* Linn.

Papilio memnon, Linneus, Syst. Nat. (X), p. 460, 1758.
Papilio memnon, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 314, 1895.
Papilio memnon, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 73, pl. 30 b ♀ and 48 b ♀, 1909.

The species ranges from Japan, China and North India to Malaya as far as Borneo, Lombok and Flores. The typical form is confined to Borneo, Java, Bunguran, Banka, Bawean and Bali. In Sumatra, Nias and Batu Islands there is a separate race, *anceus,* Cr. This is one of the very rare instances where Java and Borneo have the same form while that on Sumatra is distinct. However, Jordan notes that several of the female forms of this sub-species have more restricted ranges, thus four out of the five known in Borneo are not found elsewhere.

(a) *Papilio memnon memnon,* Linn.

P. memnon is a common butterfly throughout Sarawak. The female forms are distinguished thus: —

(i) ♀ form *gyrtia,* Jord., fore-wing with red basal spot and white sub-apical area, otherwise very dark; hind-wing nearly pure black.

(ii) ♀ form *dobera,* Jord., sharply defined black basal area of fore-wing above, rest of wing broadly striped with whitish-grey. Not rare in Sarawak.

(iii) ♀ form *laomedon,* Cr., fore-wing brownish; hind-wing with two rows of black spots.
This is the common form in Sarawak. It also occurs in Java, Banka and the Natunas.

(iv) ♀ form *venusia,* Jord., hind-wing yellow with single row of reduced hind-marginal black patches.
A single example from Bintulu in Sarawak Museum.

(v) ♀ form *anura,* Jord., discal spots of hind-wing orange. Abdomen yellow, with black dorsal line and underside.

PARIS-GROUP.

612. *Papilio karna,* Felder.

Papilio karna, Felder, Verh. Zool.-bot. Ges. Wien, p. 323, 1864.
Papilio arjuna carnatus, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 387, 1895.
Papilio karna carnatus, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 80, pl. 35 a, 1909.

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1. Since writing the above Dr. K. Jordan has kindly written to me from Tring thus:—"We have several specimens of *Papilio lowi* said to be from North Borneo; they came a few years ago from a trustworthy dealer, but the collector may have deceived him."

Dr. Jordan then suggests that both *lowi* and *memnon* may really occur together in Borneo as he has the Palawan and ordinary Malayan forms of *Papilio antiphates* from the Limbang River in Borneo.

The typical form is confined to West Java; a sub-species to North-east Sumatra and another sub-species to North Borneo. The allied species—species *paris*—ranges from Formosa, China and India to the Malay Peninsula, Java and North-east Sumatra, but is not yet known from Borneo.

(a) *Papilio karna carnatus,* Rothschild.

Mt. Kinabalu, Limbang, Quop, Bau, Paku, Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

This gorgeous Swallow-tail is locally known as "the Sarawak Beauty"; it is not uncommon in old jungle where it prefers sunny clearings or streams.

613. *Papilio palinurus,* Fab.

Papilio palinurus, Fabricius, Mant. Ins. II, p. 2, 1787.
Papilio palinurus, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 387, 1895.
Papilio palinurus, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 81, pl. 35 b, c, 1909.

Distribution: Burma to Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo, with sub-species in Nias, Palawan and the Philippines.

(a) *Papilio palinurus palinurus,* Fab.

Mt. Kinabalu, Limbang, Kuching (Sar. Mus.). Rather scarce in Sarawak.

Jordan states that "in most of the specimens from North Borneo the band is slightly blue: ab. *solinus* Fruhst." Those from Kinabalu and Sarawak are noticeably green in contrast to the blue-green of the previous species (*P. karna carnatus*).

614. *Papilio agetes,* Westw.

Papilio agetes, Westwood, Arc. Ent. II, p. 23, pl. 55, figs. 1, 2. 1843.
Papilio agetes, var. *insularis,* Staudinger, Iris. VII, p. 349, 1895.
Papilio agetes insularis, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 417, 1895.
Papilio agetes kinabaluensis, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 87, 1909.

Distribution: Sikkim to Malay Peninsula, mountains of Sumatra and Borneo (Mt. Kinabalu).

(a) *Papilio agetes kinabaluensis,* Fruhstorfer.

This sub-species is confined to Kinabalu. I have not seen it.

615. *Papilio stratiotes,* Gr.-Smith.

Papilio stratiotes, Grose-Smith, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XX, p. 433, 1887.
Papilio stratiotes, Grose-Smith and Kirby, Rhop. Exot. II, Pap., p. 29, pl. XIII, figs. 1, 2, 1893.
Papilio stratiotes, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 417, 1895.
Papilio stratiotes, l.c. p. 87, pl. 41 b, 1909.

Mt. Kinabalu and Malinau (Sar. Mus.).

Hitherto only known from Mt. Kinabalu; there is one specimen from Malinau, a hilly region near Mt. Molu in north-eastern Sarawak.

Not uncommon between 2,000-3,000 ft. on Kinabalu; and occasionally found on the banks of the Kadamaian river, where a Dusun horrified me by catching one in a cloth, which he had on his head at the time, extracting it therefrom in his fingers and then handing it to me—absolutely uninjured![1]

616. *Papilio aristeus,* Cr.

Papilio aristeus, Cramer, Pap. Exot. IV, p. 60, pl. 318, figs. E, F, 1782.

Papilio hermocrates, Felder, Verh. Zool.-bot. Ges. Wien, p. 302, 1864.

Papilio aristeus hermocrates, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 420, 1895.

Papilio aristeus hermocrates, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 88, pl. 41 a, 1909.

Distribution: North India to Bismarck Islands and North Australia.

(a) *Papilio aristeus hermocrates,* Felder.

Mt. Kinabalu (Sar. Mus.).

Burma to Timor, excluding Java.

Two varieties have been named

(i) ab. *aristeoides,* Eimer. has narrow white discal area on fore-wing.

(ii) ab. *nigricans,* Eimer, cell of fore-wing with three white bands instead of four.

The single Kinabalu specimen in the Sarawak Museum is referable to ab. *aristeoides.*

617. *Papilio antiphates,* Cr.

Papilio antiphates. Cramer, Pap. Exot. I, p. 113, pl. 72, figs. A, B, 1775.

Papilio alcibiades. Fabricius, Mant. Ins. II, p. 8, 1787.

Papilio itamputi, Butler, Forbes' Natural. Wander. in East. Arch., p. 276, 1885.

Papilio antiphates alcibiades, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 411, 1895.

Papilio antiphates itamputi, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 89, pl. 40 b, 1909.

Distribution: China, India, Ceylon and Malaya.

(a) *Papilio antiphates itamputi,* Butler.

Mt. Kinabalu, Malinau, Banting, Sadong, Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

This sub-species occurs in the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Borneo, Banguey Island and the Natunas.

A common species in Sarawak. The following varieties occur in the Sarawak Museum series: the 4th black band on the fore-wing similar to the 2nd and 3rd in even breadth and reaching the median nervure; in most specimens, this 4th band is wedge-shaped, tapering towards the median nervure, in some extending half way across the cell or less.

In two specimens from Kinabalu and Malinau, the two outer black bands are not joined towards the anal angle. As Butler expressly states of *itamputi* that "the external black

1. A Dusun on Kinabalu assured me that *P. stratiotes* and *P. antiphates* were sexes of the same species and that he had caught them *in cop.*

border........(is) not completely divided by the green band," this aberration with divided bands may be distinguished as ab. *aperta*, nov.

618. *Papilio euphrates*, Felder.

Papilio euphrates, Felder, Wien Ent. Mon. VI, p. 283, 1862.
Papilio antiphates, var. *decolor*, Staudinger, Iris, I, p. 279, 1888.
Papilio antiphates decolor, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 413, 1895.
Papilio euphrates decolor, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 90, 1909.

Ranges from North Borneo to the Philippines.

(a) *Papilio euphrates decolor*, Staudinger.

Mt. Kinabalu, 3000 ft. (Sar. Mus.).

This sub-species is confined to North Borneo, Banguey and Palawan.

I have referred one Kinabalu specimen to this form, as the inner portion of the median band in the hind-wing below only just passes the cell limit and the succeeding black spot is very small. In *antiphates itamputi* the spot is always larger and the median line extended well below the apex of cell. In this specimen, as in *itamputi* ab. *aperta*, the two outer black bands of the fore-wing above are not joined anally.

619. *Papilio payeni*, Boisd.

Papilio payeni, Boisduval, Spec. Gén. Lep. I, p. 235, 1836.
Papilio brunei, Fruhstorfer, Ent. Nachr., p. 300, 1894.
Papilio payeni brunei, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 401, 1895.
Papilio payeni brunei, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 92, 1909.

Distribution: Sikkim and Hainan to Malay Peninsula and the Greater Sunda Isles.

(a) *Papilio payeni brunei*, Fruhstorfer.

Malinau, Mt. Matang, 3200 ft. and Quop (Sar. Mus.).

North and South-east Borneo only. A rare species.

CODRUS-GROUP.

620. *Papilio empedocles*, Fab.

Papilio empedocles, Fabricius, Mant. Ins. II, p. 10, 1787.
Papilio empedocles, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 427, 1895.
Papilio empedocles, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 93, pl. 42 e, 1909.

Kuching and Quop (Sar. Mus.).

Distribution: Malay Peninsula, Greater Sunda Isles, Banka and Palawan.

The only variation exhibited by the Sarawak Museum series is in the yellow spots of the fore-wing. These should be six in number, the 1st and 3rd much smaller than the others. In one specimen the 1st is absent, in another the 3rd.

Jordan notes that the species flies in the hills. All the Sarawak specimens come from low-country.

Eurypylus-Group.

621. *Papilio sarpedon,* Linn.

Papilio sarpedon, Linneus, Syst. Nat. (X), p. 46, 1758.
Papilio sarpedon, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 440, 1895.
Papilio sarpedon, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 94, pl. 44 d, 1909.

Mt. Kinabalu, Limbang, Kuching, Quop (Sar. Mus.).

Distribution: China and Japan to the Solomon Islands. The typical form ranges from North India, Tonkin, Hainan and Philippines south to Malay Archipelago as far as Lombok.

A common species in Sarawak, exhibiting hardly any variation.

622. *Papilio doson,* Felder.

Papilio doson, Felder, Verh. Zool.-bot. Ges. Wien, p. 305, 1864.
Papilio jason, var. *evemonides,* Honrath, Berl. Ent. Zeit., p. 396, pl. 10, fig. 2, 1884.
Papilio eurypylus axion, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 433, 1895.
Papilio doson evemonides, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 97, 1909.

Distribution: India, China and Malaya.

(a) *Papilio doson evemonides,* Honrath.

Mt. Kinabalu, Kuching and Quop (Sar. Mus.).

This sub-species ranges over the Malay Peninsula and Greater Sunda Isles, including Banka and the Natunas.

623. *Papilio evemon,* Boisduv.

Papilio evemon, Boisduval, Spec. Gén. Lep. I, p. 234, 1836.
Papilio evemon, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 436, 1895.
Papilio evemon orthia, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 98, 1909.

Distribution: Assam to Malay Peninsula and Greater Sunda Isles including Nias and Banka.

(a) *Papilio evemon orthia,* Jordan.

Kuching and Quop (Sar. Mus.).

This subspecies is confined to the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Banka and Borneo.

This and *bathycloides* appear to be the commonest species of this group in Sarawak, though it is very likely that the other two species (*mecisteus* and *evemonides*) are frequently passed over in collecting, owing to their great similarity to one another.

624. *Papilio eurypylus,* Linn.

Papilio eurypylus, Linneus, Syst. Nat. (X), p. 464, 1758.
Papilio mecisteus, Distant, Rhop. Malay., p. 361, fig. 108, 1885.
Papilio eurypylus axion, ab. *mecisteus,* Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 434, 1895.
Papilio eurypylus mecisteus, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 98, 1909.

Distribution: India, China, Malaya and Australia.

(a) *Papilio eurypylus mecisteus,* Distant.

Kuching (Sar. Mus.). A single specimen.

This sub-species is confined to the Malay Peninsula, Greater Sunda Isles and Palawan.

625. *Papilio procles,* Grose-Smith.

Papilio procles, Grose-Smith, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XX, p. 433, 1887
Papilio procles, Grose-Smith and Kirby, Rhop. Exot. I, p. 13 pl. VI, (Pap.), figs. 1, 2, 1888.
Papilio procles, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 436, 1895.
Papilio procles, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 99, pl. 44 b, 1909.

Mt. Kinabalu (Sar. Mus.).
Not known from any other locality.

626. *Papilio bathycles,* Zink.

Papilio bathycles, Zinken, Nov. Act. Ac. Nat. Cur., p. 157, pl. 14, figs. 6, 7, 1831.
Papilio bathycles, var. *bathycloides,* Honrath, Berl. Ent. Zeit. XXVIII, p. 396, pl. 10, fig. 3, 1884.
Papilio bathycles bathycloides, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 438, 1895.
Papilio bathycles bathycloides, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 100, pl. 44 e, 1909.

Distribution: India to the Greater Sunda Isles and Palawan.

(a) *Papilio bathycles bathycloides,* Honrath.

Limbang and Kuching (Sar. Mus.).
This sub-species ranges over the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra Borneo, and Palawan. The type form (*bathycles*) occurs on Java only.

627. *Papilio agamemnon,* Linn.

Papilio agamemnon, Linneus, Syst. Nat. (X), p. 462, 1758.
Papilio agamemnon, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 447, 1895.
Papilio agamemnon, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 101, pl. 45 d, 1909.

Distribution: India, China, and Malaya to Australia.
The typical form ranges from India and China to Bali and the Philippines, with sub-species in the Papuan region down to Queensland and the Solomon Isles.

(a) *Papilio agamemnon agamemnon,* Linn.

A common species in Sarawak and often seen with other Papilios of this Eurypylus-Group crowded together on some wet patch of sand on a river bank. In its natural surroundings in the jungle it is very difficult to see both in flight and at rest. It thus affords an excellent proof of the procryptic value of a "broken up" pattern over one which is unicolorous, however dark and suited to its surroundings.

In a cabinet drawer, however, like many other protectively coloured butterflies, it forms a conspicuous object of beauty.

628. *Papilio arycles,* Boisd.

Papilio arycles, Boisduval, Spec. Gén. Lep. I, p. 231, 1836.
Papilio arycles, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 446, 1895.
Papilio arycles, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 102, pl. 45 c, d, 1909.

A tailless species ranging from the Shan States and Malay Peninsula to the Greater Sunda Isles, Banka and Palawan.

Gray records this in the British Museum from Borneo and Butler among the lepidoptera collected by W. B. Pryer at Sandakan. Not in the Sarawak Museum collection.

MACAREUS-Group.

629. *Papilio macareus,* Godt.

> *Papilio macareus,* Godart, Enc. Meth. IX, p. 76, 1819.
> *Papilio macaristus,* Grose-Smith, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (5) XX, p. 434, 1887.
> *Papilio macareus macaristus,* Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 457, 1895.
> *Papilio macareus macaristus,* Jordan, *l.c.* p. 104, pl. 47, b, 1909.

Distribution: North India to Hainan, Philippines and Bali.

(a) *Papilio macareus macaristus,* Grose-Smith.

Mt. Matang 3,200 ft., Bidi, Bau, Satap, Kuching (Sar. Mus.).

This sub-species is confined to Borneo. It is rare in Sarawak. A good mimic of the common Danaine *D. vulgaris,* Butl.

630. *Papilio leucothoe,* Westw.

> *Papilio leucothoe,* Westwood, Arc. Ent. II, p. 128, pl. 79, fig. 3, 1845.
> *Papilio ramaceus,* Westwood, Trans. Ent. Soc. Lond., p. 95, pl. 5, fig. 3, 1872.
> *Papilio leucothoe ramaceus,* Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 459, 1895.
> *Papilio leucothoe ramaceus,* Jordan, *l.c.* p. 105, pl. 47 b, 1909.

Distribution: Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo.

(a) *Papilio leucothoe ramaceus,* Westwood.

Mt. Matang, 3,200 ft., Kuching and Quop (Sar. Mus.).

This sub-species is confined to Borneo. It is very rare in Sarawak. A good mimic of *Euploea zonatus,* Druce.

631. *Papilio delesserti,* Guérin.

> *Papilio delesserti,* Guérin, Rev. Zool., p. 233, 1839.
> *Papilio eatoris,* Grose-Smith, Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist. (6) X, p. 426, 1892.
> *Papilio delesserti,* Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 459, 1895.
> *Papilio delesserti,* Jordan, *l.c.* p. 105, pl. 47 c, 1909.

Distribution: Malay Peninsula, Greater Sunda Isles, Banka and Natunas, with a sub-species in Nias and another in Palawan.

(a) *Papilio delesserti delesserti,* Guérin.

Trusan, Malinau, Simanggang, Kuching, Bau, Quop (Sar. Mus.).

A good mimic (the female in particular) of the Danaine *Ideopsis daos* and the moth *Cyclosia pieridoides.*

In most of the Sarawak males the cell in fore-wing above has an outer border of five small white spots, the 1st on costa, the 5th above the 3rd median nervule. But in some the 2nd and 3rd are partially fused with the distal streaks of white ground-colour; in one the 2nd, 3rd and 4th are completely fused as in the females.

632. *Papilio megarus,* Westw.

Papilio megarus, Westwood, Arc. Ent. II, p. 98, pl. 72, fig. 2, 1845.
Papilio megarus, Rothschild, *l.c.* p. 460, 1895.
Papilio megarus sagittiger, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 106, 1909.

Distribution: Assam, Tonkin and Hainan south to the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo.

(a) *Papilio megarus sagittiger,* Fruhstorfer.

This sub-species is confined to North Borneo. A closely allied form (*fleximacula*) has been found on Banguey Isle.

Genus, LEPTOCIRCUS, Swains.

1	Band across both wings white	CURIUS.
1[1]	Band across both wings blue-green	MEGES.

633. *Leptocircus curius,* Fab.

Leptocircus curius, Fabricius, Mant. Ins. II, p. 9, 1787.
Leptocircus curius, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 108, 1909.

Distribution: North China to Malaya as far as Palawan, Borneo and Java. The typical form ranges from Assam to the Malay Peninsula, Greater Sunda Isles and Palawan.

(a) *Leptocircus curius curius,* Fab.

Mt. Kinabalu, Limbang, Kakus, Kuching, Quop (Sar. Mus.).

This is the common species of the two. Both occur in the same localities. Rather like dragonflies darting swiftly over water, then hovering for a few moments with long quivering tails. They are easy to catch thus at flowers.

634. *Leptocircus meges,* Zink.

Leptocircus meges, Zinken, Nov. Act. Ac. Nat. Cur., p. 161, 1832.
Leptocircus meges, Jordan, *l.c.* p. 108, pl. 49 d, 1909.

Distribution: South China to Malaya as far as the Philippines and Celebes. The typical form is confined to the Greater Sunda Isles.

(a) *Leptocircus meges meges,* Zink.

Mt. Kinabalu, Kakus, Busau, Satap (Sar. Mus.).

The Malay Peninsula and Europe in the Past,

By Dr. Hendrik P. N. Muller

ABSTRACTED FROM THE DUTCH

BY P. C. HOYNCK VAN PAPENDRECHT.

In the course of last year two Dutch reviews have devoted space to the country which chiefly interests the readers of our Journal. In "*Onze Eeuw*" (June 1913) *Dr. E. B. Kielstra* wrote an article on "*Het Maleische Schiereiland*" (The Malay Peninsula) in which reference is made to the works of Swettenham, Phillips and Wright & Reid. And in "*De Gids*" (November 1913) *Dr. Hendrik P. N. Muller* published the first—or historical—part of an essay entitled "*Britsch Malakka*" (British Malacca)[1] which is to form a chapter of his work on Asia of which the first volume appeared in 1912. Dr. Muller has spent a couple of years in various parts of Asia and to the vast material then collected he has been since adding by extensive researches in archives and literature.

The following is an abstract of the chapter of Dr. Muller's work which has now appeared and which depicts the relations of European nations with the part of the Peninsula that now forms the British sphere of influence and with the present colony of the Straits Settlements. The subject seemed to me of sufficient interest to the members of the Straits Branch R. A. S. to tempt me to undertake its translation; and the task attracted me for more than one reason. Dr. Muller and I have been friends since the age of fifteen and he was the last to see me off when I first set out for the shores referred to in his present narrative. On the other hand my own happy recollections of what has been to me the land of free trade and fair play made it pleasant for me to render my fellow members of the Straits Branch R. A. S. acquainted with the results of Dr. Muller's labour and with his vivid description of ancient doings in and about the Straits.

In my abstract I have, while slightly abridging the original, rendered as faithfully as possible the author's own wording and that of his numerous interesting quotations. In translating the latter I many now and then have been too literal, but then my purpose was to maintain the quaint picturesque character of the language of olden days.

(1). As other continental nations (vide French and German maps) the Dutch apply the name Malacca to the whole of the Peninsula, as also did the treaty of London. P. C. H. v. P.

Mr. C. Otto Blagden had promised to assist me in revising the text of my abstract; with the aid of his knowledge both of the Dutch language and of the subject under review he has carried this out in such a generous way, that his revision has extended into an invaluable cooperation for which I wish to record my profound gratitude.

P. C. H. v. P.

The political relations of the Straits with Europe began in 1511, when the Portuguese, very shortly after their first appearance in Western India, and nearly a century ahead of the Dutch, came into contact with the Malay Peninsula. In that year a fleet under the great Affonso de Albuquerque sailed from Cochin and wrested the town of Malacca from the ruler of Johor[1].

The object of this expedition was to obtain a firm footing at a point commanding the great sea-way, a port of call where ships trading from India to China and the Spice Islands could refresh their crew and provisions, an emporium for merchandise and produce. The Portuguese made Malacca into a fortress of such solid construction that its demolition, three centuries later, involved a considerable outlay. It was from this stronghold that the Portuguese traded all over the Archipelago and opened branches there; it was from Malacca that Antonio de Brito sailed to Ternate and in 1522 built the first fortified settlement, Sao Joao Bautista, in those islands. During their short reign in the Archipelago Malacca held the place which Batavia was to occupy under Dutch rule. The settlement at Malacca was subordinate to the Portuguese Vice-Roy of India.

The Dutch relations with the Peninsula started even before the foundation of the Oost-Indische Compagnie. It was Jacob van Heemskerk who anchored off Johor in 1602 and was welcomed by its ruler as a much-needed ally against the detested Portuguese. This prince—like most of his successors, remained throughout on friendly terms with the Dutch and often gave them direct support. "It may be said that amongst all the kings of India none has "proved so straight and favourably disposed in all his dealings "with us[2]." He began in the same year by giving van Heemskerk shelter for the purpose of waylaying a Portuguese "caraque" on its voyage from Macao to Portugal. The capture of this vessel was in retaliation for the murder of seventeen Dutch sailors in Macao in the previous year. The big clumsy ship was eventually overpowered and her cargo taken to Amsterdam. The sale was quite an event; the curios, lacquer ware, silk and porcelain made a

(1). Dr. R. Martin (*Die Inlandstaemme der Malayischen Halbinsel.* Jena 1905) maintains that in the beginning of that century the whole of the Peninsula, including Malacca, was under Siamese supremacy.

(2). Valentijn. *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien.* Vol. 5. 1726 p. 339.

great sensation not only amongst the upper classes in the Netherlands, but also in other countries. The total value of the sale amounted to not less than three and a half million guilders. Even nowadays the Dutch indicate the finest and thinnest porcelain by the name kraakporselein, after the caraque (kraak) which carried this valuable cargo[1].

At the request of the Sultan, van Heemskerk took a Johor envoy home with him[2]. He left Jacob Buys with the Sultan "to look after our affairs and counting house[3]." Our headman "Buysen appears to have lain here till about 1605 and to have "been relieved by the upper merchant Cornelis Franck. The "factory still continued in 1609[4]." Two years afterwards Johor seems to have had a chance of playing a pre-eminent part in the history of the Far East. In case the new head-office in Java should prove a failure, the Dutch had resolved to transfer it to Johor[5]. But this necessity did not arise and the fixed establishment at Johor soon saw the end of its career[6]. According to a letter from Governor-General Coen to the Directors of January 1st 1614[7] the "Compagnie" had then still a "lodge in Joor." But when the Achеenese burned down the Sultan's town about the same period[8] the Compagnie desisted for good from the possession of a factory. Undoubtedly the poverty of the country had been a disappointing factor. The Sultan even asked Matelief for the loan of "a few hundred rixdollars, up to a thousand[9]." However the harmony remained undisturbed. In 1614 the Compagnie took the side of Johor against "Atchijn" in spite of the fact that she had a factory in the latter country. The Sultan offered to permit the Dutch to build a fort at the mouth of the Johor river against the

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(1). R. Fruin, *Verspreide Geschriften*. Vol. 3. The Hague, 1901, p. 295. *De Navorscher*. Vol. 19. 1869.

Documenten voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanders in het Oosten by P. A. Tiele, Historisch Genootschap. Vol. 6.

(2). "In 1604 an ambassador of that king was in this country" says Pieter van Dam in his "*Beschrijvinge van de Oost-Ind. Comp.*" in manuscript in the State Archives at the Hague, terminated in 1701. This ambassador returned from Holland with Matelief in 1606 (Tiele. *De Europeers*. I. p. 61).

(3). Valentijn V. p. 359.

(4). Valentijn V. p. 359.

(5). *De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak* 1602-1865, by E. Netscher. Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap. 1870. p. 28.

(6). "How long afterwards it remained in existence, is unknown to me; but "I almost believe that not long afterwards our counting-house was broken up," says Valentijn, V.

(7) *Bouwstoffen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanders in den Maleischen Archipel*, by P. A. Tiele. I. the Hague, 1886, p. 60.

(8). Netscher, p. 39.

(9). Valentijn, V. p. 335.

common Portuguese enemy[1]. But the cost of this was considered out of proportion to the possible results. Neither did the Compagnie comply with the king's pressing request in 1640 "to make a fort for his security at Batoesouwer, that is on the river Jhoor[2]." The town of Batu Sawar was situated "5 or 6 miles up the "river of Djohore" and was the capital where the prince "mostly resided[3]." The Dutch have never had a fortified settlement in the country.

At the time when the Dutch made their appearance in the Far East, the power of the Portuguese was already on its decline. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, when visiting Goa (1583-1589) had found carelessness, incapacity, neglect of duty and corruption prevailing amongst the colonial officials who chiefly owed their appointment to high rank, nepotism and influence rather than to their own merits. Linschoten thought it a miracle that their ships did not all perish through want of care in stowage and navigation. Their losses on this account were enormous. A great part of their profits arose from piracy, a common evil in these days especially in "Malaxe waters" and carried on by Chinese, Malays and in their colonial youth also by the Dutch. About 1580 the only places in the Peninsula and the Archipelago where Portugal maintained garrisons, were Malacca, Amboyna and Tidore[4]. It is true the capital invested by Portugal in the East greatly exceeded that of the Dutch rival Compagnie (Coen valued it at 50 million guilders[5], which figure includes that of the Spaniards) but their strength was not in proportion and a vigorous stroke delivered at their mighty stronghold Malacca would break it entirely and render them harmless.

With this object in view Admiral Matelief closed, as early as 1606, an alliance with Johor, the first of many treaties between the Dutch and that country. In case of success the Dutch were to hold Malacca and to have the sole right to trade with the Sultan's capital free of duty, all other Europeans being absolutely excluded. But the first attempt failed. In 1640 the Compagnie again undertook the siege of Malacca, maintained it for five months and on the 14th of January 1641 succeeded in taking the fortress[6]. The final result was obtained by 650 Netherlanders "being all the "sound people left, soldiers and sailors. On our side more than "1500 officers, soldiers and sea-faring men have lost their lives

(1). Letter from Adryaen van der Dussen, upper merchant, to Governor General Pieter Both of November 10th, 1614, Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, I. p. 76.

(2). Governor-General van Diemen to the Directors, November 30th, 1640.

(3). Valentijn, V. pp. 335 and 359.

(4). Tiele. *De Europeers* etc. 4th series, IV. pp. 158 and 178.

(5). do. 5th, ,, II. p. 287.

(6). *Realia* Register op de Generale Resolutien van het Kasteel Batavia. 1635-1805. Leiden, 1832.

"chiefly from infectious disease[1]." The Johor people had lent powerful support; the Compagnie "would never have become mas-"ter of that strong place without their assistance[2]."

For nearly two centuries the Dutch flag was to wave from the Malacca fortress; not until 1825 was it to disappear for good.

The loss of the dominating position on the great high-way to the Archipelago and the Far East was fatal to the power of the Portuguese in those countries. How fully they realised this themselves is shown by a letter written in 1673 to Governor-General Joan Maetsuyker at Batavia by a Governor of Macao. Bitterly complaining of competition by Dutch freeburghers from Batavia "on Lampacao, an island in the vicinity of this town Macao," the letter goes on: "It seems to us that you ought to be content with "possessing the whole of India and to let us live in peace in this "little district and what is still left under our jurisdiction, since "you are now the larger power in India. For do by others as you "would be done by[3]." Six years later the Batavia Government "even writes to Malacca "not to respect ship's certificates of the "Portuguese, but to treat them as natives." (!) [4]

The situation of the Portuguese population which the Dutch found in Malacca after the conquest affords a distinct illustration of the difference between Portuguese and Dutch colonial policies in those days. It also gives the key to the surprising difference which the modern traveller observes in the remains of the language and the descendants of both nations in countries which they have consecutively occupied. Portuguese blood and language still survive in Indo China[5] and in Ceylon; the Dutch language has entirely disappeared and in Indo China descendants of the Dutch race are a great exception. In Malacca we notice the same kind of thing. On taking possession of the town, where the hardships of the siege and infectious diseases had caused great mortality, the Compagnie found among the survivors a great many Portuguese unofficials. The State had opened up the trade and monopolised it for some time in order to defray the expense of its costly establishments, for which the ordinary revenue of taxes and dues was insufficient. But no more than the Dutch and British Companies in a later period the Portuguese Government had been able to keep its monopoly intact and it had allowed private trade on payment of high duties. This had attracted numerous private citizens to the colonies as permanent settlers "thinking no more of "Portugal, but sustaining and enriching themselves with the

(1). Pieter van Dam.

(2). Letter from Council of India to Directors 9th-11th July, 1645. Tiele *Bouwstoffen*, III p. 232.

(3). *Dagregister van het Kasteel Batavia*, 1673.

(4). do. p. 597.

(5). *Azie Gespiegeld* by Dr. Hendrik P. N. Muller I. Utrecht, 1912, p. 220.

"advantages of India as if they were natives and had no other "fatherland[1]." In their intercourse with the natives they used the Portuguese language, which down to the present day has not died out in Malacca.

"The Jesuits and the principal clergy with the most notable "citizens were transported to Nagapatnam with a large amount of "treasure valued at a few hundred thousand reals (dollars), the "remainder of the Portuguese to Batavia, none but a few Por-"tuguese families being left in the town[2]." Notwithstanding this "large exodus "1603 souls of Portuguese were still to be found "within the town of Malacca and its territory[3]" only eleven months after the conquest. And in the following year they were still so numerous that "of the most prominent Portuguese citizens 3 per-"sons were appointed magistrates to administer justice during the "ensuring year together with 4 Netherlanders[4]." This institution of magistrates was not to lead a long life[5]. As late as 1726, according to Valentijn's volume published in that year, Dutch clergymen now and then preached in the Portuguese language. Gradually most of these Portuguese died out for want of new blood from the home country, or they were absorbed by the native races; but even now they have not entirely disappeared.

Adhering to the system of toleration then prevailing in the mother country the Compagnie allowed freedom of religion in the new territory, but not equal rights, and Roman Catholic divine service was at first limited to private dwellinghouses. And now and then an echo resounds of the far distant beginning of the eighty years' war. Portuguese clergymen continued to visit Malacca under pretext of breaking their voyage; but when they prolonged their stay for months the Council at Batavia wrote to the President (as the officer in charge was then styled) 6th December, 1645: "to purify Malacca's territory of this heap of nuisance in "order that the Lusitanian and other inhabitants may remain "loyal to their oath to the Netherland Compagnie, the rupture of "which is the daily object of the simulating and faithless practices "of those maintainers of Romish doctrines, and not to tolerate the "papists there longer than till the departure of the ships in which "they have come[6]." Governor Johan Thijsen appears to have cherished similar feelings; 15th December, 1646 he recommends the removal out of the Portuguese population of "all that is

(1). Governor-General Ant. van Diemen to Directors, 12th December, 1642. *Bouwstoffen*, III. Introduction.

(2). Pieter van Dam.

(3). *Dagregister*, December, 1641.

(4). do.

(5). Dr. E. C. Godée Molsbergen. *De Stichter van Hollands Zuid-Afrika. Jan van Riebeeck.* Amsterdam, 1912. p. 183.

(6). Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III p. 271.

"white or mestizo, for they are worse than devouring wolves for "this place, only living in idleness and usury on the sweat and "labour of the poor black inhabitants[1]." He specially urges the deportation of the Jesuits: "the plague is less harmful than those "wolves in sheeps'—clothing[2]."

But when peace was restored (1648) and the supremacy of the "United East-India Company" in Southern Asia had been rendered unassailable, softer feelings began to prevail and there are now in existence churches constructed in the Portuguese time which have been continually used by the Roman Catholic communion. In 1712 the Protestant "Dutch congregation" mustered " not more than "202 members, but that of the Roman Catholics was six times "as large, consisting of few Europeans but many mestizos and far "more blacks who had remained rusting (!) there since the time "of the Portuguese[3]." In 1735 the Batavia Government decreed "that the head-administrator "not being able to prove his "allegiance to the Reformed Church, he shall not be appointed to "the post of commissaris politicus[4]." But whilst the privileges of the ruling church were maintained—in the same way as they still prevail now in Roman Catholic countries—, religious liberty was not interfered with and no hostility was shown to the Roman Catholics; in 1782 the Compagnie gave instructions to Malacca "to "observe the old arrangements and customs about the Roman "Catholic inhabitants and not to give them cause for complaint[5]."

The Portuguese had been in the habit of levying duties on goods imported and exported and on ships passing through whether they "broke cargo" or not. These duties varied from 2 to 9 per cent[6] during the Portuguese domination including the period in which Portugal belonged to Spain. The Compagnie maintained this system but "with distinction of nations" and often "with "some moderation[7]", except in regard to the Portuguese who in their day had been in the habit of exacting duty from the Dutch. It was only on payment of duty that foreign ships were granted permits, without which they were liable to confiscation, especially those belonging to Malays, Moors (Muhammadan Indians) and Chinese. As a rule British ships were exempted. The Compagnie began by fixing the duty at "five per cent of exports and nine of "imports[8]." Three years afterwards Portuguese vessels on passing

(1). Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III. p. 331.
(2). do. p. 329.
(3). Valentijn, V.
(4). *Realia.*
(5). do.
(6). *Dagregister*, 1645.
(7). Pieter van Dam.
(8). Instruction for Vice-Governor Jeremias van Vliet, 9th September, 1642. Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III. p. 78.

through are taxed 4½ per cent[1] which they paid "under protest[2]." "The duty on passing through shall also be paid by the Coast "Moors[3] who traffic at Atchin, Pera and Queda and for that purpose "touch at Malacca[4]." In 1664 the Netherlands Indian Government sent instructions to Malacca, to "demand from every Portuguese vessel according to her size and without manipulating her "cargo: of a small yacht 300 rixdollars, of a middle sized ship 400 "rixdollars and of a large ship 500 rixdollars. And if anyone "shall undertake to break cargo at Malacca, he shall, the same as "other traders, pay the Compagnie the toll of 10 per cent on his "entire cargo[5]." But the damage accruing to the Compagnie's own trade from this private commerce, especially by Indians, became so considerable that a resolution was passed at Batavia in 1678: "to raise the duty payable at Malacca by Moors and other "private traders to 20 per cent, being very prejudicial to the Compagnie's own business[6]"; and "that all native traders without the "Compagnie's permits shall be encumbered with arrest. Those "provided with Danish or English ship's certificates" (from the factories of those nations in India) "shall pay 20 per cent on "their first visit and to the certificates of the Portuguese no respect "need to be shown[7]." In 1679 the Governor was ordered to "admit "the Portuguese, English and other Europeans" on payment of 20 per cent duty. But in 1688, evidently by order of the Directors, this measure was repealed and orders were given "not to land "there any packages or merchandise from foreign vessels," to which was added in 1689: "not even if they offer double duty and "the whole remainder of their cargoes[8]." The year 1692 brought a new modification: "the toll was again fixed at 13 per cent of "imports and exports there discharged or sold." In 1744 this figure was reduced to 6 per cent[8].

All this tends to show that the monopoly system, which the Portuguese and Spaniards had applied, as far as practicable to each other as well as to other nations, was not maintained with absolute vigour during the Compagnie's reign in Malacca.

For many years she made strenuous exertions to obtain an absolute monopoly with regard to tin, the chief product of the soil of the Peninsula, which was then extracted on a relatively large scale in the so-called tin-quarters (Perak, Kedah, the islands of

(1). *Realia* 1648.

(2). Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III. p. 256.

(3). People from the Coromandel and Malabar Coast.

(4). *Realia*, 1646.

(5). *Dagregister*, p. 110.

(6). do. p. 425.

(7). do. p. 597 and *Realia* 1679.

(8). *Realia.*

Ujong Salang on the Peninsula's N. W. Coast, Singgora, etc.) Even in the Portuguese time the profits of the tin trade had filled the Government treasury as well as the pockets of Government officials and private individuals. And this metal continued to be the main article of trade as long as the Dutch flag waved over Malacca, and was the motive of Dutch intercourse with several of the native states on the Peninsula[1].

The export of tin was chiefly in the hands of "Moors" from "Bengale and Choromandel" and from the West Coast of India, who bought up the metal in the tin-quarters. Acheen and Malacca were the centres of this trade. On the 11th July, 1642, the "King" of Kedah, whom Matelief had visited in 1606, agreed with the Compagnie to let her have half of the tin-production of his country at a fixed price and not to admit ships without the Compagnie's permit[2]. An attempt was made to obtain a similar contract from Perak which was richest in tin. But that country refused, giving as reason its vassalage to Acheen, which had maintained its claims on that state, although since the conquest of Malacca it had waived those on Pahang[3]. But the Batavia Government did not leave the matter there. "Considering that the Moors "snap up all the tin in Perak under our very noses and stuff the "country full with their piecegoods[4]," Governor-General Van der Lijn and his councillors resolved on 3rd June 1647 to prohibit Moor navigation to Acheen as well as to all Malay ports[5]. This resolution was notified at "Soeratte and Choromandel," which imported large quantities of tin for local use, to the "regents" (*i.e.* "native authorities") of those ports who were subject to the Great Moghul. The Compagnie thereby exposed her factories in those places (the one at Surat is still inhabited to-day) to the wrath of the Great Moghul's people: but conscious of her power she did not hesitate. When the Surat office was attacked and looted in April 1648[6] the Governor-General and Council resolved "to re-"dress matters by arms." Nothing daunted, the Compagnie seized "two royal ships from Mocha with a cash capital of eleven hun-"dred thousand guilders." This produced a wholesome terror; the local Governor bowed his head and acquiesced in everything. His ships were then restored to him. Van der Lijn and his Council were thus able to report that in 1648 no vessels "from Zuratte and "Bengala appeared about Atjeh and the tin-places, since the direc-

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(1). For the Compagnie's relations with Siamese vassal states see *Azie Gespiegeld*, I. chapter Siam p. 148-153.

(2). Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III. p. 106 7.

(3). do. p. XI.

(4). do. III. p. 343. This, in brief, is the purport of the preamble of the resolution.

(5). Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III. p. 354 and following pages.

(6). do. p. 372.

"teur Arent Barentsen has declined to grant permits." The "Soenan Mataram," predecessor of the present Susuhunan of Surakarta (Java) also prohibited the navigation of his people to Perak[1]. With Acheen no high handed proceedings could be resorted to. The Dutch were in the habit of keeping a factory there; the native power was not to be trifled with and it also dominated a great part of the West-Coast of Sumatra, with which the Dutch had opened up a trade of some importance. But Van der Lijn succeeded in arranging with the Sultan that he and the Compagnie were to have the sole right of purchasing tin in Perak. No great benefit to Acheen could arise from this, since the Dutch prevented other purchasers from coming to the Acheenese tin-market. The result was that the English left Acheen in 1649.

All these measures rendered the Dutch factories in the tin-quarters less indispensable and important; and a tendency set in to draw all the tin to Malacca which for a brief space of time promised to become a second Batavia. In 1649 the Compagnie collected in Malacca "770,000 pounds of tin, which is an extraordinary quantity[2]"; the greater part of it came from Perak. About this time some of the permanent Dutch stations in the tin-quarters (*i.e.* those at Kedah, Ujong Salang and Singgora) began to decline.

As regards Ujong Salang it was even resolved at Batavia in 1661 "to discontinue the navigation and for the present it "shall not be visited by our inhabitants unless the regents there "should invite us again[3]."

Henceforth the name of Singgora is only to reappear once in the "Dagregister" when in 1675 an "envoy of the King of "Sangora" visited Batavia to solicit a renewal of the friendship which had existed under the late Governor-General van Diemen.

But on Kedah, more important although like Ujong Salang[4] "subject of the Siammer[5]," a tight hold was kept. The instructions to "break up the office there" (1656) also contained orders "for the blockade of its port[6]." This command was repeated three years later: the Governor was told to "blockade the river "of Kedah as closely as possible[7]"; in 1663 the "Dagregister" mentions that "the river of Queda is still being blockaded," and in 1664 the Netherlands Indian Government resolves, in spite of the King's wish for peace[8], "to continue the blockade of Queda

(1). Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III. 438/9.
(2). Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III. p. 160.
(3). *Dagregister* 1661.
(4). Gov. Gen. van der Lijn in Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, IV. p. 233.
(5). *Dagregister*, 1645.
(6). *Realia*.
(7). *Realia*, 1659.
(8), *Dagregister*, 1663.

"on the old footing[1]." Kedah did not bear this meekly: in 1676 Governor Bort writes to Batavia that the "Compagnie's cruising "sloops (chaloupen) had been assailed many times about Pera and "Queda by Malay pirates; but these had been lustily battered; "however one sloop lying in Pera's river had been attacked "unawares by two of these pirates' vessels and its crew with the "exception of two had been murdered." And shortly afterwards he reports "that about Dinghdingh[2] another sloop with a crew of six "had been rushed by the Quedaze pirates owing to the crew's own "carelessness. All of the crew were severely wounded and the scoundrels could not be overtaken[3]."

In 1651 the Perak "lodge only serving for the tin-trade" (Valentijn) "was ransacked and an atrocious murder committed "on our servants there[4]." This led to a resolution at Batavia (1651) "with the approbation of the King of Acheen" to "send "a military and naval force there to demand satisfaction." In 1655 peace was restored but did not lead to the reopening of the factory. And already in 1656 a resolution follows "to blockade "its port and that of Atchin with armed vessels if reasonable "satisfaction be refused[5]." But Perak persisted in its attitude. "The prince sends the tin to Acheen in defiance of us, declining "to give the Compagnie its competent half share, riding the high "horse," and this in spite of his heavy indebtedness to the Compagnie. "Of the debt of the King and his chiefs in Pera there "still remains to be paid 135,345 guilders, which will apparently "result in nothing" says the Dagregister of 1663. Not a trifling sum in those days! Putting on the velvet glove the Compagnie resolved in 1664 "to animate the Perak people to the supply of "tin[5]" and "to allow free access to the Acheenese on their arrival "off the Pera-river and on their return not to take away more than "half of their tin, as before[6]." And still Perak did not bow its head. In 1676 Governor Bort writes to Batavia: "Those of "Pera comport themselves but moderately with regard to their "contract for the sole supply of their tin to the Honourable "Compagnie and for refusing entrance to the English and all "other foreign nations[6]." And three years afterwards the murder occurs of some sailors of the squadron lying off the Perak-river, in which the King was evidently implicated[6]. At last in 1680 a contract is concluded with the King and Chiefs of Perak whereby "the Commandant Adriaen Wijlant, lying in the mouth of the

(1). *Realia.*

(2). *Azie Gespiegeld*, I. p. 150.

(3). *Dagregister.*

(4). Pieter van Dam.

(5). *Realia.*

(6). *Dagregister.*

"Perase-river was authorised to attack with arms all Malay "vessels, not provided with a "chiap" or who declined to comply "with a summons of ours to come on board[1]." A Dutch factory was maintained in the eighteenth century almost until its end[2]. in 1758 a resolution is passed at Batavia "to construct a small "stone fort at Pera" and "to put the Countinghouse there in "charge of a bookkeeper," who in 1771 was replaced by an ensign[3]. In 1782 and 1787 this fort is referred to as still existing and garrisoned. Then it follows Malacca in its downfall.

Besides tin, the Compagnie exported from Malacca pepper, gold and elephants, both of the latter for modest amounts. The pepper originated from Johor, sometimes "in abundance[4]," but owing to the situation of that country most of its production found its way to Batavia. The gold came from Kedah, the elephants from Kedah and Ujong Salang[5]. These animals were sold in the Compagnie's lodges in Siam and Bengal; in 1645 the latter has "eight head from Malacca unsold[6]." The large but sparsely populated Peninsula produced no other exports of any significance.

A further source of income was the importation, especially of piecegoods, which were for the greater part of Indian manufacture; the Compagnie called them "cloths." But here the "Moors" were fervent competitors, since their ships, without a special resolution at Batavia to that effect, were again admitted to the Malacca-factory provided they did not offend against the tin regulations. In 1674 Governor Balthasar Bort had to issue "a "certain placard" against money-lending by Dutch officials on the continent of India to "Moors of Cormandel" for the purpose of buying "cloths" and selling them at Malacca to the detriment of the Compagnie's business[7]. For the rest the inward manifests of vessels entering Malacca show comparatively small importations, mostly for private use at the factories.

The combined profits and dues at Malacca did not cover the high expenditure. The large fort required a numerous garrison: in 1649 it counted 477 Netherlanders besides 380 seamen[8]; in 1663 it numbered 286[9]. The reduction of the fort to a size justifying a diminution of the garrison was repeatedly urged, since Portugal was broken and the English Company still in its infancy and in need of everything, from ink and paper to money, ships and

(1). *Dagregister*, p 366.
(2). *Azie Gespiegeld*, I. p 149.
(3). *Realia.*
(4). For instance in 1649. Tiele *Bouwstoffen*, III. p. 160 3.
(5). Valentijn, V.
(6). Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III. p. 233.
(7). *Dagresister*, p. 91/2.
(8). Tiele. *Bouwstoffer*, III. p. 37 ? and 463.
(9). *Dagregisier*.

victuals. She had not even been able to cooperate against Spain, as had been arranged in Europe in 1620; she had been obliged to recall her ships from the Philippines and to abandon her factories in the Moluccos and the Banda Islands; against 28 English ships in the Far East in 1622 the Dutch could muster 83[1]. But diminshing the size of the fortress meant such a heavy expense that the plan had to be given up and the large garrison maintained. The unwholesome state of the fortress having been amended shortly after the conquest, which had put an end to "the aversion of many "of ours to that town[2];" it now numbered, besides the garrison, a few thousand inhabitants, many of whom lived on the Compagnie: in 1665 for instance there were over 800 slaves, 21 Netherlands citizens and "900 Portuguese, mestizos, blacks, Moors, Chinese, "Javanese and Malays[3]," all of whom found the whole or part of their living in merchantile occupations. Under these circumstances a surplus balance was most unusual, one of these exceptions occurring in 1665, owing to—and during—the short administration of Jan van Riebeeck, the founder of Cape Colony. He collected:

		Guilders.
Besides "duties of the previous year		62.500
"Profits on merchandise at Malacca		168.100
	Pera	3.400
	Guilders	234.000
Whilst the charges amounted to gld.		230.000
so that Malacca shows to the good gld.		4.000[4]."

But as a rule the administrators were less capable or less fortunate and (as in the days of the Portuguese) the revenue remained below the expenditure, albeit from other causes than competition from the officials, by which Portugal had suffered[5]. The year 1645 showed a deficit of gld. 80.000.—; in 1661 it was slightly larger, Malacca and dependencies yielding a profit of gld. 126.000.—as against gld. 207.000.—in "charges"; in 1663 the deficit was again the same[6]. The turnover was too small in comparison to the heavy expenses; in 1644 the stock on hand and the outstanding debts did not come up to half a million guilders[7], in

(1). Tiele. *De Europeers*, etc. 5th series, II. p. 284.

(2) G. G. van Diemen and Councillors to Directors 23rd December. 1644 in Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III. p. 196.

(3). *Dagregister*.

(4). *Dagregister*.

(5). Tiele. *De Europeers* etc. 5th series, II. p. 291.

(6). *Dagregister*.

(7). Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III. p. 197 233.

1661 they amount to gld. 700.000.—, shortly thereafter to gld. 900.000[2].—And more and more the Compagnie tried to draw the trade to Batavia, where she concentrated her strength and working power. In 1778 the Netherlands Indian Government went as far as to give orders to Malacca and Palembang "not to suffer any "longer the navigation of Chinese junks in and through the Straits "of Malacca to other destinations than Batavia[1]."

The importance of Malacca to the Dutch lay not so much in the direct advantages to be gained by trading with the Peninsula, as in the power which its possession afforded of dominating the commercial sea-way to the Archipelago and the Far East, and the consequent necessity of preventing other nations from establishing themselves at such a strong position. Nearly every ship put in there or passed close by. In the "daily register" of the castle at Batavia (as published down to 1680) there is hardly one place so often named as Malacca.

In 1675 it even received the visit of a vessel "with an "ambassador from the King of Abassina, in the land of "Africa," who was on his way to Batavia with a letter and a present of horses and "forest-donkeys" by which that prince solicited the continuation of the friendship which his deceased father had enjoyed[2].

In Malacca the Compagnie possessed a key which she knew how to use effectively, and not only so against Asiatics. In 1643 she captured off Malacca no less a person than the Captain-General of Macao, together with his ship, although it was an English one[3]. And not long afterwards she stopped competition to Japan in the important article rayskins, then of vital interest to her factory in Siam[4] and of which a Portuguese frigate tried to bring a cargo to Japan for account of the "Danmark Compagnie." The vessel was in command of a Dutchman, Barent Pessaert, who had entered the Danish service, become local "president of a factory and had "collected 25.000 rayskins in Trangebare and the Portuguese town "Negapatnam. But in the Malax straits the ship has been "arrested." The Compagnie had not yet obtained the trade monopoly in Japan and therefore based her claim on the grounds that Pessaert had tried "to pass Malacca without paying toll" and that he was "a fugitive from Batavia and served foreign princes "contrary to his oath." The matter was eventually settled, there being no sufficient legal ground with regard to the foreign countries involved to justify confiscation; but the Compagnie was to effect the sale of the rayskins in Japan for Pessaert's account[5].

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(1). *Realia.*

(2). *Dagregister.*

(3). Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III. p. 170.

(4). *Azie Gespiegeld*, I. p. 156 and following.

(5). Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III. p. 195.

There were many other instances of Hollanders, entering into the service of foreign competitors, despite their oath to the Compagnie, and securing the best situations on account of their rare experience and pluck, their unrivalled all-round knowledge, practical sense, skill and energy. The great Caron of Japan went over to the French and deserves some of the credit of their present protectorate over Madagascar; other Dutchmen were engaged in the abortive French expeditions to the Archipelago and in the Swedish attempts to get there. The Peninsula even witnessed a case where some Dutch sailors deserted to the Malay enemy and lived with the natives. They were: "Johannes Gabrielsen of "Haarlem and Jacob Hendrikxen of Harlingen who in 1674 with "the sloop de Roos left their cruising station off Malacca and after "committing a horrible murder on the entire crew of a certain "Malay vessel, went over to our enemy the King of Queda and "there had themselves circumsised in the Moorish fashion." Four years later they both fell in the Compagnie's hands and were "doomed to be hanged with a cord to the gallows so that death "ensues[1]."

After the general pacification in 1648 the chronic state of war gradually gave way to more settled conditions. Murder and piracy diminished in consequence, but they still occurred and sometimes the Compagnie's own people were the offenders. In 1663 "an "execrable murder was committed about Queda by our people, "those of the barque den Exter in which event 30 to 33 souls of a "Moorish vessels were exterminated. Three women were violated "and smothered in the sea with a bag of rice tied round the "neck. The ringleaders amongst these monsters were Jan Gassion "of Malta, commander of the barque, Jacob Jacobs of Hoorn, Jan "Dirksen of Rotterdam and Hendrik Avelst of Drilst. These "have been executed; they had their right hands chopped off, were "broken on the wheel and beheaded." The rest of the gang were ordered by van Riebeeck to be hanged or to "have the sword passed "over their heads[2]." With the progress of the English in Asia, their freebooters also took a hand in troubling Malay waters and more than one of them were sentenced and punished at Malacca.

In the long list of Malacca administrators the only one who has made more than a passing name for himself in colonial history is Jan van Riebeeck (or Riebeecq) who was nominated on the 18th September, 1622, after a ten years' stay at the cape of Good Hope. This was a promotion but not in title; he continued in his Cape rank of Commandeur to which was added "and president;" he never attained the coveted title of Governor, let alone that of Councillor ordinaris or extraordinaris; but in those days Malacca

(1). *Dagregister*, 1678.

(2). *Dagregister*. (An old punishment in the Netherlands, involving degradation.)

was a far more agreeable residence than the small ten year old white settlement amongst the Hottentots, which was only meant to be a port of call and had nothing to boast of but its climate. Many years afterwards his own granddaughter stayed a few days at the Cape on her way to Holland and, fresh from the luxury and comfort of Batavia, she turned up her nose at the ancestral foundation[1]. Jan van Riebeeck was held by his Directors in only moderate consideration. In Tonquin he had been found indulging in the common evil of trading for his private account and as to the Cape he had influenced the resolution to found that settlement by an optimistic forecast that it would be able to cover its expenses, which view had not been justified. No more than anybody else could the Seventeen Gentlemen (the Directors) then dream of the grand future which was—and still is—in store for van Riebeeck's creation. In those times of strenuous development of the Dutch race in every direction they did not consider the results of those ten years at the Cape as something extraordinary. But they saw no objection to his appointment at Malacca, which was considered a post of minor importance. From the date of his arrival there, 1st November, 1662, diligence and order characterised his administration. To the financial results which he obtained in business reference has already been made. They were appreciated in a letter from the Directors in Amsterdam to Batavia of 8th March, 1666: "It is a notable cargo attaining the sum of 1576 thousand "guilders that has lately left Malacca in ten ships for Bengale, the "(Coromandel) Coast, Ceylon, Suratte and Persia[2]." He had then already been relieved of his charge at his own request: "On May, "29th-30th 1665 it was decreed at Batavia to send Commandeur "Balthasar Bort to Malacca for three years at 180 guilders a "month to replace commandeur Jan van Riebeeck, there presiding[3]." On 23rd-24th November of the same year the Governor-General and Council resolved: "Whereas the secretary of their "Hon'ble Council has been elected Governor of Amboyna, to fill "this vacancy by the nomination of the Hon'ble Joan van "Riebeeck, lately commandeur and president at Malacca[4]." He lived for twelve quiet years in this capacity of secretary to the Batavia Government. It is then recorded in the Dagregister of 18th January, 1677: "Having been confined to bed for over 5 "months by a lingering illness the Hon'ble Secretary to the Hon'ble "Council, the Hon'ble Mr. Joan van Riebeecq, fell asleep in the "Lord this morning" and on the 19th that he "was buried in state "in the great church of this town in the after-noon: the funeral

(1). See her letters of 1710 in Dr. E. C. Godée Molsbergen's excellent study already quoted, p. 245 and following.

(2). Dr. E. C. Godée Molsbergen, p. 185.

(3). *Dagregister* p. 120.

(4). do. p. 353.

"being attended by His Honour" (the Governor-General), "besides all the members of the Council of India and many civil "officers of standing and quality, preceded by the Compagnie's "soldatesque of the castle in full arms and by the deceased's coat "of arms carried by the merchant Adriaen van Lier."

His successor at Malacca Balthasar Bort was more fortunate and rose during the time of his office to the rank of Governor and in 1677 even to that of Councillor Extraordinary, which dignities had also been attained by the first head of the settlement Johan van Twist. It was not the office that determined the title but the person of the office bearer; the same factory may be found alternately in charge of a merchant, upper-merchant, sub-merchant, director, president, commander, governor and even bookkeeper.

The field of action of the Malacca administrators has been geographically defined by Governor-General Antonio van Diemen in a useful statement of all the places "in the Orient possessed and "frequented by the Portuguese and Netherlanders[1]." He therein indicates the Peninsula by the unusual name Maleya, now again adopted by British authors. "On the West and East-Coast of "Maleya," writes he, "the Netherlanders possess Malacca with its "territory, and they are entitled........inter alia to the commerce "of the entire Malay West-Coast, the bandars (= ports) of Pera, "Queda, Trangh, Bangery, Oedjongh Salangh and all the islands, "as also the trade of the Kingdom of Johor, Patany and "Pahan........In the Kingdom of Siam the Netherlanders and "Portuguese frequent jointly—amongst other places Sangora." Every now and then factories were closed, sometimes only to revive again for a shorter or longer period. In the first quarter of the 18th century we find this sphere of action somewhat modified. Valentijn[2] writes that "several other offices, to wit Peirah, Keidah, "Oedjang Salang and Andragiri" (Sumatra) "are subordinate to "the Government of Malacca."

The territory of Malacca where the Compagnie exercised sovereign rights, referred to by van Diemen, was limited to the immediate neighbourhood of the town and to the little district of Naning some slight distance away. Shortly after his arrival the first administrator Johan van Twist "received the oath of al-"legiance from those of Nanningh and adjacent villages[3]." In 1644 Naning rose in arms against the Dutch, together with its North Western neighbour, the little district of Rembau, although they were both vassals of the Compagnie's ally Johor, which remained neutral, for as the Council of India wrote on July 9th 1645 to Amsterdam, the friendship of this king only consisted in

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(1). Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III. p. 51/4.

(2). Vol. V.

(3). Pieter van Dam.

his hatred of the Portuguese and had not outlived the latter's expulsion[1]. Van Diemen sent Pieter Soury to Johor in order to prevent the estrangement which threatened to arise "from the "rebellion of the Manicabers" (Menangkabauers) of "Nanningh "and Rombouw, vassals of Johor." The king promised to punish them[2]. In 1677 there were fresh hostilities, as[3] "the Malays and "Manicabers of the negories Nanningh, Rombouw and Songoed-"jong, situate about 6 miles in the country to the North of "Malacca, the first named being subordinate to us and the other "two to Johor, proclaimed as king a new pretender, a descendant "of the Manicaber princes on the East coast of Sumatra and whose "ancestors had possessed the country of Malacca and to the number "of 3700 made repeated attacks on the suburbs of Malacca;" but Bort adds "that these were every time pluckily beaten off[4]." Two years afterwards his successor Governor Jacob Jorissen Pits reports that "the little king of Nanningh and Rombouw has been "put to death by his own people who now pray the Compagnie "for peace[5]." Sovereign rights over Rembau were not obtained till 1757 when it was ceded to the Compagnie, together with Linggi and Klang, by the ruler of Johor in exchange for her frequent assistance in troops and ships against his enemies[6]. Beyond the vicinity of Malacca the Compagnie further exercised sovereign rights on the Dindings in Valentijn's time; he writes that "post-"holders were sent thither from here" (*i.e.* Malacca). In 1729 the Batavia Government resolved: "In evidence of Netherlands "owner-ship of Dinding the Compagnie's coat of arms shall be "renewed[7]."

Some of the localities and countries "to the commerce of "which the Netherlanders were entitled" according to van Diemen's statement have been previously referred to; others were of no importance. Pahang does not appear even a single time in the General Resolutions of the Batavia Castle, a sufficient proof of its insignificance to the Dutch. Since the 17th century it formed part of the Johor empire; the treaty with that country of 1685 styles its ruler "king of Johor and Pahang[8]," and as late as 26 November, 1818 another treaty treats Pahang as a subordinate part of Johor. The present separation dates from the English

(1). Tiele. *Bouwstoffen*, III.

(2). Tiele do. III. p. 197.

(3). Letter from Governor Bort of 31st May, 1677. *Dagregister*, p. 213.

(4). *Dagregister*.

(5). *Dagregister* p. 49.

(6). E. Netscher. *De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak*, p. 92.

(7). *Realia*.

(8). E. Netscher, Appendix IV.

era. Although the largest in surface of the Federated Malay States it counts no more than 119,000 inhabitants even in the present day, and is to a great extent a wilderness.

With Johor there were continual relations, mostly of a political character; these were even to survive the Compagnie and in Dutch colonial history this country takes a place of some importance. Throughout the 17th century there is not a single armed conflict between the Compagnie and Johor, but there is a diplomatic struggle for commercial privileges. The first treaty of 1606, already referred to, closed the door on all other traders of European nationality whatsoever. In 1661 the English ask the king's consent for the opening of a lodge but "he has flatly refused this, not "wanting to give us evil suspicion, granting them however free "navigation[1]," which is then carried on from the English factory at Surat. Although hardly pleased with this latter concession the Compagnie continues to assist him against his enemies: in 1664 for instance "the President (van Riebeeck) will try to settle the "differences between Johor and Siam[2]." At one time the Compagnie thinks she has obtained the coveted trade monopoly and freedom of all tolls by her contracts of 1685 and 1689, but these are repudiated by Johor and the agreement of 1713 confers no further rights than permission to trade. Johor then has its period of expansion; it subdues Pahang, Siak, Rhio; it also embraces Linggi and part of the present state of Selangor; it encircles Malacca entirely[3]. This inevitably led to livelier and more intimate intercourse, despite the Compagnie's reluctance to be drawn into Johor's internal affairs; no profits resulted, only fresh burdens that swelled the inexorable and crushing losses in which Malacca regularly involved the Compagnie. As a reward for assistance rendered, the king, on December 14th 1745, bestows "the country "of Siak in its entirety and for ever to the Hon'ble Comp." But it was seen that this fruit could not be gathered without much fighting and it had to be relinquished. The Siak people by a ruse even got into the Dutch fort at the mouth of their river, looted it and murdered the garrison. In 1756 the Compagnie obtained from Johor the coveted monopoly of the tin trade in Selangor, Klang, Linggi and a promise that no European vessels would be given access to the whole kingdom unless provided with Dutch permits. But the king does not stick to his promise and admits the English. The Dutch Company sinks everywhere in might and strength just when the British India Company is beginning to rise in power; family government, at that time the curse of the home Republic, exerts its influence in the Far East; everyone cares for his own

(1). *Dagregister.*

(2). *Realia.*

(3). See map No. 9 of the useful *Historical Atlas* by H. Hettema Jr, 7th ed. Leiden, 1913.

pocket first, then for his kinsmen and last of all for the Compagnie. Especially in the possessions outside Java her strength fails. Navigation in the Straits is hampered by pirates of all kinds. Numbers of these were hanged in the fortress of Malacca, amongst them English and Dutch; and the Compagnie was compelled to attack Siak which had become a regular pirates' nest. She succeeded and conquered the place in 1761; but the country yielded nothing but losses and was abandoned in 4 years. Bugis warriors from Celebes get the upper hand in Johor; Malacca is threatened in 1783; a whole squadron under captain J. C. van Braam has to be sent to remain master of the situation and to beat the desperadoes off[1]. In 1784 the whole "empire of Djohor and Pahang" is ceded to the Compagnie; a resident is to have charge of customs and taxes and the supervision of the administration of justice and of current public affairs. But the Dutch settlement, founded in 1785 at Johor's new capital Rhio[2], was taken by the Bugis in 1787; the Compagnie had likewise been driven from Selangor in 1785; both were however reoccupied in 1788 without hostilities[3].

About the same period Malacca was threatened by its first foreign competitor. The growing China trade of the British needed a port of call on the Malay Peninsula. In 1786 Francis Light, a merchant-captain, succeeded in persuading the ruler of Kedah to cede the island of Penang for that purpose to the British Company, who took possession of it under the name of Prince of Wales' Island in the same year. This acquisition had not been gained for nothing; Kedah had stipulated for an annual indemnity of 30,000 dollars and for support against possible hostilities, especially from Siam, which claimed suzerain rights over Kedah. But once in possession of the island, the Company ignored the conditions agreed upon, refused armed assistance and reduced the indemnity to 10,000 dollars and that for no longer a period than 7 or 8 years[4]. Neither Kedah's protests, nor Lights' pleadings with his masters were of any avail; the Company professed to be unable to conclude treaties without the king's approval, declined to go to war with Eastern potentates and resisted payment. In 1789 Light[5] tried in vain to persuade the prince to accept 1000 dollars per annum against cession of the island for good.

In 1791 a contract was forced upon Kedah which made no mention of the promised military assistance and screwed down the

(1). For an account of these operations see de Jonge. *Het Nederlandsche Zeewezen*. IV. Haarlem, 1861.

(2). P. H. van der Kemp. *De Commissien van den Schout bij Nacht C. J. Wolterbeek naar Malakka en Riouw in 1818 en 1820.* Bijdragen Kon. Inst. 6th Series, VII. p. 21.

(3). E. Netscher, p. 59-229.

(4). Begbie, p. 90/6.

(5). See his letter of July 1789. Swettenham p. 44.

indemnity to $6000, exactly one-fifth of what had been agreed at the time of the occupation. In 1800 a second contract raised this to $10,000, but for this augmentation Kedah had to part with the stretch of land facing Pulu Penang and now called Province Wellesley, as "the Company's people were distressed for "procuring timber and the raising of cattle[1]." The whole proceedings constituted "a breach of faith which sullied the British "name[2]." This is the opinion of the former Governor and High Commissioner Swettenham, who is on the whole such a strong admirer of his own race. The ruler of Kedah bitterly atoned for his ill-placed confidence. In 1821 his Siamese suzerain invaded his country and laid it waste by fire and sword; he and his son lost the throne, his prime minister was put in prison and poisoned. All this was recorded in 1824 in a pamphlet by John Anderson, Government Secretary at Penang. But the whole edition was immediately confiscated and destroyed; only one copy escaped and was reprinted in later years[3].

In 1795 the first stroke of the hour of parting from Malacca sounded for the Dutch. The turn of the tide began with the loss of Ceylon, which was to be followed by that of the Malay Peninsula, Cape Colony, the possessions in India and Guiana west of Surinam. Although the Dutch Republic was openly at war with Great Britain, the late Stadtholder had issued a letter dated from Kew 7th February, 1795 by which, as the head of the Oost Indische Compagnie, he commanded all its chiefs in the East and West to admit English troops as belonging to a friendly power[4]. On the strength of this document a British expedition left Madras in October of the same year "for the purpose of securing the "Molucca Islands to the ancient Government of Holland, if it

(1). Martin. *Die Inlandstamme*, etc. p. 135.

(2). *British Malaya* p. 37.

(3) Mr Blagden who has seen the same statement elsewhere, thinks it cannot be literally true. He himself possesses a copy which is undoubtedly part of the suppressed edition. To his knowledge the book, as a book, was never reprinted, but the most material parts of it were reprinted in Logan's Journal of the Indian Archipelago.

P. C. H. v. P.

(4). This circular, of which the author has seen an original specimen in the Colombo archives with which those sent to other colonies were identical, runs as follows:

Noble, most Honourable and Pious,
Our Beloved and Faithful:

We have considered it expedient to direct and command you to admit at Trinconomale and elsewhere in the Colony under your Government, the troops that will be sent thither on the part of His Great Britanic Majesty: and to admit into the roads or other safe berth the ships of war, frigates or armed vessels that will be sent thither on the part of His Great Britanic Majesty aforesaid and to consider them as troops and ships of a power in peace and alliance with their High Mightinesses (*i.e.*, the States General of the Netherlands) and who come to prevent the colony from being invaded by the French.

"again should be restored; or in case of their rejecting the offer "of our protection finally to reduce them by force[1]."

The expedition touched first at Penang and found the new settlement already numbering 20,000 inhabitants, Klings[2], Bengalis, Malays, Chinese, Portuguese and Europeans. This rapid development was due to the favourable climate, facilities for shipbuilding and above all to freedom of trade which, a few years excepted, was accompanied by freedom from duties, a novelty in those days, even in British territory.

The very day after landing at Malacca, the heads of the expedition were entertained at dinner by Governor Abrahamus Couperus. The official report gives the following particulars with are characteristic of the semi-native customs prevailing in the Dutch East Indies at that time, especially at outposts like Malacca. "Madam Couperus was dressed in a mixture between the Malay "and Portuguese........She seemed however very affable and "well-bred. In the evening she played on the harp and was accom-"panied by some of her slaves on violins. She chewed betel "incessantly as did the other ladies in company and every chair "in the room was furnished with a cuspedor to spit in." The surrender took place without opposition. But the English found "the works of the fort and town in better order and more capable "of defence than could be supposed from the facility with which "it was gained by so small a force as that sent against it. Had "the Dutch been true to their trust and assembled the garrisons of "Rhio and Perak, as they were ordered from Batavia to do, they "certainly might have occasioned us a deal of trouble[3]."

The writing of the letter which led to this uneventful surrender was the most lamentable and fatal act of the last and least

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Wherewith

Noble Most Honourable and Pious Our Beloved and Faithful, we commend you to God's holy protection

Your friend and well wisher

(Sd.) W. Pr. v. Orange

Kew 7th February, 1795

in the absence of the private secretary

(Sd.) J. W. Boejenk

To the Governor of Ceylon.

(1). Official report of the expedition by W. C. Lennon, principal engineer and secretary to the expedition, published by Prof. J. E. Heeres in "*Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indie.*" 7th series, VI, the Hague 1908.

(2). Or Klingalese, usually called Klingers in the Dagregister. The name owes its origin to the Portuguese word Quelins, which is in its turn derived from the native word Kalinga, an ancient name for Coromandel. The word is now chiefly used in the Straits and Netherlands India to indicate people originating from Coromandel and Malabar, sometimes Indians and Ceylonese in general.

(3). Lennon's report in *Bijdragen*, etc. 7th series, VI. p. 258.

of the Stadtholders. The English who overcome his habitual irresoluteness and prevailed upon him to write it, were fully aware of the chance it opened of a permanent occupation; to wit Lennon's utterance in his report of the expedition, that it was "not unlikely" that "Malacca will permanently remain in our possession[1]."

The expedition judged Malacca better situated than Penang "and it is the key of the Straits, since no ship can pass but in "sight of it[2]." Governor Couperus and his troops had to evacuate Malacca; the council, which was for the time being deemed indispensable for legal administration, was retained against its will.

The Dutch factory in Perak under commandant Christoffel Wallbeehm surrendered in the same year[3].

The English found at Malacca a population of 14 to 15,000, composed of Malays, Chinese, Klings and Europeans. Agriculture there was none; trade was suffering from the competition of Penang. An absolute trade monopoly was not to the advantage of the English so long as the Dutch held the whole or any considerable part of the Archipelago, as they did throughout this war (1795-1802)—Java, Madura, South Sumatra, Sumbawa and the Timor group[4]. Therefore "the principle of a trade open to all "upon certain fixed duties" was introduced[5]. But the British Company was not adverse to the despised Dutch monopoly system in places where it promised to be remunerative. She applied it in the Moluccas and here in Malacca. In 1801 the British resident agreed with the "Panghulu of Nanning" that all the latter's tin had to be supplied to the East India Company at 44 "rixdollars" per 300 katis and the pepper at 12[6]. Besides the inhabitants and chiefs—and the latter were to be henceforth appointed by England—had to abstain[7] from all commercial intercourse with other foreign nations and with other towns than Malacca. Kedah had to bind itself in 1800 not to admit other Europeans in any part of its territory[8].

The treaty of Amiens gave Malacca back to the Dutch and in the same year, 11th November, 1802 the Batavia authorities appointed a new Governor named Cranssen, "unless orders to the "contrary should have been given by the Lords Masters" (Heeren

(1) Lennon's report in *Bijdragen*, etc. 7th series, VI. p. 264.

(2). do. do. do. do. p. 261.

(3). Netscher, p 238

(4). Conclusion of Prof. Heeres to Lennon's report, p. 365.

(5). do. do do p 266.

(6). Art 5 and 6 of the treaty. In T. J. Newbold's *Political and Statistical, Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, viz. Pinang, Malacca and Singapore.* London 1839. II. p. 454.

(7). T. J. Newbold, arts 7 and 8.

(8). T. J. Newbold, art. 6 p. 458.

Meesters[1]). Although the Hon'ble Company had fallen, the old terms survived and some of these survive even at the present day. And perhaps the traces of this grand foundation, great amongst the greatest mercantile corporations, the world has ever known, will never entirely die out.

War, however, soon broke out again and Holland, being under French domination, was once more forced into hostilities with England. Consequently Malacca was not delivered up and in 1807 its fort was demolished for fear that Holland should again enter in possession. If this had to be the case, then the weaker the place the better. Malacca was the base where the British assembled the fleet that was to conquer Java.

After Napoleon's downfall the treaty of Vienna again restored Malacca to the Netherlands, but it was not until 21st September, 1818[2] that their colours were hoisted there. And in the meantime England had taken care to maintain access to the Peninsula in other places. In 1818 Perak, Selangor and Johor had to sign agreements not to exclude or hamper British trade by treaties with other nations[3]. As soon as reestablished in Malacca the Netherlands Indian Government took steps to ensure the maintenance of the sovereign rights of the kingdom of the Netherlands, as successor to the Compagnie, by new treaties with the native chieftains. On 26th November, 1818 rear-admiral C. J. Wolterbeek concluded an agreement with the "kingdom of Johore, "Pahang, Riouw and Lingga" by which the chief recognised that he ruled his country as a vassal of the kingdom of the Netherlands; he was placed under a Dutch resident; there was to be no monopoly, the ports were to be open to all nationalities[4]. The insignia of his rank were solemnly handed to him at Rhio in 1823 by Dutch delegates[5]; in other words: they crowned him. With the old neighbours and friends of Rembau the new Dutch Governor J. S. Timmerman Thijssen concluded a treaty in 1819 by which "the "Government of Netherlands India, desirous of giving a proof of "the good intentions of the king of the Netherlands towards all "his subjects, renews the treaty of the High Government of "(Netherlands) India of 1759." The raja of Rembau and his chieftains recognised that Government as their lawful authority and promised to show themselves good vassals, their successors to be nominated and sworn in by the Malacca Governor. They further undertook to deliver to the Malacca Government all the tin collected by them or their subjects at the price of 40 rixdollars per 100 catties; and it was stipulated that all passing ships should put

(1). *Realia.*

(2). Netscher.

(3). Newbold, p. 475, 82 and Martin, p. 136 and following.

(4). Netscher, p. 257.

(5). Netscher, p. 277.

into Malacca and take out a permit on pain of confiscation[1]. And the same year saw the revival of the Dutch treaty with Selangor of 1786 including the tin-monopoly, notwithstanding the above mentioned newly made agreement between the British and that little state[2].

Also in 1819 an event took place which was going to put an end both to the importance of the town of Malacca and to Dutch domination there. This was the foundation of Singapore. Its history is well known and will only be related here in outline. Thomas Raffles, Lieutenant Governor of Java and its dependencies during the British interregnum, and now only Resident of the small colony of Bencoolen on the West Coast of Sumatra, found it difficult to put up with the restitution of the Archipelago to the Netherlands, endeavoured to keep for his country what he could in spite of treaty obligations and wanted to form a British Batavia, or rather an anti-Batavia. He selected for this purpose the little island of Singapore at the southern-most point of the Peninsula. It had only been occupied since 1811 by one of the high chiefs of Johor with a few hundred followers and formed part of the kingdom of Johor, Pahang, Rhio and Lingga which had been ceded anew to the Netherlands in 1818. The reigning Sultan, who resided within the sphere of influence of the Dutch Resident of Rhio, would not have been in a position to transfer the island to Raffles and the local chief justly considered himself powerless to dispose of it without the Sultan's consent. Then Raffles found a loophole by alleging that the sultan was a usurper and that one of his relatives was the rightful heir to the throne. The latter was found willing to give the desired consent in exchange for a comparatively small sum of money, but apart from that he never entered into the part of pretender and none of his descendants ever ascended the throne, as did however those of the Singapore local chief. The latter was made a party to the transaction, also for a small monetary consideration. Then Raffles started forthwith to build his town.

He met with strong opposition from the Dutch, who objected to the illegal disposing of part of their territory; from the Penang traders in their well-founded apprehension of a formidable rival; and he was even disavowed by his own superiors in India and at home who had not been consulted. On the representations of the Netherlands ambassador, Lord Bathurst blamed Raffles in full parliament[3]. And on a later occasion, when defending the treaty of 1824, Lord Canning was bound to declare: "I was

(1). Newbold, II. p. 439.

(2). P. H. van der Kemp. *De Stichting van Singapore.* Bijdragen Kon. Inst. LIV. 1902.

(3). *Singapore*, *Malacca*, *Java*, by F. Jagor, Berlin, 1866, p. 81/4.

"certainly of opinion that we could not substantiate our title[1]." But the new settlement soon proved of such importance to the English that they imposed silence on their sense of justice rather than to give it up. Admirably situated on the highway to China and the Archipelago, gifted with a magnificent natural harbour and a healthy climate, it had been opened at once to all flags free of duties and charges. When four years old, in 1823, it contained a population of 10,000 and had attracted a trade of two millions sterling; it was on the way to become the emporium for the whole of the Archipelago. Under these circumstances the British Government, without denying the justice of Dutch claims, adopted a policy of delay that would ultimately lead to a situation which it might declare incompatible with the repeal of the annexation. This design was successful.

The Netherlands Indian Government was labouring under other difficulties created by Raffles during his stay at Bencoolen and it began to experience the desire to obtain possession of that colony, insignificant in itself but now competing with Dutch influence in Sumatra. Malacca, outflanked as it was by Penang and Singapore, had considerably lost in importance and was a constant drain on the meagre exchequer. And the chances of regaining Singapore may be judged from Canning's utterance (1824) which illustrated the point of view of the British Government: "It would be a great mistake to apply to this particular case the "general principles of European policy or any high romantic "feelings of morality[2]." When therefore the negotiations for a new colonial treaty, which England had kept dragging on since 1820, were resumed in 1823, it was a foregone conclusion that the Netherlands would relinquish their rights on Malacca and Singapore. This was laid down in the important treaty which was concluded in London on the 17th March, 1824 and which still forms Asia. They thereby more over engaged themselves "never to form the basis of the present colonial possession of the Netherlands in "any Establishment on any part of the Peninsula of Malacca or "to conclude any treaty with any Native Prince, Chief, or State "therein" (art. 10). Bencoolen or, as the treaty styles it, "The "Factory of Fort Marlborough and all the English possessions on "the Island of Sumatra," was the compensation. But the promise "that no British Settlement shall be formed on that Island, "nor any Treaty concluded by British Authority, with any Native "Prince, Chief, or State therein" was subsequently declared by the British Government to be an inadequate reason for withdrawing the objections it had made when Holland wanted to extend its authority over the whole of Sumatra. A fresh sacrifice had then to be made *viz.* of the Dutch possessions on the Coast of Guinea

(1). Dr. E. B. Kielstra. *Het Maleische Schiereiland,* in the Dutch review Onze Eeuw" June 1913, p. 372.
(2). Netscher p. 280.

which had been valuable as the source of supply of the best soldiers for the Netherlands Indian army.

The treaty split up the Kingdom of Johor into a Dutch and a British part, the former being under the ruling sultan.

Malacca did not recover after its reoccupation by the English in 1825; the harbour silted up and its place had been taken by Singapore and partly by Penang. The Dutch tried to make up for the loss of what Malacca had formerly been to them by constituting Rhio into a free port, but this experiment came too late and was a total failure[1].

Kedah, although previously considered an independent state so as to enable it to make the cession of Penang, was recognised by England in 1826 as a tributary of Siam[2]: and quite recently in 1909 this territory was obtained from Siam by diplomatic action[3], simultaneously with its other Malay provinces Kelantan, Trenganu and Perlis, which latter district had been torn from Kedah and made into a separate vassal state by Siam in 1821.

Perak was punished by the Siamese in 1821 shortly after Kedah, but unlike Kedah this state was not recognised by England as tributary to Siam. In the sixties the Perak tin industry attracted a large Chinese colony and the country gained in economic importance. Consequent on internal disturbances England then began to move to obtain a so-called protectorate. In 1874 a British resident was established there as adviser to the sultan. He was murdered but did not die in vain, according to Swettenham[4], as an expedition sent brought the country under British rule in 1875-6. In 1886 it parted with a stretch of coastland and neighbouring islands forming the Dindings which were added to the Straits Settlements[5].

Selangor, the Negri Sembilan including Rembau and Pahang were also gradually subdued, partly by force of arms but to a great extent by the continual extension of British influence. These four territories were united by England in 1895 as the Federated Malay States under a British Resident General.

To conclude with Holland's old friend Johor, reduced to the part of the Peninsula that lies to the South East of Malacca, it first sank back to the condition in which some centuries ago it had wanted to borrow a few hundred rixdollars from the Dutch ad-

(1). This effort is now being repeated on a modest scaleng, Sabang so far at with reasonable results.

(2). Begbie, p. 114/31.

(3). *Azië Gespiegeld*, I. p. 101 and 103.

(4). p. 215.

(5). Martin, p. 136 and following.

miral Matelief. In 1847 the capital only numbered 25 huts[1]. In 1855 it was transferred from its old site on the delta of the Johor river (which reaches the sea near the island of Singapore) to the new site of Johor Baharu on the strait opposite that island. As regards its internal administration Johor has maintained its nominal independence, subject to the fact that it belongs to the British sphere of influence; but in reality it is under absolute British supremacy, if only by reason of its immediate neighbourhood to Singapore.

(1). Martin, p. 143 and following.

Examen de quelques Orthopteres intéressants du Musée de Sarawak.

PAR IGN. BOLIVAR.

Je dois a Monsieur Moulton, Directeur du Musée de Sarawak, d'avoir pu examiner quelques espèces intéressantes de cette provenance, et parmi elles deux espèces nouvelles qui obligent à former deux nouveaux genres, l'un appartenent aux Pyrgomorphides et le deuxième à celui des Cranaë parmi les vrais Acridiens. La plupart des espèces examinées sont des Pyrgomorphiens et confirment la caractéristique particulière de la faune bornéenne. Il y a assurement tant à découvrir dans les Pyrgomorphides et notamment dans la section des Trigonopterigiae que nous ne saurions insister suffisamment sur l'intérêt de diriger les recherches des explorateurs dans ce but.

La description des espèces et des genres nouveaux est l'objet de ce bref travail qui, je l'espère, sera bientôt suivi d'un autre plus important si les recherches que M. Moulton a entreprises sur la faune de Bornéo sont poursuivies avec le même intérêt que jusqu'à présent.

MOULTONIA, gen. nov.

Corpus valde compressum. Caput conicum, compressum, superne subdeplanatum, valde productum, pronoto sublongius. Fastigium magnum, trapezoideum. Frons valde reclinata, medio obtuse carinata. Antennae longe ante oculos insertae, basi triquetrae, canthis acutiusculis, denique angustae, filiformes. Ocelli obsoleti. Oculi oblique positi. Pronotum distincte compressum sed canthis obtusis, dorso angusto planiusculo, sulco typico longe pone medium sito; prozona quam metazona duplo longior, marginibus antico posticoque incurvis; lobi laterales retrorsum sensim ampliati, postice sinuati. Elytra perfecte explicata, pone medium apicem versus sensim angustata, apice angusto obtusato. Alae elytris parum breviores, extus crenulatae coloratae. Prosternum strumosum; lamina sternalis elongata, angusta, antice angulato producta; lobi mesosternales parum longiores quam latiores, intus rotundati, breviter contigui. Pedes breves. Femora postica valde compressa, area externomedia fere regulariter areolata, areis superioribus angustissimis. Tibiae posticae spinis brevibus, in latere externo spatio apicali inermi sed spina apicali externa armatae. Tarsi filiformes, elongati, articulo secundo quam articulo primo vix breviore; articulo tertio articulis duobus basalibus simul sumptis subaeque longo. Abdomen compressum.

Ce genre est prochain de *Doriella* et *Brunniella* Bol., mais dans ces genres les élytres sont tronqués á l'extrémité, tandis que dans le nouveau genre ils sont amincis vers la pointe qui est étroitement arrondie. La côte frontale n'est pas sillonnée mais arrondie et dépourvue de carènes latérales.

Je me fais un plaisir de dédier ce genre si notable au savant Directeur du Musée de Sarawak, Mr. J. C. Moulton, à qui j'en dois la connaissance.

MOULTONIA VIOLACEA, spec. nov.

Pallide olivaceo viridis. Caput pallide testaceum superne nec non pone oculos fasciis brunneis crebre impresso punctatis ornatum. Fastigium fere longius quam latius, marginibus ante oculos parallelis, antice obtuse angulatum et apice breviter et anguste productum, lateribus pallidis. Frons impresso-punctata; costa frontalis inter antennas breviter compresso producta cum genas superne sulco subtili disjunctas apicem fastigii formans. Antennae pallidae, intus fusco-nigrae. Pronotum toto impresso-punctatum, lineis duabus pallidis dorsalibus ad carinas laterales positis ornatum; lobi laterales margine inferiore anguste flavo calloso, medio subsinuati. Elytra margine antico distincte arcuato, postice ante apicem subsinuato; olivacea, campo anali pallido, vena anali vena flava apposita. Alae violaceae. Pedes pallidi. Tibiae posticae obscuriores. Abdomen compressum dorso obscuro. Segmentum ultimum dorsale sulcatum. Lamina supra-analis oblonga, medio sulcata. Cerci conici apicem laminae supra-analis haud attingentes. Lamina infra-analis compressa inferne carinata, linea nigra media ornata, a latere visa trigona apice acuto breviter bituberculato. ♂.

♂ Long. corp. 29; capitis 6, 8; pron. 6, 8; elytr. 21; fem. post. 14 mm.

Loc. Kuching, Nov. 1898.

ATRACTOMORPHA DOHRNI, Bol.

Loc. Kuching, Jul. 12, 1900.

Elle était indiquée du Nord de Bornéo, et avait été trouvée pour la première fois par Waterstradt.

TRIGONOPTERYX HOPEI, Westw.

Loc. Baram; Matang, Dec. 1898; Siambu 21. 1. 1912.

On ne connait aujourd'hui que deux espèces de *Trigonopteryx*, *Tr. punctata* Charp. et *Tr. Hopei* Westw., cette dernière avec une variété qui pourrait bien être une autre espèce de ce genre. Il serait bon de pouvoir étudier de nombreux exemplaires de provenances diverses, peut-être arriverait-on a reconnaitre un plus grand nombre d'espèces.

Systella Rafflesi, Westw.

Loc. Matang 22, 2, 1911; larves de Batu Lawi, Kusin Hills et Matang.

Les individus jeunes de ce genre offrent un pronotum si différent de celui des adultes jusqu'à induire en erreur un si savant orthoptériste tel que feu Mr. Stål qui en a formé le genere *Gyrtone*. Le pronotum chez les jeunes est comprimé, aigu en dessus et parcouru par une carêne longitudinale, tandis que dans les adultes il est plan en dessus bien que tres étroit et limité de chaque côté par une carêne. J'ai déjà signalé cette différence en 1884 dans les An. de la Soc. Españ. de Hist. Nat. t. XIII pp. 22, 55, 494.

Molua, gen. nov.

Caput parum exsertum, lobo antico pronoti haud longius. Oculi valde divergentes modice exserti. Intervallum oculorum angustissimum basi costae frontalis angustius. Fastigium verticis breve, subtransversum, antice obtusum, laeviter declive cum costa frontalis a latere visum rotundato contiguum. Frons haud transversa, carinis lateralibus rectis apicem versus sensim divergentibus; costa media angusta inter antennas planiuscula, pone ocellum indistincte sulcata, ante sulculos discoidales frontis nulla, costa antrorsum sensim angustata. Antennae crassiusculae, validae, dimidium corporis subsuperantes. Palpi maxillares articulo ultimo breve, compressiusculo sed haud dilatato. Pronotum teretiusculum antice truncatum postice fere rectangulatim productum, sulcis transversis percurrentibus, sulco typico parum pone medium instructo; lobi laterales elongati, postice valde altiores, inferne rotundati, antice subsinuati) sino humerali valde impresso. Elytra apicem femorum posticorum haud attingentia, coriacea, opaca, apicem versus angustiora, apice anguste rotundata, usque ad marginem costalem obsolete reticulata, margine costali anterius anguste membranceo et enervi. Alae cycloideae, infuscatae extus regulariter crenulatae. Tuberculum prosternale conicum obtuse acuminatum. Lobi mesosternales ♀ subtransversi, angulo interno rotundato, spatio subaeque lato postice subampliato sejuncti; metasternales haud contigui sed multo minus distantes quam mesosternales. Pedes validi, breviusculi. Femora antica subcylindrica, compressiuscula: postica brevia, lata, carinis quatuor exterioribus denticulatis, basi crassiuscula, area supero-externa ubique aeque lata haud retrorsum angustata; lobi geniculares triangulares subtus ante apicem sinuati. Tibiae posticae longe spinosae superne deplanatae, spinis obtusis parvis, intus praeter spinam apicalem spinis 11, extus tantum 10, spina apicale externa nulla. Tarsi longe pilosi: articulus secundus articulo primo distincte brevior. Abdomen dorso obtus carinato, tympano immerso. Valvulae ovipositoris angustae, elongatae, rectae, laeves.

Ce genre appartient, malgré le manque d'épine apicale externe aux jambes postérieures, à la division "undecima" du "Systema acridiodeorum" de Stål et à la subdivision 12 (1) et 20 (15) par la disposition des fémurs postérieurs dont les aires supérieure et inférieure du côté externe ont leurs bords parallèles, mais la côté frontale est très courte tout à fait arrondie, vue de côté, et brièvement saillante au devant des antennes, étroite et plane, ne se prolongeant pas en avant de l'ocelle median. Du reste ce n'est pas le seul des genres de cette Section qui manque d'épine apicale externe aux jambes postérieures; il y a entre autre *Eritrichius* Bol. qui a quelque ressemblance avec le nouveau genre.

Molua antennata, sp. nov.

Olivacea. Caput ferrugineo-testaceum, superne rugulosum, linea media laevigata. Vertex inter oculos fere dimidia latitudine basi costae frontalis aequans. Fastigium medio fossutum. Frons rugoso punctata. Oculi castanei. Antennae nigrae basi rufa, apice breviter pallidae, crassiusculae. Pronotum in prozona grosse et laxe in metazona minute atque crebre impresso punctatum; dorso prozonae lineis duabus fuscis parallelis longitudinalibus vel inornato, utrinque loco carinarum linea coerulea ornatum. Elytra olivaceo-viridia antice tantum pellucida venis concoloribus. Alae infumatae nigro-venosae campo antice pallide olivaceo. Pedes olivacei, griseo pilosi. Femora postica capitulo geniculare rufo-testaceae. Tibiae posticae olivaceae basi rufo testaceae apicem versus praecipue subtus infuscatae, spinis nigris parvis obtusis. Tarsi postici pallide testacei, longe griseo pilosi. Abdomen olivaceum, segmentis dorsalibus singulis margine postico fusco; subtus basi segmentorum infuscata; segmentis ultimis ventralibus piloso fasciculatis. ♀.

♀ Long. corp. 26; antenn. 16; pron. 7; elytr. 13; fem. post. 13 mm.

Loc. M. Molu, Malinau Nov. 4, 1910.

Cyrtacanthacris succinctus, (L.) var. sternocardias, var. nov.

Statura minore, gracilior. Elytra indistincte fusco varia. Lobi mesosternales margine interno fortiter incurvo, angulo postico fortiter acuteque producto; spatio interlobulare retrosum distincte angustato, cordiformi, postice dimidio quam antice angustiore. ♂.

♂ Long. corp. 50; pron. 9, 5; elytr. 50; fem. post. 28 mm.

Loc. Batu Lawi Expedition, 20, 1, 1911.

Laboratorio de Entomologia del
Museo Nacional de Ciencias Naturales.
Madrid 15 Abril de 1914.

A Malay Ghost Story.

TEXT EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY J. E. NATHAN.

The following story was told me in Raub by a Negri Sembilan Malay, who has been resident for many years in Ulu Pahang, with the result that his idiom and vocabulary bear the traces of both places.

J. E. NATHAN.

Ada-lah sakali persetua didalam negri Pahang orang tiga beranak, laki-nya bernama Jenal dan bini-nya bernama Debus, serta dengan anak jantan sa'ekor[1] bernama Mat Dong. Dan pada suatu hari berchakap Jenal itu kepada bini-nya, "Mari kita menchari tempat membuat ladang padi; buleh kita menanam labu pisang tebu dengan padi sakali."

Lalu iya berjalan dan mendapat suatu tempat yang elok membuat ladang di tepi sungei Chemerka; menebas menebang lagi membakar dan memagar serta mendirikan pondok di tengah ladang itu. Kemudian dia menanam pisang labu tebu dengan padi sakali, dudok-lah di-situ tiga beranak menjaga tanaman-nya jangan dirosak oleh babi dan rusa.

Habis lama lama bekelama'an padi sudah masak dia menuai serta membawa kepada rumah pondok itu. Dan tiada berapa lama-nya Jenal itu jatoh sakit, makan pun ta'buleh, bangun pun ta'buleh, makin sahari makin terok penyakit-nya.

Berchakap-lah mak kepada anak sa'ekor itu. "'Nak 'nak, pergi-lah menjeput wan awak di kampong. Dengan chepat bawa kamari, sebab tentu-lah mati bapa awak." Maka budak itu pun pergi dengar segra handak jeput wan dia. Tiba ka-rumah, "Wan Wan," kata-nya, "Mak minta datang dengan segra. Bapa sakit sangat."

Di-jawab-nya, "Bagimana kita berjalan dengan segra, hari dah malam. Jangan-lah balek; esok pagi-pagi kita pergi berdua."

Tinggal-lah si Debus laki bini di-dalam pondok di-tengah ladang. Maka biru badan si Jenal nak mati, bernapas pun dengan kesusahan. Maka bini berasa takut didalam hati. "Apa kena budak itu ta'balik?"

Dan sa-kejap lagi mati dah bapa itu. Apa-bila bini-nya melihat laki sudah pulang ka-rahmat Allah menangis-lah dia. "Wahai, mati dah bapa anak aku!"

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1. 'Ekor' and not 'orang' is almost invariably used by illiterate Malays in Ulu Pahang as the numeral co-efficient for children.

Kemudian di-ambil kain, di-bujor sa'orang sa'orang, di-tutup maiat dengan kain itu; di-ambil pula perasap di-buboh api. Kemudian dia turun menchari daun sireh "Barangkali kalau mak datang senang; ta'payah lagi turun didalam glap."

Dudok-lah dia sa'orang sa'orang mengupas pinang dengan kachip. Kupas kupas tinjau ka-luar; "Datang kah tidak mak aku ini?" Didalam itu ada-lah bunyi orang di-luar pondok di-kaki tangga. Kata si Debus, "Siapa itu? masok-lah." Di-jawab, "Aku." Masok-lah orang itu rupa-nya seperti sa'orang perempuan yang tua sakali, blakang-nya bongkok, gigi-nya rongak, jari-nya longkai-longkai[2] dan kuku-nya berchanggai.

Kata dia, "Bila mati laki awak?" Di-jawab oleh bini si mati, "Ini-lah petang sudah senja. Baik juga datang mak ini, kawan sa'orang perempuan di-tengah hutan rimba ini."

Kemudian pergi-lah orang tua itu dekat maiat, buka-lah kain selubong, di-buka dia chium jilat maiat itu lagi pandang ka-kiri ka-kanan. Maka bini si mati sudah tampak kelakuan orang tua itu seperti kelakuan hantu, takut-lah dia serta berpikir "Tentu-lah hantu orang tua ini."

Di-dalam itu dia ambil kachip, dia buat buat mengachip pinang; sampei mengachip dia pandang ka-atas, di-ujong alang di-kepala tiang hantu hantu sahja, berjuntai-juntai kaki, seperti Haji pakaian-nya dengan serban besar-besar berambu-rambu. Apa bila di-lihat hantu banyak banyak itu dudok di-alang seram seram bulu tengkok-nya dan ketar lutut-nya, takut di-buat oleh hantu itu.

Maka dengan hal yang demikian dia beri jatoh kachip pinang di-bawah rumah. "Hai! Mak," kata dia, "Kachip kawan jatoh ka-bawah. Kawan nak turun ambil" "Jangan ambil, hari malam malam ini. Ini-lah ada pinang terkachip." "Ta'buleh, mak; ta'chukup pinang di-kachip ini. Kawan nak ambil juga." Turun-lah dia mengambil kachip; sudah sampei ka tanah lari selalu. Ada-lah anggaran sa-puloh depa jauh deripada pondok itu, di-dengar 'bus-bus-bus' di-belakang bunyi hantu-hantu turun mengejar.

Maka pikir si Debus, "Jikalau kawan chabut berlari tentu di-dapat oleh hantu ini. Baik juga kawan menyurok." Menyurok-lah dia di-belakang batang kayu besar; lalu-lah hantu sa-kawan itu menonong[3] sahaja, tiada sangka perempuan itu sudah simpang menyorok.

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2. Apparently the same word as Lengkai which Wilkinson translates 'long and slender, willowy, graceful,'' but used here in an uncomplimentary sense.

3. According to Wilkinson "To walk with the body erect but the legs staggering like a drunken man." The narrator called this 'melelong' not 'menonong' and gave to "menonong" the meaning "To walk looking straight ahead without glancing aside."

Maka sa-kejap dia melanggar ibu babi berkubang di-dalam semak; bunyi-lah babi 'Hor-hor-hor.' Pada pikiran hantu bunyi manusia itu. Kata dia, "Di-mana awak menyurok? Kita makan juga nyawa awak malam ini." Dan babi itu di-gomul di-balun oleh hantu mati selalu.[4]

Maka waktu hantu-hantu tengah membunoh babi itu, lari-lah si Debus pusing jauh-jauh, tiada berhenti sakali pun sampei tiba ka-rumah mak bapa.

Kemudian dia cherita kepada mak bapa hal ahual hantu hantu itu. Kata bapa-nya, "Nanti hari siang, kita panggil orang ramai, kita pergi ka-ladang buleh tanam sakali." Dan malam itu tidor-lah dia ke-semua-nya.

Hari dah siang berpakat pakat sapuloh lima-belas orang pergi ka-ladang. Tiba ka-pondok naik-lah di-tinjau maiat; kain selubong habis berklabong di-kreja hantu. Maiat pun tertiarap, kepala mengiring tangan-nya simpang perenang, habis lebam-lebam badan-nya di-isap hantu.

Mengangkat-lah maiat itu membawa ka-kubor lalu tanamkan. Ladang itu pun di-tinggal selalu; sampai sekarang siapa-siapa pun tiada berani membuat ladang di Sungei Chemerka itu.

Once upon a time there lived in Pahang a man Jenal with his wife Debus and one boy called Mat Dong; and one day Jenal spoke to his wife. "Let us look for a place to make a clearing and plant padi."

So they set out and found a good place for a clearing on the bank of the river Chemerka. They felled the big timber and cleared the scrub, burnt it off and fenced it and built a hut in the middle of the clearing. Then they planted their plantains and padi with gourds and sugar-cane and lived there, the three of them, guarding their crops from the attacks of pigs and deer.

Months pass and the padi ripened; they reaped it and stored it in their hut. But soon Jenal fell ill; he could not rise or take food; and every day the sickness increased upon him.

Then Debus called her son, "Go and call your grandmother from the kampong, bring her here at once for I fear your father will die." The boy ran off at once and when he reached his grandmother's house, he gave her his mother's message but she replied, "Night is coming on, how can we start at once? You must sleep here and we will start together early to-morrow morning."

So Debus and her husband were left there in their hut in the clearing; and as the hour of his death approached, a grey tinge spread over his body and his breathing was laboured. His wife was troubled in her heart. "Why does not the boy return?"

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4. Selalu in Ulu Pahang has almost always the meaning 'forthwith' = langsong. It is rarely used with the meaning "always."

A few more minutes and Jenal was dead; and when his wife saw that his spirit had passed, she wailed and mourned him. Then she fetched a white cloth and covered the corpse with it, composing his limbs and placing a censer at his feet. Then she went down from the house to fetch sireh leaves, hoping all the while that her mother would soon come.

There she was left alone, husking betel nuts with the betel scissors and ever she kept peering into the darkness for her mother's coming. Now all at once she heard the sound of feet climbing the house ladder and she called out, "Who is there? Come in," "It is I" came the answer and there entered an ancient crone, hump backed and gap toothed with long skinny fingers and nails like talons.

"When did your man die?" asked she; and the widow answered. "About dusk this evening; and glad I am that you have come, left alone as I am in the middle of the jungle."

Then the old hag went up to the body and lifted the cloth that covered it; she sniffed at the body and licked it, with furtive glances around her. And when Debus saw her acting thus she was sore afraid for she knew that the old hag was an evil spirit. She took the scissors and pretended to be husking nuts; but while she did so, she glanced above and there all along the beams and joists she saw a row of ghosts, dangling their feet, dressed like Hajis with long tasselled turbans; and when she saw them she shivered and her knees shook with the fear of them.

Seeking for a way to escape, she dropped her scissors to the ground through the floor and cried "Old dame, I have dropped my scissors. I must go out and get them back." "Don't bother! it is dark outside and you have nuts ready husked." "Not enough yet, mother; I'll go and get the scissors."

So she went out and when she reached the ground, she ran away at once; and when she had run perhaps twenty yards, she heard the thud of the ghosts' feet, as they leaped down to chase her. Now Debus thought, "If I simply go on running they 'll certainly catch me." So she hid behind a great tree trunk, and the swarm of ghosts rushed past, looking straight in front of them and never dreaming that the woman had turned aside to hide. A second later they ran into a wild sow, grunting as she turned in her wallow, and the ghosts thought it was the woman. "Where are you hiding?" they cried, "wherever it be, we shall have your blood to-night." And they fell on the pig and beat it to death forthwith.

While they were engaged in this, Debus stole away and making a wide turn ran and never stopped till she reached her mother's house. There she told them all that had happened and her father said. "Wait till day break and we'll go in a body to the clearing and bury your man."

At day break they collected ten or fifteen men and went to the clearing; they climbed the ladder and looked at the corpse. The cloth over it was thrown aside in a heap; the body lay on its face with the head turned to one side and the arms awry, and all over it were purple bruises, where the ghosts had sucked the blood.

Then they took the body and buried it in the grave yard. The place was forthwith abandoned, nor to this day can anyone be found daring enough to make a clearing on the banks of this stream.

A Collection of Malay Proverbs.

By J. L. Humphreys,

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> "To the administrator and the magistrate, and to the judge especially, there is an apparently small accomplishment, which can be turned into a mighty lever for gaining a hold on the people: the apt quotation of proverbs, maxims, and traditional verses and sayings. They are always well worth study. Quote an agricultural aphorism to the farmer, quote a line from one of his own popular poets to the man of letters, quote a wise saw in reproof or encouragement of a servant, and you cannot but perceive the respect and kindly feeling that is produced. Say to the North Indian, who comes with a belated threat: "You should have killed the cat on the *first* day;" stay a quarrel with the remark that "When two fight one will surely fall;" repeat to one in trouble a verse from one of the Indian mediaeval reformers; jingle a nursery rhyme to a child; quote a text from the Pali Scriptures to a Burman or a text from the Koran to Musalman; speak any one of these things with all the force, vigour and raciness of the vernacular, and you will find as your reward the attention arrested, the dull eye brightened, the unmistakeable look that comes of a kindred intelligence awakened. The proverbs of a people do not merely afford a phase of anthropological study; they are a powerful force working for influence."— Sir Richard C. Temple, Bt.

Two words of explanation are necessary.

First, as regards matter. *Proverb* has been interpreted in the liberal sense of Webster's definition, *an old and common saying: a phrase which is often repeated; especially a sentence which briefly and forcibly expresses some practical truth, or the result of experience and observation: a maxim; a saw; an adage.* Indeed, where exceptional interest appeared to justify the liberty, I have included expressions that are still in the undemarcated borderland between proverb, idiom, and slang. Only phrases heard in actual conversation with Malays have been recorded.

Second, as regards arrangement. The requisites of a proverb are said to be *shortness, sense, salt, and general acceptance.* The Naning and Johor proverbs do not all comply with this last requisite: the terse wit of Johor would be caviare in Naning; just as the homely and at times uncouth brogue of the Naning peasant is almost unintelligible to the educated Johor Malay. The proverbs have therefore been grouped in three divisions. The first division consists of widely known proverbs not included in the published collections of Sir W. E. Maxwell and Sir Hugh Clifford. The second, of proverbs collected in Naning during the years 1907 and 1908. The third, of proverbs collected at Batu Pahat, Johor, during the years 1911 and 1912.

For the avoidance of redundant explanations, I have attempted, in setting down the Naning proverbs, a sort of sequence, I hope without great sacrifice of exact interpretation.

Sir W. E. Maxwell's paper in Volume I of this Journal, and Mr. R. J. Wilkinson's essay in the series of Papers on Malay Subjects, have made unnecessary any remarks on the general characteristics of the Malay proverb. The homely nature of most of the Naning expressions, at least, well illustrates Mr. Wilkinson's conclusion, that his proverbs show the Malay of the Peninsula to be a person far more addicted to curry and rice than to the methods of barbarism for which he was once romantically famous.

I regret that modern taste compels the exclusion of many of the most interesting and characteristic of Malay proverbs. The genius of Malay speech makes the vernacular inoffensive: but translation and explanation would be intolerable, save perhaps in a page of Burton or a footnote of Gibbon, and there too "veiled "in the obscurity of a learned language."

Part I.

Part I. The proverbs in this division have been collected in various parts of the Peninsula, and are, nearly all of them, I believe, the common property of the Peninsular Malays. Most of them have been heard in at least two different places.

1. *Adat orang mĕngail, kalau ikan lĕpas bĕsar-lah,*
the custom of anglers, if a fish escapes it was a big one.
The boast with an "if."

2. *Minyak duyong mĕrĕndang duyong.*
Mermaid's oil to fry the mermaid.
This proverb has two meanings,
(1) "hoist with his own petard;" and
(2) to repay tit for tat.
In the second sense I have heard it used to defend the *potting* off an opponent's ball at billiards, by a player whose ball has been *potted* previously. Quoted with a different meaning in *Kiliran Budi**, 1107.
The following proverb has a similar sense.

3. *Hutang darah di-balas darah,*
blood-debts repaid with blood.
To repay in kind, tit for tat. This phrase seems to have originated as a maxim of the Adat Temenggong, the Malay *lex talionis*, the main precepts of which are,
siapa bĕrhutang siapa mĕmbayar,
siapa salah siapa bĕrtimbang,
siapa bunoh siapa kĕna bunoh;

* This is a collection of Malay proverbs.

who owes pays the debt,
who sins pays the penalty,
who slays is slain.

4. *Bĕrsilat ka-pada buta,*
fencing with a blind man.

The proverb has two meanings,

(1) an easy victory over an unskilful opponent in any contest, *e.g.* chess; and
(2) vain display wasted on the unappreciative. In this sense compare,

mĕragakan suara ka-pada pĕkak,
mĕragakan pakaian chantek ka-pada buta;
to show off a voice to the deaf,
to display fine clothes to the blind.

5. *Makan di-luar berak di-dalam,*
eating outside the house, relieving nature within.

Behaviour, to Malays, the reverse of natural propriety, and so a proverb for

(1) bad manners, or
(2) topsy-turvydom. (*Kĕrja balik bokong.*)

6. *Musoh di-dalam sĕlimut,*
an enemy under the coverlet;

a traitor in one's own house. The proverb is also used in the same sense as

pagar makan tanaman,
the fence eats the crop.

7. *Pandai mĕnchuri mĕrasa mĕndapat,*
ta' pandai mĕnchuri tĕrasa tĕrikat;
a skilful thief feels the joy of profit,
an unskilful thief the pain of bonds.

Thefts, and amorous intrigues, are rewarded, and judged, according to their success or failure.

8. *Pandai mĕnchuri sa-rasa mĕndapat,*
ta' pandai mĕndapat sa-rasa mĕnchuri;
skilful thefts appear like earnings,
unskilful earnings appear like thefts.

The proverb illustrates the Malay non-moral admiration for skill and intelligence, noted by Mr. Wilkinson in his paper on Malay proverbs. The meaning of *mĕnchuri* is not quite so harsh as the English *theft:* the word describes all stealthy gettings.

9. *Orang mau sa-ribu daya,*
orang ta' mau sa-ribu daleh;
where there's a will there are a thousand ways,
where there's no will, a thousand excuses,

sa-ribu payah, a thousand difficulties, and *sa-ribu bĕnchana*, a thousand dangers, are common variants of the last line.

10. *Dahulu parang sĕkarang bĕsi,*
once a knife, now mere iron;

the decay of physical, mental, or, particularly, sexual powers. The line also occurs as the second line of *pantun*, to balance and foreshadow,

dahulu sayang sĕkarang bĕnchi,
once love now hate,

in the fourth line. Compare the proverb *dahulu timah sĕkarang bĕsi*. No. 111 in Sir W. E. Maxwell's collection in volume XI of this journal.

11. *Makan sireh bibir ta' merah,*
eating betel, but the lips are not red.

A proverbial expression for feminine jealousy. I am unable to satisfy myself as to how the phrase acquired this significance: perhaps the retention of the crimson betel juice in the mouth suggests the concealment of the hidden fire of jealousy.

12. *Mimpikan kain di-makan tikus,*
dreaming of the sarong eaten by rats;

suspicion of impending disaster, particularly of conjugal infidelity.

13. *Bĕrgantong tidak bĕrtali,*
bĕrsalai tidak bĕrapi;
hanging without a string,
scorching without a fire.

The position of a woman deserted by her husband, but not divorced: receiving no maintenance (*nafkah dlahir batin*) but unable to obtain a separation.

Sir W. E. Maxwell gives another meaning of his proverb in his collection in volume I, No. 25.

14. *Sa-hari bĕbini sa-hari bĕrudah fikiran,*
sa-hari bĕranak sa-hari tua;
each day of married life a day of changed mind,
each day of parentage a day of ageing.

Domesticity after the wild life of the bachelor.

15. *Bagai kapur di-hujong tĕlunjok,*
like lime on the forefinger tip;

the remains of the lime smeared on the betel-leaf for chewing, very easily wiped off.

The precarious position of a person of little importance, easily dismissed when desired: for example the position of servants whose discharge rests on the whim of their employer, or of a wife whose divorce lies with the caprice of her husband.

The next proverb is somewhat similar,

16. *datang ta' běrjěmput, pulang ta' běrhantar.*
arriving—unwelcomed, departing—unescorted;
a person of no importance, who deserve and receives little consideration.

17. *Tundok kěpala bukan mintak pijak.*
bowing the head, but not inviting the foot to tread thereon.

Due deference paid to rank need cause no less of self-respect. There is a mean between obsequiousness and rudeness, not always achieved by Europeans, seldom missed by Malays.

18. *Ka-těngah pun boleh, ka-těpi pun boleh.*
to the middle will serve, to the edge will serve.

A hardy fellow who will take the rough with the smooth. The absence of fastidiousness or effeminacy. Contrast the Johor expressions *Tuan Putěri Lilin* and *Tuan Putěri Dahi Gula*, below.

19. *Běrgundek měněbus běrbini měnghantar.*
for a mistress a purchase-price, for a wife a bride-price.

Luxuries, of all kinds, require to be paid for. Also, 'six of one and half a dozen of the other;' as the more common proverb *sa-tali tiga wang.*

20. *Gěroh luka ajal mati.*
misfortune—a wound, destiny—death.

An expression of resignation uttered before any enterprise. The issue, whether a small reverse or a supreme disaster, rests with providence.

21. *Lain di-niat lain di-takdir.*
one thing desired, another thing decreed.

Hopes disappointed or fulfilled diversely: a close parallel to the English proverb,
"man proposes, God disposes."

22. *Gěroh ta' měnchium bau,*
a misfortune that gave no warning smell.

A sudden and unexpected disaster: the metaphor is perhaps a jungle metaphor from the warning smell of wild animals.

23. *Mati tidak karna sumpah,*
hidup tidak karna kaul;
we die, not for curses,
we live, not for prayers.

A sententious expression of fatalism regarding the issue of any undertaking. I heard it used in criticism of a "cooling" ceremony undertaken by a Pawang at the Supreme Court, Singapore, before the commencement of a recent trial.

24. *Biar běrgěnting jangan putus.*
let the tie be slender, but not severed.

A maxim advising the keeping of a reserve, however small, of provisions or other resources; or the maintenance of any tie.

The exact meaning of *gĕnting* is a narrow connection of any sort, such as the neck of a promontory, or a ridge joining two hills, or a mountain pass.

25. *Walau sa-jĕngkal lautan,*

though but a span—the sea,

with all its dangers and uncertainties. A maxim of prudence at sea,—the caution *jangan di-chuai, do not make light of it,* is often added in quotation—; and a warning against foolhardiness in other matters. Compare the English proverb,

"Do not crow before you are out of the wood."

26. *Dĕkat ta' tĕrchapai, jauh ta' bĕrapa antara,*

near—but not to be grasped, far—but no great way off.

So near and yet so far: something out of reach, but visible, as the shore to a boat becalmed, or well-guarded mistress to a lover. Compare the *pantun,*

di-pandang dapat di-pĕtek ta' boleh,
laksana bunga di-dalam chĕrmin:
the eye can see, the hand cannot pluck,
like a flower in a mirror.

27. *Bagai bĕrteh di-goring,*

like rice in the husk toasting;

the husks keep splitting off with a crackle, and the rice shows white.

Extreme plausibility; especially, ready specious answers to cross examination. In Malay romances the expression is used to describe the noise of the continuous firing of cannon.

28. *Tidak bĕrat di-ampu-ampu,*

not heavy, but braced and stayed;

a slight burden with unnecessary supports.

Wholly unnecessary precautions. It is sometimes quoted with the more common proverb, its converse,

tiada bĕban batu di-galas,

having no burden, to carry a stone on the back;

an expression for the creation of gratuitous difficulties.

29. *Sa-kali mĕrĕngkoh dayong dua tiga pulau tĕrlangsong,*
sa-kali mĕngorak pura dua tiga hutang langsai:
one tug at the oar, and two or three islands are past,
one fulfilment of resolve, and two or three debts are paid.

This proverb, like most Malay proverbs, has many applications. I have heard it used to describe the punishment of several offences at one reckoning, or the occasional exertion of a clever but idle man. See *Kiliran Budi*, No. 202.

30. *Datang ribut, kĕluar sĕmut,*

entering—a whirlwind, departing—an ant.

The deflation of the blusterer. Compare the English proverb,

"coming in like a lion, going out like a lamb."

31. *Bĕrsĕrah bĕrkabilan,*
bĕroja bĕrpĕgang ekur;
entrusting a task, but overseeing it,
exciting the fighting cock, but holding his tail.

An incomplete trust that adds a jealous supervision.

Oja is the action of the trainer (*juara*) in setting his bird against its opponent. (Cf. *bega.*)

32. *Tumbok rusok biar sĕnak,*
a dig in the ribs should cause an ache.

Tumbok rusok is a common colloquialism for a quiet bribe. The proverb is a piece of Malay worldly wisdom: if a bribe is offered, let it be considerable; small bribes are ineffective in two ways, they fail to procure the service required, and they give the donor no hold over the acceptor of them. A good example of *the wisdom of many, the wit of one.*

Part II.

Part II. Naning Proverbs. The speech of Naning Malays is rich in proverbial expressions of all kinds, saws, adages, and maxims, both in prose and metre. Indeed, the origin of many proverbs common in Johor and Perak can be traced in Menangkabau *tĕrumba*, where their form and meaning are often widely different from those subsequently acquired.

The proverbs quoted below are classed roughly in two groups, the first group dealing with the problems of married life, the second with the administration of customary law.

1. Proverbs on married life. The delicate problems of married life are of perennial interest to Malays, and gain peculiar importance in Naning from the practice of exogamy. A marriage is a matter of tribal interest, a miniature alliance between two clans. The husband at marriage passes from his own tribe into that of his wife, is subject to her family, lives in her house, tills her fields. Divorce, like marriage, has a tribal import: as in Acheh, it is seldom merely an expression of ill temper or a mark of the cooling of first love; but rather a deliberate step taken with all proper courtesies. The man leaves his wife's tribe and house; the children remain with her; he removes the personal property brought by him at marriage; joint earnings are divided.

It is the duty of parents to arrange early marriages for their children, for the young unmarried Malay of either sex, in Naning as elsewhere, is very much the child of nature.

33. *Rumah tinggal sarang hantu,*
orang bujang sarang fitnah;
the empty house is a roost of ghosts,
the unmarried a roost of slanders.

Marriage is safest: it avoids the calumnies that attend on single life.

There are saws to warn the youthful of the folly of wild oats; for example,

34. *lĕngkuas pintu kandang,*
sĕlera puas badan mĕnyandang;
boughs to bar the cattle-shed,
passion sated, health fled.

Certainly married life is best,

35. *daripada bĕrputing baik bĕrhulu;*
better a hafted blade than a haftless blade.

(*Puting* is the projecting butt of a knife-blade which is buried in the handle.)

A Malay seems never too old for thoughts of marriage,

36. *tua-tua tupai ta'tidor di-atas tanah;*
However old the squirrel he will not sleep on the ground.

(*Gila uban*, the madness of grey hairs, is another expression for uxorious age.)

Naning betrothal and marriage are encompassed with many ancient formalities, strongly resembling the Acheh custom. The formal proposal and acceptance are made with set speeches and a great display of humility. A proverbial expression much used in self-depreciation by parents, the hand of whose daughter is sought, is,

37. *tuah kĕbun bĕrpagar,*
tuah rumah bĕrtunggu,
tuah anak bĕrlaki;
the fortune of a garden is a fence,
of a house an inmate,
of a girl a husband.

Another expression commonly used on such an occasion is,

38. *kĕchil tapak tangan nyiru di-tadahkan;*
my hands too small, (to receive your favours),
I hold out a winnowing tray.

The irregular methods of marriage in Naning are very similar to those in Rembau described fully in "Rembau," Parr and Mackray, Volume 56 of this Journal. The following proverb describes the requirements of the man who essays the method of marriage by storm (*mĕrumahi*, *tangkap bĕrani*, *panjat rumah*,) by forcible entry into the house of the chosen lady.

39. *Dada bidang kulit-nya tahan,*

mulut bachar mas-nya padan,
hati bĕrani sĕnjata tajam;
a broad chest and a tough hide to it,
a loud mouth and money to match,
a stout heart and sharp weapons therewith.

He must be prepared for failure of his suit and a severe drubbing as well, unless he possesses these requisites. Nowadays the second qualification is found the most valuable, especially if a prosecution for criminal trespass, before an unwary Magistrate, follows the attempt.

A type of the useless son-in-law, the worthless acquisition to the tribe of the wife, is the stupid fellow, doomed to misfortune.

40. *ka-laut pĕchah pĕrahu,*
ka-darat pĕchah pĕriok;
at sea he wrecks the boat,
ashore he breaks the cooking-pot.

He will waste the property of his wife and her clan, as well as his own bringings. (The expression is also used as a curse.)

Monogamy, a natural result of the exogamic practice, is the rule in Naning in spite of the Muhammadan sanction for polygamy. Occasionally a richer peasant or Penghulu will attempt the adventure of a second wife: but the rivals will resort, sooner or later, to the ordeal of a public personal combat. Separate establishments, miles apart, are essential. The suggestion of

41. *rimau dua sa-kandang,*
balam dua sa-sangkar;
two tigers one pen,
two ground-doves one cage;

is not to be entertained for a moment.

The Naning Malays are neither more nor less moral than Malays elsewhere. Intrigues are not unknown;

42. *ĕnau sa-batang dua sigai,*
sa-jinjang dua pĕlĕsit;
one sugar-palm two climbers,
one master two familiars;

is the proverbial description of the lady with a lover as well as a husband.

Sigai is the bamboo pole by which the tapper climbs to tap the *mayang* for the sugar-juice.

In Johore and Rembau this expression describes a peculiar offence against tribal coustom. See "Rembau," Parr and Mackray, Journal No. 56.

Divorce must have been rare in the pre-Muhammadan days of the Adat: but there are old sententious aphorisms suggesting that it was not unknown.

43. *Baik tunang-nya jahat,*
hidup tunang-nya mati,
kaseh tunang-nya chĕrai;
the betrothed of good is evil,
the betrothed of life is death,
the betrothed of love is separation.

The phrase is used as a polite expression of resignation, when the details of a divorce are being arranged.

There are characteristic Malay warnings against too passionate affection,

44. *kĕnangkan bini, anak orang,*
kĕnangkan anak, chuchu orang;
affection for a wife—the child of others,
affection for a child—the grandchild of others;

a reminder of the separations of death or divorce, with a special significance for Malays living under Menangkabau custom, by which, as mentioned above, on a divorce the children remain with the mother, and the man leaves the house and tribe of the wife, and returns to his own clan.

Like marriage, divorce, when it comes, concerns two clans, and requires the observance of all due formalities.

45. *Masok pandang ka-hadapan,*
kĕluar pandang ka-bĕlakang;
entering, look forwards,
departing, look backwards;

says a common proverb. The most peaceful Malay peasant may be roused to bloodshed by a gross rudeness to his womenfolk. Many of the stabbing cases that occur from time to time in the Naning district have their origin in the neglect of this maxim.

A more definite warning is conveyed by the following homely proverb,

46. *bĕrtukar mĕnghalau mĕnyepak,*
bĕrtukar mĕnghela mĕngĕmbus;
the change that drives out, provokes a kick,
the change that drags out, a snort.

The metaphor is of the urging of a reluctant buffalo from the field: drive her from the rear, she kicks back; drag her by the nose-ring, she snorts threateningly at heel. So a too abrupt or rough divorce will entail an unedifying encounter with the lady herself, and may provoke reprisals from her menfolk.

The whole influence of the Adat is against frequent divorce. And so the much-married man of other Malay States, of whom the bee that hums from flower to flower (*kumbang mĕnyĕring bunga*) is the type, is not greatly admired in Naning. He is discouraged with some such ancient jest as this,

47. *orang bĕrbini-binian,*
bĕranak ta'mĕnyuroh,
bĕrtanam ta'makan;
the man who flits from wife to wife,
gets children but commands them not,
plants crops but eats no fruit thereof.

But he may retort with a jingle at the expense of the man who marries a widow, and has the thankless burden of step-children,

48. *ka-bilek ka-dapur,*
menggulai asam pĕdas;
itek bĕrtĕlur,
ayam mĕnĕtas:
to the room, to the kitchen,
curry the acid fruits;
a duck lays the egg,
a hen hatches it.

To quote the first two lines would be sufficient for his purpose. The other might reply with a pantun,
Naik ka-bukit mĕmbĕli lada,
lada sa-biji di-bĕlah tujoh:
apa sakit bĕrbini janda,
anak tiri boleh di-suroh?
Climb the hill and buy pepper,
a pepper-corn split in seven:
what ails it to marry a widow,
with step-children to command?

The idea of the Naning Malay is a happy marriage of equality with a loyal sharing of the bitter and the sweet.

49. *Bĕrat sama di-tatang,*
ringam sama di-lĕtakkan;
together supporting the heavy,
together setting down the light.

And in Naning a well-made marriage has the moral support of two clans, not merely of two families. Nowhere in the Peninsula are there to be found more examples of loyal lifelong unions. As the proverb says,

50. *kĕdapatan makan kĕnyang pĕrut.*
kĕdapatan budi sampai mati:
the winning of a meal fills the belly,
the winning of a loyal heart is a lifelong treasure.

2. **Proverbs on the administration of the Adat.** The second class of proverbs deals with the administration of customary law. The Custom to-day surviving in Naning is but a maimed fragment of the Adat Menangkabau, whose former fullness could be expressed in the saying,

alive we are in the womb of custom,
dead we are in the womb of earth.

After the Naning war, most regrettable of all military operations, the political constitution of the State was destroyed, so fully and deliberately, that instructions were even issued "*that the terms 'Dattoo' and 'Sookoo' be not used!*" This would seem to-day an unnecessary precaution: the terms have, indeed, survived. But the Datok Naning, once head of the most powerful State of the Negri Sembilan, is to-day a superior Penghulu on a monthly salary of thirty dollars; the criminal jurisdiction of the Adat is restricted to offences declared by the Procedure Code to be compoundable; and sayings that expressed a peasant's awe of a tribal chief, or his resignation under a hopeless wrong, are now applied to the more or less harmless activities of the kampong elders, or to the interesting behaviour of the new District Officer.

Nevertheless in all questions of property, marriage and inheritance the Adat is still a very present reality to the Naning peasant, and even in criminal matters the *sayings of the old men of former days* have a genuine, if modified significance. Small wrongs are felt as keenly as great ones, *rankling like a little thorn in the flesh;* and their redress is a matter of not less moment to the injured.

The ideal of the Adat is a peaceful settlement of disputes on the lines of ancient precedent, without the issue of a contested trial,

51. *mĕnang bĕrkĕchundang,*
alah bĕrkĕtundokan,
sa-rayu bĕrjabat tangan;
victory — a defeated foe,
defeat — a bowed head,
agreement— a joining of hands;

says the proverb. Even successful litigation is unsatisfactory —it leaves an embittered foe. A Malay is generally a bad, and always an unhappy, litigant: and certainly a Magistrate at Alor Gajah finds that the content of the district increases in proportion as the settlement of compoundable matters on customary lines is encouraged, and the decisions of the Penghulus are judiciously upheld.

But it is premature to attempt the settlement of a quarrel while passions are still hot.

The proverb says,

52. *bunyi godam di-hutan mĕrĕnggangkan,*
bunyi baji di-luar mĕrapatkan;
hammering in the forest is the noise of cleavage,
the sound of wedges without is the noise of bringing together.

The wedges hammered in the jungle are the wedges that split the trunks: the wedges hammered outside are the wedges (between the rattan bindings and the sticks) to tighten the faggots. Not while angry words are still heard, but only when the first heat has cooled, and the parties are met together, can arbitration be begun. The proverb to describe the perfect settlement—used also to describe the concord of clansmen or friends, is,

53. *kata sama sa-ya,*
bĕrlĕnggang sama sa-rayun,
mĕlangkah sama sa-dĕgong,
mĕnghinggap bĕrsempulun:
saying "yes" with one voice,
walking with one sway and swing of the arms,
stepping with one tread,
alighting in a covey.

Where the parties agree to a settlement, it remains only for the tribal elders to amend the injury by awarding compensation,

54. *burok di-baiki,*
kusut di-sĕlĕsaikan:
the injured is made whole,
the tangled is made straight.

This is done by seeking and applying the customary remedy,

55. *sa-hari hilang sa-hari di-chari,*
sakit di-ubat, luka di-tasak;
a day of loss is a day of search,
the hurt is healed, the wound is stanched.

To "search for the custom" (*mĕnchari adat*) is a phrase with a real significance. When there is an appropriate precedent ready to hand it remains only to apply it,

56. *baju sudah di-sarongkan,*
lĕmbaga ada di-tuangi;
when a coat is ready it is put on,
when a mould is there the metal is poured in.

And few cases are conceivable for which there cannot be found a customary remedy: for the Adat is omnipresent, has an universal application,

57. *ka-laut mĕnjadi apong,*
ka-darat mĕnjadi suloh;
at sea driftwood,
ashore a torch;

floating up in every creek and bay, illuminating every darkness. But the "search" for the remedy is often neither short nor easy. The blood-price for a wound, for example, will be varied by the amount of provocation, and also according, in

the words of the Adat, as the wound "grows on the hill, on the slope, or in the valley;" (*tumboh di-bukit, di-lereng, di-lĕmbah;*) that is, on the head—where it is visible; on the body—where it is concealed by the clothing; or on the leg—a less expensive limb.

In cases of difficulty reference is often had to the women, who, in Naning as in Acheh, are not only the hereditary guardians of tradition, but frequently show a knowledge of affairs and a sound understanding superior to their menfolk.

When the suspected offender denies his guilt and all offers of arbitration are refused, there is no remedy but a resort to a trial,

58. *putus tali, putus kĕlawan,*
putus kĕlikir, rĕmpong hidong;
rope broken, cheek-string broken,
nose-ring broken, nostril torn.

The buffalo is unmanageable: there is no hold or means of coercion. And so the matter goes to trial. The complaint must be laid in the proper quarter,

59. *mĕnumbok ka-lĕsong,*
bĕrtanak ka-pĕriok;
pound rice in a mortar,
cook rice in a pot.

A matter that the elder (*ibu-bapa*) is competent to decide. must not be taken to the tribal chief (*lĕmbaga*): even the District Officer will be offended if proceedings are commenced by a petition to the Resident.

But the lower authority must loyally support the higher when support is demanded:

60. *lĕmah mĕlapis, chondong mĕnupang;*
backing the weak, propping the falling.

The matter then goes to trial: but trial under the Adat differs widely from an European inquiry. The Adat has a very wholesome distrust of oral evidence,

61. *bĕraleh kain ka-balik rumah,*
bĕraleh chakap ka-balik lidah;
change a sarong behind the house,
change a word behind the tongue.

Lying is easier than changing clothes: privacy is not necessary for the performance.

The Adat method of inquiry is based on a belief in circumstantial as opposed to oral evidence. In this it differs consciously from Muhammadan law.

62. *hukum bĕrdiri dĕngan saksi,*
adat bĕrdiri dĕngan tanda;
religious law is established by witnesses,
custom is established by signs.

The inquiry begins, then, with a search for the speaking evidence of a sign. It is a maxim of the Adat that each one of *the twelve offences* has its appropriate clue by which the culprit may be detected. For example,

63. *rumbun bakar, bĕrpuntong suloh;*
churi samun, tĕrtĕtas dinding;
upas rachun, bĕrsisa makan;
arson, the butt of a torch;
theft and pillage, a panel hacked through;
poison, the remains of the meal.

If no clue is at once apparent, search must be made,

64. *kalau tĕrang di-tumpu,*
kalau gĕlap di-jala;
if clear, take footing,
if dark, cast the net.

The clue found and traced will lead to the culprit,

65. *di-mana anjing mĕnyalak di-situ biawak mĕmanjat,*
di-mana api bĕrpupok di-situ asap kĕluar;
where the dogs are barking, there the lizard is climbing,
where the fire is piled, there the smoke is issuing.

But when an appropriate *tanda* is once found, the Court holds very fast thereby, and proceeds with the inquiry,

66. *kalau bĕrtangkai boleh di-jinjingkan,*
kalau bĕrtali boleh di-helakan;
if there is a handle, it can be held,
if there is a cord, it can be pulled.

Or,

67. *jika bĕrtali tĕmpat mĕnghela,*
jika bĕrjumbai tĕmpat bĕrgantong,
jika bĕrtungku tĕmpat bĕr-sa-tingkis.
if a cord, a means to pull,
if a dangling string, a means to hang,
if a hummock, purchase for the foot.

An inquiry without a clue to go upon drifts aimlessly.

68. *ibarat gasing bĕrpaku tĕtap bĕrpusing,*
ta' bĕrpaku mĕrayau;
a top with a peg spins steady thereon,
without a peg swings wide.

And finally the decision must be based on the evidence of the clue, evidence that warrants the finding.

69. *mĕnyĕnchang bĕrlandasan,*
mĕlompat bĕr-sa-tumpuan;
chop on a chopping-block,
leap from a taking-off place.

The amount of evidence that warrants a finding under customary law would surprise the student of Stephens, Wills or Phipson. A matter that occurred in Naning in 1908 will illustrate the application of the rule. One morning an unmarried girl entered a certain vernacular school, and removed from a peg the cap of one of the assistant teachers. This unusual immodesty constituted a *tanda*, that was taken by the old men of the two clans concerned, to raise an irrebuttable presumption of misconduct by the young bachelor. He was thereupon compelled, despite his protests, to marry the intruder, she, significantly enough, being deprived of half her bride-price (*chichir bĕlanja sa-paroh*). The defence,—that the trespass was the device of a hussy to secure a reluctant husband, received little consideration: partly, perhaps, because in a country district, where hard work in the fields is the best guarantee of good morals, the sedentary occupation and considerable leisure of the school-teacher render him essentially suspect, on the Ovidian principle,

otia jucundi causa cibusque mali,
leisure is the cause and food of the pleasant sin.

The deadly effect of a *tanda* is a warning to the wise,

70. *mara hinggap mara tĕrbang,*
mara bĕrgesel sampai lalu,
ĕnggang lalu ranting patah;
danger alights, danger flies,
danger touches as it passes,
the hornbill passes, the twig snaps.

Mere coincidence will probably be taken for cause and effect. The moral for the individual, therefore, is—avoid suspicious proximities; because,

71. *tĕrgesek kĕna miang,*
tĕrgĕgar kĕna rĕbas;
graze the bamboo, you get the itch;
jar it, a switch in the face.

The slightest touch of the fine hairs on the sheath of the bamboo (*kĕlopak*) sets up an irritation: still more painful is the switch in the face from a twig, that follows a more clumsy collision.

The moral for the judge is—let the inquiry be cautious and thorough. The best judge is he who is

72. *malim biawak bĕngkong,*
skilled in the art of the wriggling lizard,

climbing slowly from the base to the very top of the tree: the type of the cautious seeker for truth, who is not ashamed to retrace his steps when the line of inquiry has proved wrong.

73. *Sĕsat ka-hujong jalan, balik ka-pangkal jalan,*
sĕsat ka-hujong kata, balik ka-pangkal kata;

astray at the end of the track, back to the base of the track,
astray at the end of the utterance, back to the base of the utterance.

The type of the bad method of justice, the method of insufficient discrimination, is

74. *hukum sĕrkap,*
the judgment of the thrusting fish-trap;
the cone-shaped trap thrust downwards by a wader in shallow water: all is fish that it encloses. I regret to say that this proverb is commonly used, not without a certain aptness, to describe some phases of English justice, especially the summary trial and conviction of batches of prisoners, such as gang-robbers, hawkers, or gamblers.

A worse judge still, because corrupt, is he who is

75. *malim kubong,*
expert in the art of the flying lemur;
pouncing down where he sees a sure prey, exploiting the suitors of his Court with a nice discrimination.

But, after all,

76. *bajak lalu tanah yang lĕmbut,*
the plough bites only where the soil is soft;
the fool who submits to extortion has only his own softness to thank.

Unfortunately, wrong decisions, however honest, will occur at times; and injustices result,

77. *lain bidok lain galang,*
lain bĕngkak lain mĕnanah,
lain pantat lain chawat:
one man's boat another man's rollers,
one man's swellings another man's runnings,
one man's loins another man's clouts:
one man enjoys the jack-fruit, the gum adheres to another, as a more common proverb has it: one man sins, another suffers.

When this happens the injured person is liable to feel a dissatisfaction that will not be quieted.

78. *tĕrkilan di-hati tĕrkĕlang di-mata,*
tĕrasa-rasa ba' duri dalam daging:
rankling at heart, a mote in the eye,
an ever-present irritation like a thorn in the flesh.

He satisfies the judgment of the court because resistance is useless, but his heart does not consent to the payment.

79. *di-unjok di-bĕrikan,*
pĕpat di-luar ranchong di-dalam:

he offers it and gives it,
smooth without, but pointed within,

When the injustice is incurable, it is useless to repine. Philosophic resignation is the only wisdom,

80. *timun pada dia, pisau pada dia,*
lilis tĕbal tiada siapa mĕnĕgah,
lilis nipis tiada siapa suroh:
he holds the pumpkin, he holds the knife,
if a thick lice—there is no one to restrain him,
if a thin slice—there is no one to command him:

This proverb is frequently quoted with resignation after some erratic and wholly unaccountable decision of the European Magistrate: when, for example, a mild stabbing matter, that under the Adat could have been atoned by the death of a fowl and a fine of twenty rupia ($7.20), having unfortunately been brought to trial, is met with a sentence of three months rigorous imprisonment.

When the sufferer feels that he has been made the victim of a deliberate injustice, at the hands, perhaps, of some "*flying* "*lemur expert,*" he will vent his feelings with a less veiled complaint; such as,

81. *pĕrahu karam sa-kĕrat,*
limau masam sa-bĕlah:
the boat was submerged at one end,
the lime was sour on one side;

a proverb which conveys the suggestion that the other party has been unfairly favoured.

There are, however, traditional rebukes available, with which the old men will upbraid such vulgar recrimination. A favourite one is,

82. *bingong tĕngkar, chĕrdek bĕgar,*
bichara ta' mau kalah,
mĕnang ta' pĕrnah di-rasa;
a fool and quarrelsome, cunning and stubborn,
he will not take defeat,
but never enjoys a victory.

The third line amounts, perhaps, to a warning with a proleptic significance.

Or prehaps they will repress the recalcitrant fellow with some doggerel distich, homely but biting, such as,

83. *chĕnatur sa-bilah parang,*
bĕrkata ta' di-dĕngar orang;
chĕnatur is a sort of axe,
no one listens when he talks.

Or,

84. *gĕlar si-Raja orang,*
dudok di-bĕlakang orang;
his title—mighty, King,
his seat—outside the ring.

The victim is not, however, without suitable retorts, more or less penetrating: the quotation of

85. *kĕtok kata ayam, kichau kata murai,*
bongkok dĕk mĕnganyam silap mĕngĕlarai;
'cluck' cries the hen, 'chirrup' cries the robin,
a hunchback plaits the mat, but still he spoils the pattern;

has been known to cause a twinge to the most case-hardened village elder. The special point of the innuendo is this:—a hunchback is well bent over his task, and has no excuse for bad work: the bad decision of the old men is the more reprehensible for their age.

Perhaps he will add the sarcastic reflection,

86. *akal ta' sa-kali datang,*
runding ta' sa-kali tiba;
understanding arrives not in a moment,
wise judgment comes not at once;

was the cause of their indifferent decision.
suggesting that a haste unsuitable to the abilities of the elders

It is not likely that he will have the last word in the controversy. The resources of the old men are considerable. It is more probable that, if he persists in his ill-chosen grumbles he will be overwhelmed with the supply of less subtle abuse reserved for such obstinacy.

Useful expressions will be,

87. *singkal ta' mĕmbalik,*
unggun padam bara;
a ploughshare that turns not the sod,
a firebrand that quenches the embers;

or,

88. *chĕndawan mabok,*
poisonous fungus,

useless for any purpose whatsoever: or,

89. *buah bĕlolok.*
tĕrchampak ka-laut tidak di-makan ikan,
tĕrchampak ka-darat tidak di-makan ayam:
fallen fruit,
thrown to sea rejected by fish,
thrown ashore rejected by fowls.

The Adat is peculiarly rich in such crushing rejoinders: doubtless because in the democratic Menangkabau States, where the custom depends for its power as much on the con-

sent of the many as on the authority of the few, the tongue, *sharper than spear or kris,* has always had need to be an effective weapon to coerce the wayward.

Part III.

Part III. Johor proverbs. The proverbs of Johor and Naning differ as strikingly as do their dialects. The dialect of the Naning Malays is the simple and ancient speech of a peasant community, with no literature worth the name. The Johor-Riau dialect, on the other hand, is not only the language of the classics of the golden age, but also a brilliant and flexible medium of intercourse, adaptable to the needs of a civilized community. The work of the Johor philological society, the P. B. M. P. B.(1) founded by the late Sultan, has shown how capable the language is of rendering with precision the stilted terms of official correspondence or the technicalities of jurisprudence: and no one who has lived for any time in intercourse with Johor Malays of education can fail to be delighted as well by the lucidity of their speech as by its subtlety and humour.

And so the proverbs of Johor are subtle and modern, while those of Naning are simple and ancient: love terseness and brevity, while the others indulge in balanced antitheses. Where the Naning proverbs derive their illustrations almost entirely from the homely incidents of rustic life,—the lothness of the buffalo to leave his wallow, the spinning of a top, the slicing of a pumpkin—: the proverbs of Johor record with nice minuteness such diverse phenomena as the bluster of an ignorant Kling skipper, the refinements of a Chinese card-game, or the curious movements of the wrist-hairs.

90. *Tinjau bĕlukar,*
the distant view of secondary jungle;

neat and regular seen from afar, but a nearer inspection discloses the undergrowth. A lady whose looks do not stand close inspection (*ta' makan tatap*).

91. *Istana rupa,*
the palace of beauty;

a handsome person, that carries off any dress or fashion.

Contrast the common proverb,

rumah burok di-sapu kapur,
an old house with a coat of whitewash: fine feathers on a poor bird.

92. *Ikan bĕlukang,*
the *bĕlukang* fish; and

(1). Pakatan Bĕlajar Mĕngajar Pĕngĕtahuan Bahasa.

93. *Ikan juara di-bawah jamban,*
the *juara* fish below the privy;
the base scavenger fish of the ditches: the type of most ignoble servility.

94. *Běsar pasak dari tiang,*
the peg too big for the post;
expenditure out of proportion to income will cause ruin: the peg will split the post.

95. *Pantas tewas,*
haste loses;
the terser Malay equivalent of "more haste, less speed."

96. *Měmbuat kayu api,*
to treat as firewood;
to make a tool of a person: to use him cynically for one's own ends, consuming him in the process, or abandoning him when his usefulness ceases. Another proverb,

97. *Měmbuat landasan,*
to treat as a chopping-block,
has a similar significance.

98. *Mata kotak, tělinga těmpayan,*
eyes—the eyes of a Chinese boat, ears—the ears of a jar; eyes that see, but do not perceive; ears that are open, but do not hear. The studied blindness and deafness of one who imitates the deaf adder.

99. *Kumpul kiambang,*
a clump of water-weed.
This expression is applied to

(1) a persistent importunate fellow, who when driven away returns undiscomfited, just as the water-weed pushed aside returns and covers the space of open water just cleared;

and to

(2) an unstable person: the water-weed shows a surface of solid leaves, but below there are only thin trailing roots.

100. *Salah piantan,*
missing the season;
that is, the proper rice-planting season (*piantan, piama*). A proverbial expression for a badly-timed enterprise of any kind, especially in the sense of too late (*suntok*).

A more common proverb is,
musim kěmarau měnghilirkan balok,
launching the boat in the drought,
when the river is now too dry to float it.

101. *Sĕmbunyi tuma,*
the concealment of the louse;
only half-concealed; head in the sand, ostrich fashion, but tail betraying its whereabouts.

An unfriendly action insufficiently concealed, and so the author is detected. Another somewhat similar proverb is,

102. *muka bĕrpandangan, budi kĕdapatan,*
meeting as friends, but the stratagem detected;
the unfriendly act is known, but appearances are maintained, although the intended victim is not deceived.

Sir W. E. Maxwell gives a different meaning to this proverb: No. 165 of his collection in Volume II.

See also *Kiliran Budi,* 445.

103. *Mĕnjadi kueh bingka,*
to become a *bingka* cake;
a species of cake cooked with fire above and below. The expression suggests a position of some discomfart, with no escape either up or down, an extremely hot quarter; between the devil and the deep sea.

104. *Makan nasi kawah,*
eating rice from the big cauldron;
still supported by one's parents; not yet possessing the cooking-pot of independence.

105. *Mat di-bawah dagu,*
check-mate beneath the chin;
a disaster, whose imminency, though apparent, was overlooked.

106. *Mĕmbuat sayur mĕntah,*
to treat as raw green-food;
something devoured with the greatest ease. A slang expression for an easily-defeated opponent in any contest.

107. *Mata mĕngkudu,*
eyes of the *mĕngkudu* fruit;

The *mĕngkudu* fruit is covered with round eyes, like the markings of certain golf-balls: a fruit with many eyes, and so a type of inconstrancy: a wanton roving eye. (Compare *mata rambang.*)

108. *Kĕpiting batu,* a rock crab;
109. *tĕnggiling kĕring,* an armadillo;
110. *tangkai jĕring,* a *jĕring* stalk;
types of three kinds of stinginess:

the crab that is hard and pinches;
the armadillo that rolls up into an unyielding ball;
the stalk so tough (*liut*) that it must be hacked completely through before the pod will come away.

111. *kasĕhan kambing,*
the sympathy of the goat;
the sympathy of the lips, not of deeds.

This expression originates in the fable of the wolf who fell into a dry well. A goat came up and stood on the edge, and to every application for help replied with the one word *kasĕhan*, "I deeply sympathize:" but rendered no more active assistance, until finally the wolf died.

112. *Golok Rembau,*
a Rembau knife:

a proverbial expression for a capable and intelligent supporter, especially at games such as chess. Rembau knives are noted for their keenness: the knife is the supporter (*pĕndua*) of the *kĕris*, as the dagger was of the mediaeval sword.

113. *Chĕncharu makan pĕtang,*
chĕncharu fish feed late.

The expression is applied to the party in any contest, from cockfighting to football, that at first seems likely to lose, but comes out strongly at the finish: "a good finisher."

114. *Misim ikan sĕpat,*
the *sĕpat* fish season.

Sĕpat fish are imported in large quantities at certain seasons from Siam to Singapore, and are exposed for sale salted and headless. This interesting expression means the season of the "headless fish," and so, the season of the head-hunters (*penyabit*). There have been several historical head-hunting scares in the life of Singapore, always in connection with large public works, especially those requiring deep foundations: both Chinese and Malays believe that the earth-spirits require to be appeased for such disturbance with a sacrifice of human heads.

The planting of posts for overhead electric-tram wires, the erection of Anderson Bridge, and the suspension of the harbour works in 1911, are recent occasions of such scares. The last named scare extended to remote up-country places in Johor and Malacca: and was honoured with the attention of the Executive Council of the Colony. The final failure to reach bottom at a certain point in the Telok Ayer reclamation, (where an old stream formerly debouched,) is commonly attributed to failure to satisfy the demands of the *genius loci*.

115. *Paku Bĕlanda,*
a Dutch nail:

not to be extracted, and so a type of an irrevocable decision.

Another explanation, given me by a Siak Raja, is that the Dutch in former times, on the conclusion of negotiations with Sumatra chiefs, would hammer a large nail into the Council table as a symbol of the permanence of their bond.

116. *Mĕmakai kulit rimau,*
wearing the tiger skin;
bluff; an overbearing manner without authority or courage to match. The expression is derived from the fable of the ass in the tiger skin.

117. *Mĕmbuat hautah Suleman,*
to imitate the wiles of Suleman.

Hautah is a slang Singapore Tamil word (resembling the Malay *tĕmberang*), for which "brazen-facedness" is perhaps the nearest English equivalent.

Suleman was a certain Muhammadan Madrasi, notorious in Singapore a generation ago for his impudent, but successful, defiance of the law in the Police Courts of those days. He is still spoken of by his compatriots with respectful admiration. The expression means "to play the impudent hedge-lawyer."

The origin of the expression is, however, rapidly becoming lost, especially with Malays, by whom it is generally quoted as,
mĕmbuat otak Suleman,
to imitate the intelligence of the Prophet Solomon;
and the historic Suleman of Singapore seems likely to lose his proper fame.

The phrase is an interesting example of slang in the transition stage.

118. *Mĕmbuat kapitan Kĕling.*
to play the Kling skipper.

The Kling, acting as skipper, but ignorant of the act of navigation, when asked by the helmsman what course he is to follow, cries, "Carry on," or "The same as usual," in a loud and confident voice.

A person who is ignorant of his duties, but attempts to conceal his ignorance by bluster. A somewhat similar proverb is,

119. *Pa' Sambut.*
Father Receive.

A person who has no knowledge of his own, but carries on his work by successful picking of the brains of others.

120. *Modal sambut.*
with "receive" for capital,
is another expression with the same meaning.

121. *Tĕlinga nipis,*
thin ears;
over-sensitive: the equivalent of the English expression "thin-skinned." The phrase, derived from the sensitiveness of elephants' ears, is also used to describe a person whose leg is easily pulled.

122. *Tĕkukur mĕngikut kata,*

a dove that repeats his master's words.

A proverbial expression for implicit obedience: used of a husband's subservience to a wife; or of a handy racing-boat, or a trusty hunting-dog.

123. *Kutu ĕmbun,*

dew-bugs;

A very concentrated expression. *Embun* is a synonym for night; compare the line,

siang bĕrjĕmur malam bĕr-ĕmbun.

The *kutu* is an animal remarkable for adhesiveness.

The expression describes the class of person who stays to the very end of a theatrical performance or dance, however late in the small hours. It is also used in the sense of the English slang expression "a night-bird": so, too, the Arabic word *afrit*, an evil spirit; and *hantu kubur*, a grave-ghost.

124. *Bĕrpaling tadah,*

shifting sail;

changing tack: a treacherous change of front.

Tadah—"intercepting a falling object" (Wilkinson); and so here intercepting the wind, the set of the sails to the wind.

125. *Kuching kĕpala hitam,*

cats with black heads;

an euphemism for human thieves.

When something is missing, to say "taken, perhaps, by a cat with a black head," is to suggest suspicion of a thief in the house. Similar colloquialisms are,

tikus turi, tikus chĕnchurut,

the musk-rats, that make their pilferings and nibblings unseen and unheard.

126. *Daun chĕki dua lawang,*

a *chĕki* card with two chances;

a double chance, two strings to one's bow.

Sĕligi tajam bĕrtimbal,

a dart with a sharpened butt,

often has this meaning, as well as the meaning "double-facedness," noted by Mr. Wilkinson in his paper on Malay proverbs.

Chĕki dua lawang is also used colloquially to mean a lady of frail virtue. Compare the Naning proverb, *ĕnau sa-batang dua sigai*, number 42 above.

For the exact meaning of the phrase see Clifford and Swettenham's Dictionary under *Chĕki, tan dua lawang.*

127. *Mĕngheret sĕpit,*

dragging at a snag;

the continuous burden of some ever-present trouble, such as a jealous wife, or a protracted disease.

128. *Tuan Putĕri Lilin,*
Princess Wax-taper; and

129. *Tuan Putĕri Dahi Gula,*
Princess Sugar-Forehead;

the effeminate persons who shun going out in the sun,—it would melt the wax; or in the rain,—it would melt the sugar. Effeminacy in any form.

130. *Pandai bĕrsĕlit-sĕpit,*
clever in nips and squeezes;

resource even in extreme difficulties; triumphing over obstacles.

131. *Bĕrgolok bĕrgadai,*
stabbing and pawning:

resistance to the utmost, especially in litigation; when finances are exhausted there remains the resort to weapons; employing every resource.

132. *Burok siku,*
rotten elbow;

to ask for the return of a gift: compare the doggerel of English children,

"Give a thing and take a thing
Is a naughty man's plaything."

I am unable to discover how this curious phrase came to acquire its meaning. *Siku bĕrulat*, is another form of it.

Another expression often used in connection with this phrase is,

133. *Aku bakar bĕlachan di-bawah tangga-nya.*
I will burn *bĕlachan* below his house-ladder:

the effect of which is to produce "rottenness of elbow" in the person who demands back a thing once given. Both phrases appear to be in origin an imprecation of a curse on meanness, the elbow being the *joint* that effects the act of *withdrawal.*

134. *Masok lorong sa-kĕrat,*
to enter a blind alley;

there is no exit at the far end. An unprofitable undertaking: the money invested enters in, but does not emerge.

135. *Bĕrsĕrah tunggang,*
surrendering to the rider;

tame submission, especially of a wife to her husband. A concise Johor form of the proverb,

bagai onta mĕnyĕrahkan diri,
the self-surrender of the camel.

136. *Masok ambong masok ambong ta' masok bilang.*
into the market basket, not into the account;
not worth mentioning, nothing out of the common.

The phrase is used particularly of mediocre accomplishments, or skill in games or handicrafts, passing muster, but not remarkable. Compare the English colloquialism to "pass "in a crowd."

The Arabic phrase *al'akuli-hal* is used commonly in the same sense.

137. *Bukan kudis di-buat pĕkong,*
not even a sore—made into a ulcer.

A slight fault exaggerated into a crime: a mountain made out of a mole-hill.

138. *Bagai labah-labah bĕramu di-dalam badan sĕndiri,*
like a spider building a house of its own entrails;
the self-attenuation that follows living on capital.

139. *Tangkap muat,*
packing in as you catch;
the absence of selection, the acceptance of what come first to hand. For example, as contrasted with the recruitment of the Colonial Civil Service by competitive examination, the formation of the Johor service is described by Malays as being on the principle of *tangkap muat.*

Compare a more common proverb,

140. *asal bĕrsisek ikan-lah,*
anything with scales counts as fish.

Another Johor expression somewhat similar is,

141. *sifat dapat,*
taking it as you find it;
the absence of provision or preliminary inquiry. The slight difference of meaning between this phrase and *tangkap muat* may be illustrated thus: a guide is required at a certain village; *sifat dapat* would mean to rely on finding one on arrival; *tangkap muat* would mean to take the first person found without further inquiry into his abilities.

142. *Laki tangkal musang,*
a husband to scare wild-cats;
a marriage of convenience rather than affection; a marriage for the purpose of protection: a phrase commonly used by widows on their remarriage. Similar expressions are *laki pĕrisai*, the "shield husband;" and *laki chĕrmin muka,* the "looking-glass husband."

143. *Kalah roma,*
defeat of the wrist-hairs;
defeated before the contest begins. Where a person is extremely nervous before the beginning of a contest, Malays observe the curious phenomenon that his wrist perspires slight-

ly, and the wrist-hairs droop limply instead of standing up from the skin. The expression corresponds to the English slang, "in a blue funk."

144. *Lĕpaskan batok di-tangga,*

getting rid of the cough at the top of the house-ladder; a temporary and insufficient riddance of some nuisance. The phrase is commonly used when a superior officer passes on some troublesome piece of work to a subordinate; and may be compared with the expressions *mĕmbuat kapitan Kĕling* and *Pa' Sambut,* explained above.

145. *Alah pintak di-buat sĕmpĕna,*

the prayer defeated by ill-omened words; paraphrase—"the very thing desired, your very wish, would "have come about, but it has been prevented by your unlucky "words." A proverbial warning against unlucky words, especially against ill-omened interpretation of dreams.

The idea underlying this proverb is the idea that underlay the Greek practice of euphemism, namely, a belief in the power of suggestion both good and bad: to call the Furies "kindly" or the Euxine "hospitable" was a method for producing the desired behaviour. Compare too the idea underlying the linguistic taboos described in Skeat, Malay Magic.

146. *Ubat bunoh ibu,*

the remedy of "kill the mother;" the final remedy, the destruction of the source of an evil.

For example, a Penghulu has persisted in gross misconduct after warnings; to suggest the remedy of *bunoh ibu* would be to propose his dismissal.

Applied to the trouble of a protracted illness, the expression would suggest that the disease is incurable, that death is the only cure.

147. *Pa' Pĕchokok,*

Father Bathing-attendant.

An expression used in Johor to refer to a third party present on any occasion whose identity is not known to the speaker. For example, "*Pa' Pĕchokok bomak agak-nya*" would mean "Our friend over there is intoxicated, I think." (*Bomak*—a disguised form of *mabok.*) It has a disparaging sense, and amounts to "Our friend over there—I don't much like the look of him."

The origin of the phrase is curious. *Bĕrchokok* is to splash water while bathing in a pool or river (compare *kĕtimpong*): *Pa' Pĕchokok* is the attendant, whose duty is the not very noble or well-defined one of standing on watch at a distance while ladies are bathing. Hence the uncomplimentary significance of the term.

148. *Ta' sadar mĕntua lalu,*

not noticing the mother-in-law pass by.

The Malay mother-in-law exacts considerable attention from the newly-married: to fail to observe her presence is therefore the height of blissful preoccupation.

Some light is thrown on the subject of the mother-in-law by another significant expression,

Hujan halau mĕntua.

a drive-home-the-mother-in-law shower:

a passing shower only; but the threat of it suffices to send the mother-in-law hurrying home, and secures the young couple at least a temporary respite from her attentions.

149. *Ampat tiang,*

four masts;

is another colloquial expression for perfect bliss. For example,

magang ampat tiang, four masts drunk,

describes the perfect-peace-with-all-the-world stage of intoxication that comes between *mabok kayal* and *mabok bunga sĕlaseh.*

The expression dates from the sensation caused among Malays by the first four-masted ship that arrived in Singapore: "four masts" became a synonym for perfection.

Hand-List of the Birds of Borneo.

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About the earliest list of Bornean Birds must be that contained in the Appendix to Hugh Low's book, "Sarawak; its Inhabitants and Productions: being notes during a residence in that country with His Excellency Mr. Brooke." This was published in 1848: and the Appendix appears to be a list of all Bornean species then in the British Museum, which had been enriched by Low's collections of mammals, birds and insects. The list contains 59 species of Birds.

In 1863 P. L. Sclater remarks that no connected list of the birds of Borneo had ever been published, and as a start, he gives an account of 134 species from Banjermasin collected by J. L. Motley.

After some 10 years, the great Italian work, "Catalogo sistematico degli Uccelli di Borneo," by Count Salvadori, appeared in 1874. This was largely based on the collections of Doria and Beccari, formed in Sarawak in 1865-7; but at the same time the author incorporated all previous literature on the subject, resulting in a fine volume of some 400 pages, recording and discussing 392 Bornean species, besides indicating about 50 more species which he thought would eventually be found in Borneo, and, sure enough, for the most part have since been found.

A "Liste des Oiseaux de Borneo" by M. Vorderman appeared in 1887, only to be superseded in 1889 by A. H. Everett's "List of the birds of the Bornean Group of Islands," which was published in Journal 20 of the Straits Branch, Royal Asiatic Society. This records 570 species, from which we must deduct 34 from Palawan, which the author includes in his Bornean group. More recent researches indicate that Palawan has a closer affinity with the Philippines than with Borneo and for that reason is usually excluded from a strictly Bornean list.

Although several local lists and miscellaneous papers on the subject have appeared since, this list by the late Mr. A. H. Everett is still the most recent summary of the Birds of Borneo.

In the Philippines there is the Hand-List by R. C. McGregor and D. C. Worcester, which appeared in 1906, followed in 1909 by the former author's admirable "Manual of Philippine Birds," recording 739 species from this extensive region of islands. Then in the Malay Peninsula, Mr. H. C. Robinson, the Director of the Federated Malay States' Museums, has revised his Hand-List of the Birds for that region down to 1910; he records 642 species. To bring Borneo up to date I have prepared the present list, which numbers 555 species.

The extensive, but by no means complete, bibliography given at the end of this list, indicates that much has already been written on the Birds of Borneo, so that general remarks on any of the species are likely to be mere repetitions. The following pages therefore purport to be a bare list (and no more) of all the Birds now known from Borneo.

The order and nomenclature followed is that of the British Museum Hand-list, modified by the introduction of subspecific names and by the researches of recent writers into that never-failing source of contention, "the priority heap," by which I mean the books of those earlier ornithologists whose descriptions have been missed or misunderstood. The study of their writings seems to be more productive of "new" names than any exploration of a new country; however we must continue to hope that the bed-rock of nomenclature will be reached some day. Mr. G. M. Mathews in *Novitates Zoologicae* 1910 (Vol. XVII. pp. 492-503) introduces some important alterations for well-known, long-established names, but as he qualifies these alterations by writing "I cannot claim that all such introductions are final and only offer them and invite criticism........," I have not adopted them in this list, beyond noticing them in foot-notes.

The evolution of a local list is a subject of some interest, as it indicates the doubtful ways by which the number of species is increased. It appears to go through three distinct stages. First of all (as in the case of Bornean lists), collections from the East Indies (apparently labelled thus) were sent to Europe for study, and their interest lay in the fact that they came from a new region: the subordinate fact that some specimens came from Java, others from the Moluccas and so on, was of less moment, so our Bornean list obtained rather a false start by the addition of foreigners.

The second stage is marked by a glut of descriptions, based on single specimens, on one sex or on restricted local varieties. This stage may be said to culminate in the great *Hand-list of Birds* issued by the British Museum (1899-1909), where all these names are listed as separate *species*. The compiler of a local list during the period of these two stages has therefore to face a good deal of weeding work. Borneo has been particularly fortunate in the

eminent ornithologists who have interested themselves in this work, so that the weeding process has progressed with great care and exercise of sound principles.

The third stage is essentially one of reduction, which is simplified by the use of subspecific names. Sufficient time has also elapsed for us to assert with some confidence that a typical Australian species, for instance, recorded in 1840 from Borneo, but not again since, does *not* occur in Borneo at all. From our 20th century standpoint we can feel sure that this old record was a mistake. The use of subspecific names, which is really only an expression of our belief in Evolution, assists materially the work of reduction. Slightly differing forms are descended from forms, which in turn slightly differ from their parent forms; geological changes in the face of the earth assist newly separated groups of individuals to develop characteristics of their own by which they differ from their parent forms, who in turn evolve on a line of their own, again differing slightly, so that we can distinguish *geographical races* or *sub-species.*

In drawing up our list we find that two forms hitherto recorded as two separate and distinct *species* in Borneo can be reduced to one, to which the second has to be referred as a slightly different *local race* occupying a different part of the country or altitude. The conclusion of this third stage we hope will be a revised edition of the British Museum Hand-list, with full regard paid to the subspecific or specific distinctions of all named forms. Local lists, such as this, can only be offered as material for assistance in the production of that revised Hand-list; in no sense can they claim to be final. For that reason the present adoption or rejection of any particular name is of comparatively little importance, as it merely implies the opinion of one individual against that of another, with the excellent chance of a third individual correcting both.

The evolution of our nomenclature proceeds in two ways, (i) by small and continual changes, such as the description of new forms, the recovery of old names, the publication of local lists, etc. and (ii) by big mutations,—a happy combination of the two great rival theories! These "mutations" are exemplified by the great catalogues which appear once every 40 or 50 years, each forming a new basis for further study. In the Insect world we have good instances in the great Catalogue of Coleoptera issued by Gemminger and Harold in 1870, now superseded by Schenkling's Coleopterorum Catalogus; similarly Kirby's great catalogue of Diurnal Lepidoptera of the same date is now giving place to Seitz's "Macrolepidoptera of the world."

I have departed slightly from the usual method of writing trinomials by marking the difference between the specific and subspecific names.

The usual way adopted of course is to write them thus:

Chloropsis viridis viriditectus Hartert.

The objection to this is that we have to remember an extra name, resulting, more often than not, in forgetting both. It seems more important to remember the *specific* name first, as it denotes the whole distribution of that one species; then stretch our memory a little further to remember that it is followed by a subspecific name, and we know that the Bornean form is slightly different, which appears to me sufficient for all practical purposes. As the form in question is consistently different in some small points it is rightly given a name, which I indicate in less prominent type.

Another "improvement" (if such it is) I have adopted is the retention of the author's name for the species. In the instance given above this is dropped out and the author of the subspecies apparently gets the credit for all three names! But on the principal of "honour to whom honour is due," I have retained it, and partly because it serves to mark off the subspecific name as a thing apart.

Carrying this to its logical conclusion I should put the author's name after the genus too, but here I plead the necessity of generic and specific names running together. Altered to the "ideal" form therefore, adopted throughout this list, the above-mentioned species is written thus:—

CHLOROPSIS VIRIDIS Horsfield *viriditectus* Hartert.

shortened to:—

CHLOROPSIS VIRIDIS Horsf: *viriditectus* Hart.

The use of the subspecific name, whether the same as the specific, or not, implies that other subspecies exist in neighbouring countries.

To add a little local interest to an otherwise dull list of names I have endeavoured to give (i) the name of the first man who collected each species in Borneo and the earliest date of its capture. (ii) the name of the first man who recorded it from Borneo and the date of his published record.

With the older records this has proved rather difficult and those given as before 1855 must be accepted as *apparently* the first records. Thanks to the copious literature on the Birds of Borneo, I have been able to give names and dates for most of the birds collected from that year onwards. The number in thick type between the names of collector and recorder refers to the bibliography which follows the list of species.

The earliest note in literature on any Bornean bird appears to be that of the historian of the T'ang dynasty (618-906).

Groeneveldt[1] translates the passage thus: "There is also a bird called s'âri (beo[2], gracula religiosa[3]), which understands human speech; its body is black, its head red and it has claws like a hawk." This note appears in an account of Poli, which Groeneveldt, following all Chinese geographers, places on the north coast of Sumatra. Hose and McDougall[4], however, give reasons for supposing it to be in Borneo.

In the history of the Ming dynasty (1368-1643) among the products of the country of Banjermasin are mentioned peacocks and parrots[5], neither of which (*sens. strict.*) occur in Borneo, though we have of course a peacock-pheasant and parroquets.

Captain Daniel Beeckman[6] visited Banjermasin in 1714. In describing the features of the country he writes: "As to the Birds, I met with none such as we have in *England*, except the Sparrow. Here are Parrots and Parrokets of various sorts and sizes, from the bigness of a Bulfinch to that of a Raven; particularly a sort called by the *Banjareens* Luree (that are brought hither by the *Maccassars*) which they so much admire for their Beauty, Docility and sweet Smell, that there are few Houses without one of them: they give sometimes six or seven pieces of Eight for one; I bought several, but the cold Weather at Sea killed them."

However, interesting as these old writers are, we may confine our "earliest" records to post-Linnean days (1758 and after) from which the present-day system of scientific nomenclature dates.

During the time of the Dutch East India Company which came to an end in 1796, nothing seems to have been done to explore the interior of Borneo, the Company contenting themselves with a few trading posts established on the south and west coasts. In 1820 however a start was made by the Natural History Commission of Batavia, who appointed naturalists to collect and explore in Borneo.

The principal pioneers of this time are Diard (1826), Salomon Muller (1836), Henrici (1832), Schwaner (1841-7), and Croockewit (1851)[7].

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1. *W. P. Groeneveldt.* "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, compiled from Chinese sources." 1876. Batavia. p. 83.
2. Finsch (1905) quotes von Berchtold who collected this in Borneo "Bei Pontianak heisst dieser Vogel 'Beo', am oberen Kapuas 'Teong.'"
3. The Mynah, now known as *Eulabes javanensis* (Borneo, Sumatra, Java, Malacca and South Burmah), probably a subspecies of the Indian *E. religiosa*, has a black head; but the prominent *yellow* wattles and beak may be responsible for the description of red head.
4. *C. Hose and W. McDougall.* "The Pagan Tribes of Borneo." 1912. Vol. I. p. 11.
5. *Groeneveldt, l. c.* p. 107.
6. *Daniel Beeckman.* "A Voyage to and from the Island of Borneo." 1718, pp. 38, 39.
7. For a good summary of collectors and recorders of Bornean Birds see O. Finsch in *Notes from the Leyden Museum*. Vol. XXVI. pp. 1–8, 1905.

Northern Borneo remained practically a *terra incognita* until the arrival of Sir James Brooke in Sarawak in 1839 and his subsequent installation as Rajah in 1842.

Sir James Brooke himself is responsible for many Bornean birds in the British Museum, but the real start in Sarawak was made by Hugh Low, a young naturalist who came out in 1846, and published his experiences in 1848. At the end of his book, as already mentioned, appears the first list of Bornean Birds.

The bibliography I have given at the end of this paper indicates the further development of the study of the Bornean Avifauna. Although extensive this bibliography is by no means complete.

It has been complied for three purposes: (i) with reference to all first records of Bornean species, (ii) with reference to the latest names adopted in this list, and (iii) with reference to all papers strictly devoted to Bornean birds.

Some notes on the geographical distribution of Bornean birds are reserved for another occasion.

The records of the 555 species accepted in the following list from Borneo are due to 43 different authors. Of these the name of Dr. R. B. Sharpe stands out a long way ahead of the others as responsible for the addition of no less than 145 species to the Bornean list. Next to him come the celebrated ornithologists, Salvadori, Sclater and Schlegel, each responsible for about 50 species. Bonaparte, Muller, Motley and Dillwyn, follow with over 30 species each (the last two authors write in conjunction).

Turning to collectors (or employers of native collectors) who are responsible for our knowledge of the Avifauna of Borneo, we find 36 names in all, of whom five stand out: Muller with nearly 70 species, Diard and Schwaner with over 50 each from Dutch Borneo, Whitehead who added 59 species from Northern Borneo only, and Motley with 58 from Labuan and Banjermasin. In Sarawak the joint collections of Doria and Beccari added over 40 species. The late Mr. A. H. Everett was responsible for 28 species, collected in Sarawak and in North Borneo. The Sarawak Museum has added 12 species to the list.

The following figures illustrate the rate at which the Bornean list has grown:

Up to the end of 1850 about 50 non-Passerine birds had been recorded and about 60 Passerines. The former increased (in round numbers) to 100 in 1860, to 180 in 1870, to 240 in 1880, the latter to 80 in 1860, to 120 in 1870, to 170 in 1880. In the following decade, Whitehead's great collections were described; these were in the main responsible for the last great increase; the non-Passerine birds went up to about 290 by the end of 1890, the Passerines increased from 170 to nearly 240; the next decade added 26 to the former, 9 to the latter. Since 1901, six non-Passerine and nine Passerine birds have been added.

ORDER I. GALLIFORMES.

Sub-Order I. Megapodii.

FAM. I. MEGAPODIIDAE.

1. MEGAPODIUS NICOBARIENSIS Blyth *cumingi* Dillw.
Cuming's Megapode. Motley **38** Dillwyn 1851.

Sub-Order II. Phasiani.

FAM. II. PHASIANIDAE.

2. RHIZOTHERA LONGIROSTRIS Temm. *longirostris* Temm.
The Long-billed Francolin. A. H. Everett **225** Walden 1872.

3. RHIZOTHERA LONGIROSTRIS Temm. *dulitensis* Grant.
The Dulit Long-billed Francolin. C. Hose **72** Grant 1895.

4. ARBORICOLA BRUNNEIPECTUS Blyth *hyperythra* Sharpe.
The Lawas Tree-Partridge. Treacher **163** Sharpe 1879.

5. ARBORICOLA GRAYDONI Sharpe and Chubb.
Graydon's Tree-Partridge.
Graydon **207** Sharpe & Chubb 1909.

6. TROPICOPERDIX CHARLTONI Eyton.
Charlton's Forest-Partridge.
1881 W. B. Pryer **115** Nicholson 1883.[1]

7. HAEMATORTYX SANGUINICEPS Sharpe.
The Crimson-headed Wood-Partridge.
Treacher **163** Sharpe 1879.

8. CALOPERDIX OCULEA Temm. *borneensis* Grant.
The Bornean Ferruginous Wood-Partridge.
C. Hose **71** Grant 1893.

9. ROLLULUS ROULROUL Scop.
The Crested Wood-Partridge.
1836 S. Muller **113** S. Muller 1839-44.

10. MELANOPERDIX NIGRA Vig.
The Black Wood-Partridge. 1826 Daird **138** Schlegel 1857.

11. EXCALFACTORIA CHINENSIS Linn.
The Painted Quail. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

12. ACOMUS ERYTHROPHTHALMUS Raffl. *pyronotus* Gray.
The Bornean Crestless Fireback.
1845 Schwaner **19** Bonaparte 1856.

13. LOPHURA NOBILIS Scl.
The Bornean Crested Fireback.
1836 S. Muller **113** S. Muller 1839-44.

14. LOBIOPHASIS BULWERI Sharpe.
Bulwer's Wattled Pheasant. Low **148** Sharpe 1874.

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1. Sharpe (1890) states that this was obtained by Pryer, but was left out of his list by accident in 1881. Nicholson (1883) is thus the first to record it, though his specimen was collected by Lempriere.

15. Polyplectrum malaccensis Scop. *schleiermacheri* Brüggem.
The Bornean Peacock Pheasant.
Fischer **22** Bruggemann 1877.

16. Argusianus argus Linn. *grayi* Elliott.[1]
The Bornean Argus Pheasant.
1836 S. Muller **113** S. Muller 1839-44.

ORDER II. COLUMBIFORMES.

FAM. III. TRERONIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Treroninae.

17. Sphenocercus oxyurus Temm.
The Long-tailed Green Pigeon.
1843-7 Schwaner **16** Bonaparte 1854.

18. Butreron capelli Temm.
The Large Thick-billed Green Pigeon.
1836 S. Muller **141** Sclater 1863.

19. Treron nipalensis Hodgs.
The Thick-billed Green Pigeon.
1836 S. Muller **113** S. Muller 1839-44.

20. Osmotreron fulvicollis Wagl. *fulvicollis* Wagl.
The Rufous-necked Fruit Pigeon. **221** Temminck 1835.

21. Osmotreron fulvicollis Wagl. *baramensis* Meyer.
The Chestnut-breasted Fruit Pigeon.
W. B. Pryer **166** Sharpe 1881.

22. Osmotreron vernans Linn.
The Rosy-necked Fruit Pigeon.
1843-7 Schwaner **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

23. Osmotreron olax Temm.
The Common Green Pigeon.
1843-7 Schwaner **141** Sclater 1863.

Sub-fam. 2. Ptilopodinae.

24. Leucotreron jambu Gm.
The Jambu Fruit Pigeon.
1843-7 Schwaner **141** Sclater 1863.

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1. H. J. Kelsall (1891) describes a new Jungle Fowl as *Gallus violaceus* from a specimen in confinement in the Botanic Gardens, Singapore. It was obtained by a native dealer who said it (and one other) came from Borneo.

The same writer (1894) notes two more in the possession of a Singapore dealer, who said he thought they came from Java. Beebe (1914) in "Zoologica" p. 284, states that it is a first generation hybrid between a wild cock *Gallus varius* and a domestic hen, "known to the Javanese as Bekisars."

Sub-fam. 3. Carpophaginae.

25. CARPOPHAGA AENEA Linn.
The Green Imperial Pigeon.
1854-6 Wallace[1] **141** Sclater 1863.

26. CARPOPHAGA PICKERINGI Cass.
Pickering's Tree Pigeon. A. H. Everett **67** Grant 1888.

27. DUCULA BADIA Raffles.
The Brown Fruit Pigeon.
1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

28. MYRISTICIVORA BICOLOR Scop. *bicolor* Scop.
The Nutmeg Pigeon.
1843-7 Schwaner **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

FAM. IV. COLUMBIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Columbinae.

29. COLUMBA GRISEA Bp.
The Grey Rock-Pigeon. 1826 Diard **132** Salvadori 1874.

30. COLUMBA GRISEIGULARIS Wald. and Layard.
The Grey-throated Rock-Pigeon. Pretyman **44** Everett 1887.

Sub-fam. 2. Macropygiinae.

31. MACROPYGIA PHASIANELLA Temm. *emiliana* Bp.
The Malayan Cuckoo-Dove. Treacher **163** Sharpe 1879.

32. MACROPYGIA RUFICEPS Temm. *nana* Stresem.
The Little Bornean Cuckoo-Dove.
1887 Whitehead **185** Sharpe 1890.

FAM. V. PERISTERIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Turturinae.

33. STREPTOPELIA BITORQUATA Temm. *dussumieri* Temm.
The Bornean Turtle-Dove. Pryer **166** Sharpe 1881.

34. SPILOPELIA CHINENSIS Scop. *tigrina* Temm.
The Malayan Spotted Dove.
1843-7 Schwaner **138** Schlegel 1857.

Sub-fam. 2. Geopelinae.

35. GEOPELIA STRIATA Linn.
The Barred Ground Dove.
1843-7 Schwaner **138** Schlegel 1857.

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1. Wallace published his record in 1865; his visit to Sarawak lasted from the end of 1854 to the beginning of 1856. Motley was in Labuan up to 1855, when the *Natural History of Labuan* was produced. In 1860 he was killed in Banjermasin, but there seems to be no clue to date his removal from Labuan to Banjermasin.

Sub-fam. 3. Phabinae.

36. CHALCOPHAPS INDICA Linn.
The Bronze-winged Dove.
1836 S. Muller **17** Bonaparte 1854.

Sub-fam. 4. Calaenadinae.

37. CALAENAS NICOBARICA Linn.
The Nicobar Pigeon. Low **152** Sharpe 1875.

ORDER III. RALLIFORMES.

FAM. VI. RALLIDAE.

38. HYPOTAENIDIA STRIATA Linn.
The Blue-breasted Banded Rail.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

39. RALLINA FASCIATA Raffles.
The Malayan Banded Crake.
1866 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

40. PORZANA PUSILLA Pall. *auricularis* Reichenb.
Baillon's Eastern Crake. A. H. Everett **154** Sharpe 1877.

41. POLIOLIMNAS CINEREUS Vieill.
The Sandwich Rail. [1]**19** Bonaparte 1856.

42. LIMNOBAENUS FUSCUS Linn.
The Ruddy Crake. 1843-7 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1863.

43. LIMNOBAENUS PAYKULLI, Ljung.
The Barred Crake. 1854-6 Wallace **226** Wallace 1865.

44. AMAURORNIS PHOENICURA Forst. *javanica* Horsf.
The White-breasted Water-hen.
1826 Diard **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

45. GALLINULA TENEBROSA Gould *frontata* Wall.
Wallace's Malayan Moor-hen. Grabowsky **10** Blasius 1884.

46. GALLINULA CHLOROPUS Linn. *orientalis* Horsf.
The Eastern Moor-hen.
1843-7 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1865.

47. GALLICREX CINEREA Gm.
The Water-cock. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

48. PORPHYRIO CALVUS Vieill. *calvus* Vieill.
The Javan Gallinule.
1867 Semmelink **21** Bruggemann 1876.

ORDER IV. PODICIPEDIDIFORMES.

FAM. VII. PODICIPEDIDAE.

49. PODICEPS FLUVIATILIS Tunst. *philippensis* Bonnat.
The Philippine Grebe. A. H. Everett **73** Grant 1898.

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1. Dr. Van Oort informs me that this species is represented in the Leyden Museum from Borneo, but that no collector's name is given.

50. PODICEPS TRICOLOR Gray.
Gray's Eastern Grebe. **223** Vorderman 1887.

ORDER V. PROCELLARIIFORMES.

FAM. VIII. PUFFINIDAE.

Sub-fam. Puffininae.

51. PUFFINUS LEUCOMELAS Temm.
The Eastern Shearwater. Pryer **166** Sharpe 1881.

ORDER VI. LARIFORMES.

FAM. IX. LARIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Sterninae.

52. HYDROCHELIDON LEUCOPTERA Meisn. and Schinz.
The White-winged Black Marsh-Tern.
1881 Grabowsky **9** Blasius 1883.

53. HYDROCHELIDON HYBRIDA Pall.[1]
The Whiskered Marsh-Tern. 1826 Diard **139** Schlegel 1863.

54. GELOCHELIDON ANGLICA Mon.[2]
The Gull-billed Tern. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

55. STERNA BERGII Licht.
The Caspian Tern. Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

56. STERNA ANAESTHETA Scop. *anaestheta* Scop.
The Panayan Tern. 1826 Diard **139** Schlegel 1863.

57. STERNA FULIGINOSA Gm.[3]
The Sooty Tern. **123** Pelzeln 1865.

58. STERNA MINUTA Linn. *sinensis* Gm.
The Chinese Tern. 1826 Diard **139** Schlegel 1863.

59. STERNA MELANAUCHEN Temm.[4]
The Black-naped Tern. 1867 Beccari **132** Salvadori 1874.

60. ANOUS STOLIDUS Linn.
The Common Noddy. **123** Pelzeln 1865.

61. MICRANOUS[5] LEUCOCAPILLUS Gould.
The White-headed Noddy. Ussher **157** Sharpe 1878.

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1. Mathews substitutes *leucopareia* Natt. for *hybrida*.
2. Mathews substitutes *nilotica* Gm. for *anglica*.
3. Mathews substitutes *fuscata* Linn. for *fuliginosa*.
4. Everett (1889) records both *S. melanauchen* and *S. sumatranus* from Borneo; for the latter he quotes Doria and Beccari's collection named by Salvadori. Saunders (1896) places Everett's name as a synonym of *S. saundersi* and Salvadori's under *S. melanauchen*, although both records refer to the same bird!!
5. Mathews substitutes *Megalopterus* Boie for *Micranous*.

Sub-fam. 2. Larinae.

62. LARUS RIDIBUNDUS Linn.
The Brown-headed Gull. **201** Sharpe[1] 1899.

ORDER VII. CHARADRIIFORMES.

Sub-Order I. Charadrii.

FAM. X. CHARADRIIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Arenariinae.

63. ARENARIA[2] INTERPRES Linn.
The Turnstone. 1866 Beccari **132** Salvadori 1874.

Sub-fam. 2. Charadriinae.

64. SQUATAROLA HELVETICA Linn.[3]
The Grey Plover. 1826 Diard **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

65. CHARADRIUS[4] DOMINICUS Mull. *fulvus* Gm.
The Eastern Golden Plover.
1836 S. Muller **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

66. OCHTHODROMUS[5] GEOFFROYI Wagl.
The Large Sand-Plover. 1826 Diard **141** Sclater 1863.

67. OCHTHODROMUS PYRRHOTHORAX Gould.
The Lesser Sand-Plover. 1826 Diard **139** Schlegel 1865.

68. OCHTHODROMUS VEREDUS Gould.
The Eastern Dotterel. A. H. Everett **45** Everett 1889.

69. AEGIALITIS[6] DUBIA Scop.
The Little Ringed Plover. 1836 S. Muller **141** Sclater 1863.

70. AEGIALITIS PERONI Bp.
The Malayan Ringed Plover.
1836 S. Muller **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

71. AEGIALITIS ALEXANDRINUS Linn.
The Kentish Plover. 1886 Whitehead **45** Everett 1889.

Sub-fam. 3. Himantopodinae.

72. HIMANTOPUS[7] HIMANTOPUS Linn.
The Black-winged Stilt. Grabowsky **10** Blasius 1884.

73. HIMANTOPUS LEUCOCEPHALUS Gould.
The Australian Stilt. 1843-7 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1864.

1. Sharpe (1899) gives "Indian Ocean, China to Malay Archipelago (winter)" in his note of the distribution of this species. I can find no record of it on the shores of Borneo.
2. Mathews substitutes *Morinella* Meyer and Wolf for *Arenaria*.
3. Mathews substitutes *squatarola* Linn. for *helvetica*.
4. Mathews substitutes *Pluvialis* Schaeffer for *Charadrius*.
5. Mathews substitutes *Eupoda* Brandt for *Ochthodromus*.
6. Mathews substitutes *Charadrius* Linn. for *Aegialitis*.
7. Mathews substitutes *Hypsibates* Nitzsch. for *Himantopus*.

Sub-fam. 4. Totaninae.

74. NUMENIUS ARQUATA Linn.
The Curlew. 1851 Croockewit **139** Schlegel 1864.

75. NUMENIUS CYANOPUS Vieill.
The Eastern Curlew. 1851 Croockewit **139** Schlegel 1864.

76. NUMENIUS PHAEOPUS Linn. *variegatus* Scop.
The Eastern Whimbrel. 1843-7 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1864.

77. LIMOSA LAPPONICA Linn. *novae-zealandiae* Gray.
The Bar-tailed Godwit. A. H. Everett **157** Sharpe 1878.

78. LIMOSA LIMOSA Linn.
The Black-tailed Godwit. 1826 Diard **139** Schlegel 1864.

79. MACRORHAMPHUS[1] TACZANOWSKII Verr.
The Larger Brown Snipe. 1826 Diard **139** Schlegel 1864.

80. TOTANUS CALIDRIS Linn.
The Common Redshank. 1826 Diard **139** Schlegel 1864.

81. TOTANUS STAGNATILIS Bechst.
The Marsh Sandpiper. 1843-7 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1864.

82. HELODROMAS[2] OCHROPUS Linn.
The Green Sandpiper. **201** Sharpe[2] 1899.

83. HETERACTITIS[3] BREVIPES Vieill.
1836 S. Muller **113** S. Muller 1839-44.
The Short-legged Sandpiper.

84. TRINGOIDES[4] HYPOLEUCUS Linn.
The Common Sandpiper.
1836 S. Muller **113** S. Muller 1839-44.

85. TEREKIA[5] CINEREA Guldenst.
The Terek Sandpiper. 1865 Beccari **132** Salvadori 1874.

86. PSEUDOGLOTTIS GUTTIFER Nordm.
Armstrong's Sandpiper.
1913 Sarawak Museum **111** Moulton 1914.

87. GLOTTIS NEBULARIUS Gunn.
The Greenshank. 1826 Diard **139** Schlegel 1864.

88. RHYACOPHILUS GLAREOLA Gm.
The Wood Sandpiper. 1836 S. Muller **139** Schlegel 1864.

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1. Mathews substitutes *Limnodromus* Neuwied for *Macrorhamphus*.
2. Mathews substitutes *Tringa* Linn. for *Helodromas*.
Sharpe (1899) in the *Hand-List* gives the distribution of this species as "Europe and N. Asia. Africa, Indian Peninsula to Malay Archipelago (winter)."
I can find no record of it for Borneo.
3. Mathews substitutes *Heteroscelus* Baird for *Heteractitis*
4. Mathews substitutes *Actitis* Illiger for *Tringoides*.
5. Mathews substitutes *Xenus* Kaup for *Terekia*.

89. PAVONCELLA PUGNAX Linn.
The Ruff. Lempriere **115** Nicholson 1883.

Sub-fam. 5. Scolopacinae.

90. CALIDRIS[1] ARENARIA Linn.[1]
The Sanderling. A. H. Everett **47** Everett 1890.

91. LIMONITES MINUTA Leisl. *ruficollis* Pall.
The Eastern Little Stint. 1866 Beccari **132** Salvadori 1874.

92. LIMONITES DAMACENSIS Horsf.
The Long-toed Stint. 1843-7 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1864.

93. ANCYLOCHILUS[2] SUBARQUATUS Guldenst.[2].
The Pigmy Curlew. 1826 Diard **113** S. Muller 1839-44.

94. TRINGA[3] CRASSIROSTRIS Temm. and Schleg.[3]
The Eastern Knot. 1826 Diard **139** Schlegel 1864.

95. PELIDNA ALPINA Linn.
The Dunlin. 1836 S. Muller **139** Schlegel 1864.

96. LIMICOLA PLATYRHYNCHA Temm.
The Broad-billed Sandpiper. **201** Sharpe[4] 1899.

97. GALLINAGO STENURA Kuhl.
The Pintail Snipe. 1843-7 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1864.

98. GALLINAGO MEGALA Swinh.
Swinhoe's Pintail Snipe.
1887 Whitehead[5] **185** Sharpe 1890.

99. GALLINAGO GALLINAGO Linn.
The Common Snipe. 1885 Whitehead **145** Seebohm 1887.

100. ROSTRATULA CAPENSIS Linn.
The Painted Snipe. 1851 Croockewit **139** Schlegel 1864.

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1. Mathews substitutes *Arenaria* Bechst. for *Calidris* and *leucophaea* Pall. for *arenaria*.

2. Mathews substitutes *Erolia* Vieillot for *Ancylochilus* and *ferruginea* Brunnich for *subarquatus*.

3. Mathews substitutes *Canutus* Brehm for *Tringa* and *magnus* Gould for *crassirostris*.

4. Sharpe (1899) in the *Hand-List* gives the Eastern range of this species as "Indian Peninsula, China to Moluccas (*winter*)."
I can find no record for Borneo.

5. Whitehead notes that "this was apparently the commonest Snipe in Borneo, nearly all the Snipes shot in that island and Palawan being of this species."
All the Snipe in the Sarawak Museum come from Sarawak (Baram to Kuching) and all are referable to *Gallinago stenura*. A four days' bag (193 head, which is large for Sarawak) was obtained at Lundu, Western Sarawak, in January this year and I found they were all *G. stenura*.
The occurrence of *G. gallinago* seems to be based on one specimen shot by Whitehead at Labuan in 1885.

Sub-Order II. Parrae.

FAM. XI. PARRIDAE.

101. HYDROPHASIANUS CHIRURGUS Scop.
The Pheasant-tailed Jacana. Grabowsky **10** Blasius 1881.

102. HYDRALECTOR[1] GALLINACEA Temm.
The Australian Jacana. Grabowsky **10** Blasius 1881.

Sub-Order III. Cursorii.

FAM. XII. GLAREOLIDAE.

103. STILTIA ISABELLA Vieill.
The Long-legged Pratincole.
1843-7 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1865.

104. GLAREOLA[2] ORIENTALIS Leach.
The Large Indian Pratincole.
1843-7 Schwaner **132** Salvadori 1874.

Sub-Order IV. Oedicnemi.

FAM. XIII. OEDICNEMIDAE.

105. ORTHORHAMPHUS MAGNIROSTRIS Vieill.
The Large-billed Thicknee. A. H. Everett **43** Everett 1886.

ORDER VIII. ARDEIFORMES.

Sub-Order I. Plataleae.

FAM. XIV. IBIDAE.

106. IBIS MELANOCEPHALUS Lath.
The White Ibis. 1892 Sarawak Museum **215** Shelford 1902.[3]

107. INOCOTIS PAPILLOSA Temm.
The Black Ibis. 1836 S. Muller **113** S. Muller 1839-44.

108. PLEGADIS[4] FALCINELLUS Linn.
The Glossy Ibis. 1851 Croockewit **139** Schlegel 1863.

FAM. XIVa. PLATALEIDAE.

108*a*. PLATALEA REGIA Gould.
The Australian Spoonbill. **45** Everett[5] 1889.]

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1. Mathews substitutes *Irediparra* Mathews for *Hydralector*.
2. Mathews substitutes *Trachelia* Scopoli for *Glareola*.
3. Two specimens in the Sarawak Museum; Shelford records the second.
4. Mathews substitutes *Egatheus* Billberg for *Plegadis*.
5. Everett records *Platalea intermedia* Grant from Borneo *fide* Buttikofer. Dr. Van Oort kindly calls my attention to his paper in *Notes from the Leyden Museum*. Vol. XXIX. p. 68, in which he shows that the Bornean record rests on a bird from Boeroe (= Buru). The species therefore must be expunged from the Bornean list.

Sub-Order II. Ciconiae.

FAM. XV. CINCONIIDAE.

109. DISSOURA EPISCOPUS Bodd. *stormi* Blas.
The White-necked Stork. [1]**139** Schlegel 1864.

110. LEPTOPTILUS JAVANICUS Horsf.
The Smaller Adjutant. 1865-7 Beccari **132** Salvadori 1874.

Sub-Order III. Ardeae.

FAM. XVI. ARDEIDAE.

111. PYRRHERODIAS PURPUREA Linn. *manillensis* Meyer.
The Eastern Purple Heron.
1843-7 Schwaner **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

112. ARDEA SUMATRANA Raffles.
The Dusky Grey Heron. Ussher **163** Sharpe 1879.

113. MESOPHOYX INTERMEDIA Wagl.
The Smaller Egret. 1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

114. HERODIAS ALBA Linn. *timoriensis* Less.
The Timor Egret. 1826 Diard **139** Schlegel 1863.

115. LEPTERODIUS GULARIS Bosc. *asha* Sykes.
The Indian Reef Heron.
1902 Sarawak Museum **214** Shelford 1901.[2]

116. GARZETTA[3] GARZETTA Linn.
The Little Egret.
1851 Croockewit **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

117. DEMIEGRETTA SACRA Gm.
The Eastern Blue Heron.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

118. NYCTICORAX NYCTICORAX Linn.
The Night Heron. 1851 Croockewit **141** Sclater 1863.

119. NYCTICORAX MANILLENSIS Vig.
The Philippine Night Heron.
A. H. Everett **198** Sharpe 1894.

120. GORSACHIUS MELANOLOPHA Raffles.
The Malay Bittern. Treacher **163** Sharpe 1879.

121. BUTORIDES JAVANICA Horsf. *javanica* Horsf.
The Little Green Heron.
1836 S. Muller **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

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1. A Bornean specimen in the Leyden Museum purchased in 1863. Collector unknown.

2. In the Sarawak Museum Report dated Feb. 1901, Shelford states that this species must be added to the Bornean fauna. The oldest specimen in the Museum is dated 1902.

3. Mathews substitutes *Egretta* Forster for *Garzetta*.

122. Butorides javanica Horsf. *amurensis* Schrenck.
The Northern Little Green Heron.
1836 S. Muller **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

123. Ardeola bacchus Bp.
The Chinese Pond-Heron. C. Hose **209** Sharpe 1898.

124. Ardeola speciosa Horsf.
The Malayan Pond-Heron.
1841-7 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1863.

125. Bubulcus coromanda Bodd.
The Cattle Egret. 1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

126. Ardetta[1] sinensis Gm.
The Yellow Bittern. 1841-7 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1863.

127. Ardetta cinnamomea Gm.
The Chestnut Bittern. 1841-7 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1863.

128. Nannocnus eurythmus Swinh.
The Eastern Bittern. 1841 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1863.[2]

129. Dupetor[3] flavicollis Lath. *flavicollis* Lath.
The Black Bittern. 1836 S. Muller **139** Schlegel 1863.

ORDER IX. ANSERIFORMES.

FAM. XVII. ANATIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Plectropterinae.

130. Nettopus coromandeliana Gm.
The Cotton Teal. Grabowsky **10** Blasius 1884.

Sub-fam. 2. Anatinae.

131. Dendrocygna arcuata Cuv.
The Whistling Teal. 1866 Semmelink **223** Vorderman 1887.

132. Dendrocygna javanica Horsf.
The Javanese Whistling Teal.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

133. Anas boscas Linn.[4]
The Mallard.

134. Mareca penelope Linn.
The Wigeon. 1875 A. H. Everett **154** Sharpe 1877.

135. Dafila acuta Linn.
The Pintail. 1875 A. H. Everett **154** Sharpe 1877.

136. Querquedula querquedula Linn.
The Garganey. Lempriere **115** Nicholson 1883.

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1. Mathews substitutes *Ixobrychus* Billberg for *Ardetta.*
2. On the authority of Van Oort (1910) p. 210.
3. Mathews substitutes *Ardeiralla* Bonaparte for *Dupetor.*
4. I have had this species entered on the Bornean list for some time, but have since mislaid the reference and entirely failed to find it again.

137. SPATULA CLYPEATA Linn.
The Shoveller. 1894 Sarawak Museum **214** Shelford 1901.

Sub-fam. 3. Fuligulinae.

138. FULIGULA FULIGULA Linn.
The Tufted Duck. A. H. Everett **46** A. H. Everett 1890.

ORDER X. PELECANIFORMES.

FAM. XVIII. PHALACROCORACIDAE.

139. PHALACROCORAX[1] SULCIROSTRIS Brandt.
The Australian Cormorant.
1851 Croockewit **17** Bonaparte 1855.

140. PHALACROCORAX PYGMAEUS Gm. *javanicus* Horsf.
The Little Cormorant. 1841-7 Schwaner **17** Bonaparte 1855.

FAM. XIX. PLOTIDAE.

141. PLOTUS MELANOGRASTER Gm.
The Indian Darter. 1867 Beccari **132** Salvadori 1874.

FAM. XX. SULIDAE.

142. SULA PISCATRIX Linn.
The Red-legged Booby. Gulliemard **76** Guillemard 1853.[2]

143. SULA SULA Linn.
The Booby. Pryer **166** Sharpe 1881.

FAM. XXI. FREGATIDAE.

144. FREGATA AQUILA Linn.
The Frigate Bird. Treacher **162** Sharpe 1879.

145. FREGATA ARIEL Gould.
The Small Frigate Bird. Treacher **162** Sharpe 1879.

FAM. XXII. PELECANIDAE.

146. PELECANIUS ROSEUS Gm.
The Eastern White Pelican. **209** Grant 1898.[3]

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1. Mathews substitutes *Carbo* Lacépède for *Phalacrocorax*.
2. Sharpe (1879) records this species from Borneo in the collections of Ussher and Treacher. Everett quotes this particular record regardless of Sharpe's remark in 1881—"I fully suspect that the young birds recorded by me from Lawas River and Sandakan (in 1879) really belonged to this species (*S. sula*), and not to *S. piscatrix*, to which I referred them."
3. Beccari (1874) suggested that this species might be found in Borneo. Grant (1898) gives its distribution as "Indo-Chinese countries, ranging eastward to Java, Borneo, the Philippines," etc. I can find no definite record for Borneo.

ORDER XI. ACCIPITRIFORMES.

Sub-Order I. Accipitres.

FAM. XXIII. FLACONIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Accipitrinae.

147. CIRCUS SPILONOTUS Kaup.
The Eastern Marsh-Harrier.
1874 A. H. Everett **153** Sharpe 1876.

148. ASTUR TRIVIRGATUS Temm. *trivirgatus* Temm.
The Crested Goshawk. 1836 S. Muller **139** Schlegel 1862.

149. ASTUR SOLOENSIS Horsf.
Horsfield's Short-toed Hawk.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

150. ACCIPITER[1] VIRGATUS Temm. *virgatus* Temm.[2]
The Besra Sparrow-Hawk. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

Sub-fam. 2. Aquilinae.

151. LOPHOTRIORCHIS KIENERI Geoffr.
The Rufous-bellied Hawk-Eagle.
1854-6 Wallace **77** Gurney 1863.

152. ICTINAETUS MALAYENSIS Temm.
The Black Eagle. 1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

153. SPIZAETUS ALBONIGER Blyth.
Blyth's Hawk-Eagle. 1854-6 Wallace **228** Wallace 1868.

154. SPIZAETUS LIMNAETUS Horsf.
The Changeable Hawk-Eagle.
1836 S. Muller **139** Schlegel 1862.

155. SPILORNIS CHEELA Lath. *bacha* Daud.[3]
The Malayan Serpent-Eagle.
1851 Croockewit **139** Schlegel 1862.

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1. Mathews substitutes *Nisus* Lacépède for *Accipiter*.

2. Sharpe (1899) in the *Hand-List* gives *Accipiter gularis* Temm. and Schleg. from "Japan, N. China, Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago." I can find no record of it for Borneo. Is it not the northern form of *A. virgatus*?

   Hartert shows that *rufotibialis* Sharpe from Kinabalu cannot be kept separate from *virgatus*. In the original description Sharpe suggests that "it will probably be found that *A. rufotibialis* is a mountain form of *A. virgatus*, peculiar to Kina Balu." However Whitehead obtained both forms on the mountain; I obtained *virgatus* there in 1913 at 3000 ft. Hartert notes that Sharpe made an error in describing the under tail-coverts as chestnut; in Sharpe's second description (*Ibis* 1889), accompanied by a plate, they are correctly given as white.

3. Buttikofer (1900) unites the Bornean form *pallidus* Walden with the Javan *bacha*, stating that the two are not separable.

   Bartlett (1896) writes of *Spilornis rajah* Sharpe, "This bird is undoubtedly a young specimen of *Sp. pallidus*. We have another skin with all the pale margins to the feathers of the head and back; it

156. BUTASTUR LIVENTER Temm.[2]
The Rufous-winged Buzzard-Eagle. **132** Salvadori 1874.

157. BUTASTER INDICUS Gm.
The Grey-faced Buzzard-Eagle. Ussher **163** Sharpe 1879.

158. HALIAETUS LEUCOGASTER Gm.
The White-bellied Sea-Eagle.
A. H. Everett **154** Sharpe 1877.

159. HALIAETUS LEUCORYPHUS Pall.
Pallas's Fishing Eagle.
1892 Sarawak Museum **111** Moulton 1914.

160. HALIASTUR INDUS Bodd. *intermedius* Gurney.
Gurney's Brahminy Kite.
1836 S. Muller **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

161. ELANUS HYPOLEUCUS Gould.
Gould's Kite. 1841-7 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1862.

162. MACHAERHAMPHUS ALCINUS Westerm.
The Slender-billed Pern. Jameson **78** Gurney 1879.

163. PERNIS PTILONORHYNCHUS Temm.
The Crested Honey-Buzzard.
1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

164. BAZA JERDONI Blyth.[3]
Blyth's Cuckoo-Falcon. 1826 Diard **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

Sub-fam. 3. Falconinae.

165. MICROHIERAX FRINGILLARIUS Drap. *fringillarius* Drap.
The Malayan Falconet. 1836 S. Muller **139** Schlegel 1862.

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appears rather older but cannot be separated from it, all the other Kuching birds vary to the same extent, and show a series of changes of plumage rather interesting.''

There are now 12 specimens in the Sarawak Museum, which bear out Mr. Bartlett's remarks and I have no hesitation in sinking *S. rajah* as a synonym of *S. bacha.*

The feathers of the hind-neck and mantle change from a conspicuously white-edged stage to narrower pale buff-edged, to narrow rufous-edged and finally to uniform black-brown in old birds. The throat similarly changes from white to rufous buff and finally to black; the abdomen becomes darker with age and the white spots smaller. The Museum series illustrates these changes well.

2. Salvadori (1874) includes this on a Bornean specimen in Mus. Lugd. Everett omits it ''pending further evidence'' which does not yet appear to be forthcoming. Sharpe (1899) mentions the Greater Sunda Is. in his note on the distribution of the species.

3. Sharpe (1893) discusses the differences between *B. jerdoni* and *B. borneensis,* and in conclusion expresses his belief that the two will eventually prove the same. The series in the Sarawak Museum corroborates this, some agreeing well with *jerdoni,* others with *borneensis,* with others intermediate.

It seems unlikely that two species *B. borneensis* and *B. jerdoni,* occur side by side in Borneo and I have no doubt that there is only one variable species.

Finsch (1901) unites the two.

166. MICROHIERAX FRINGILLARIUS Drap. *latifrons* Sharpe.
The North Bornean Falconet. Ussher **163** Sharpe 1879.

167. FALCO PEREGRINUS Tunst.
The Peregrine Falcon. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

168. FALCO ERNESTI Sharpe.
Hose's Peregrine Falcon. Pretyman **80** Gurney 1882.

169. FALCO SEVERUS Horsf.
The Indian Hobby. Fischer **22** Bruggemann 1877.

170. CERCHNEIS TINNUNCULUS Linn.
The Kestrel. Ussher **162** Sharpe 1879.

Sub-Order II. Pandiones.

FAM. XXIV. PANDIONIDAE.

171. PANDION HALIAETUS Linn.
The Osprey. 1841-7 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1862.

172. POLIOAETUS ICHTHYAETUS Horsf.
The Large Grey-headed Fishing-Eagle.
1836 S. Muller **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

173. POLIOAETUS HUMILIS Mull. and Schleg.
Hodgson's Fishing-Eagle.
1865-7 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

ORDER XII. STRIGIFORMES.

FAM. XXV. BUBONIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Asioninae.

174. ASIO ACCIPITRINUS Pall.
The Short-eared Owl.
1910 Sarawak Museum **107** Moulton 1911.

Sub-fam. 2. Ketupinae.

175. KETUPA KETUPA Horsf.
The Fishing-Owl. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

Sub-fam. 3. Buboninae.

176. HUHUA ORIENTALIS Horsf.
The Eastern Eagle-Owl.
1867 Semmelink **139** Schlegel 1873.

177. SCOPS LEMPIJI Horsf. *lempiji* Horsf.
The Collared Scops-Owl.
1851 Croockewit **139** Schlegel 1873.

178. SCOPS MANADENSIS Quoy and Gaim. *brookei* Sharpe.
The Rajah's Scops-Owl. C. Hose **191** Sharpe 1892.

179. SCOPS MANADENSIS Sharpe.
The Mantanini Scops-Owl. A. H .Everett **191** Sharpe 1892.

180. SCOPS RUFESCENS Horsf.
The Reddish Malayan Scops-Owl.
1826 Diard **100** Low 1848.

181. HETEROSCOPS LUCIAE Sharpe.
Whitehead's Owl. 1888 Whitehead **178** Sharpe 1888.

182. NINOX SCUTULATA Rafll. *borneensis* Bp.[1]
The Bornean Brown Hawk-Owl. **100** Low 1848.

183. NINOX SCUTULATA Rafll. *japonica* T. & S.
The Japanese Hawk-Owl. 1877 Burbidge **162** Sharpe 1879.

Sub-fam. 4. Syrniinae.

184. SYRNIUM SELOPUTO Horsf.
The Malayan Wood-Owl. **201** Sharpe[2] 1899.

185. SYRNIUM LEPTOGRAMMICUM Temm.
The Bornean Wood-Owl. 1826 Diard **100** Low 1848.

Sub-fam. 5. Nyctalinae.

186. GLAUCIDIUM SYLVATICUM Bp.
The Bornean Owlet. C. Hose **195** Sharpe 1893.

Sub-fam. 6. Photodilinae.

187. PHOTODILUS BADIUS Horsf.
The Bay Owl. Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

FAM. XXVI. STRIGIDAE.

188. STRIX[3] FLAMMEA Linn. *javanica* Gm.
The Indian Screech-Owl. **201** Sharpe[4] 1899.

ORDER XIII. PSITTACIFORMES.

FAM. XXVII. PSITACIDAE.

Sub-fam. Palaeornithinae.

189. TANYGNATHUS LUZONENSIS Linn. *salvadorii* Grant.
Salvadori's Paroquet. A. H. Everett **45** Everett 1889.

190. PALAEORNIS ALEXANDRI Linn.
The Javan Parroquet. 1851 Croockewit **141** Sclater 1865.

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1. Parrot (1908) revives Bonaparte's name *borneensis* for this bird in Borneo.
2. Salvadori (1874) suggests that this species will be found in Borneo. Sharpe (1899) in the *Hand-List* gives Greater Sunda Is. for part of its distribution. I can find no definite record for Borneo. Everett (1899) omits it.
3. Mathews substitutes *Tyto* Billberg for *Strix*.
4. Sharpe (1899) in the *Hand-List* includes the Greater and Lesser Sunda Is. in the distribution of this species. I can find no definite record for Borneo.

191. PALEORNIS LONGICAUDA Bodd.
The Malaccan Parroquet.
1836 S. Muller **113** S. Muller 1839-44.

192. PSITTINUS MALACCENSIS Lath.
The Blue-rumped Parroquet.
1836 S. Muller **113** S. Muller 1839-44.

193. LORICULUS GALGULUS Linn.
The Blue-crowned Hanging-Parroquet.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

ORDER XIV. CORACIIFORMES.

Sub-Order I. Podargi.

FAM. XXVIII. PODARGIDAE,

Sub-fam. Podarginae.

194. BATRACHOSTOMUS AURITUS Gray.
The Large Malayan Frogmouth. Low **152** Sharpe 1875.

195. BATRACHOSTOMUS HARTERTI Sharpe.
The Dulit Frogmouth. C. Hose **192** Sharpe 1892.

196. BATRACHOSTOMUS STELLATUS Gould.
The Ruddy Malayan Frogmouth.
1841-7 Schwaner **34** Cassin 1851.

197. BATRACHOSTOMUS MIXTUS Sharpe.
The Bornean Frogmouth. C. Hose **191** Sharpe 1892.

198. BATRACHOSTOMUS JAVENSIS Horsf.
The Javan Frogmouth. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

199. BATRACHOSTOMUS AFFINIS Blyth.
The Small Malayan Frogmouth. C. Hose **136** Hartert 1892.

Sub-Order II. Coraciae.

FAM. XXIX. CORACIIDAE.

Sub-fam. Coraciinae.

200. EURYSTOMUS ORIENTALIS Linn. *orientalis* Linn.
The Eastern Roller. 1826 Diard **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

201. EURYSTOMUS ORIENTALIS Linn. *calonyx* Sharpe.
Sharpe's Eastern Roller. A. H. Everett **208** Sharpe 1892.

Sub-Order III. Halcyones.

FAM. XXX. ALCEDINIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Alcedininae.

202. PELARGOPSIS JAVANA Bodd. *innominata*[1] Van Oort.
The Bornean White-headed Kingfisher.
1826 Diard **141** Sclater 1863.

203. ALCEDO ISPIDA Linn. *bengalensis* Gm.
The Common Indian Kingfisher.
Motley **132** Salvadori[2] 1874.

204. ALCEDO EURYZONA Temm.
The Broad-zoned Kingfisher. **35** Cassin 1852.

205. ALCEDO MENINTING Horsf. *meninting* Horsf.
The Malayan Kingfisher.
1836 S. Muller **139** Schlegel 1863.

Sub-fam. 2. Daceloninae.

206. CEYX INNOMINATA Salvad.[3]
The Malayan Three-toed Kingfisher.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

207. CARCINEUTES PULCHELLUS Horsf. *melanops* Bp.
The Bornean Speckled Kingfisher.
1841-7 Schwaner **14** Bonaparte 1850.

208. HALCYON COROMANDA Lath.
The Ruddy Kingfisher.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

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1. The following pathetic note by Dr. Van Oort indicates the depths to which we have sunk as slaves of Priority: "The form from these parts of the Philippine Islands must bear the name *javana* Boddaert; it is a miserable fact that a Philippine bird has the epithet *javana* and a bird from Java that of *capensis*, but the law of priority requires this."
To this he might have added *Rhamphalcyon capensis malaccensis* Sharpe which designates a kingfisher from —— *Sumatra!*
The grey-capped form *fraseri* has been recorded from Borneo, but this requires confirmation.

2. From the literature at my disposal it is not at all clear who recorded this species first from Borneo.

3. Hartert suggests that *dillwynni* is probably only subspecifically separable from *C. tridactyla* on the one hand and *C. innominata* (= *euerythra*) on the other hand. Some of the specimens called *C. euerythra* in the British Museum are inseparable from *C. dillwynni*, others inseparable from *C. innominata*.
The greater part of the Sarawak Museum series comes from the neighbourhood of Kuching and among these birds I find typical *dillwynni*, typical *euerythra* and intermediates; I therefore merge these two under the name *innominata* of Salvadori who originally recorded it thus from Borneo although he recognized other species of *Ceyx* in Borneo. It is evidently a variable species and probably *C. tridactyla* will have to be used to cover all the forms.

209. Halcyon pileata Bodd.
The Black-capped Kingfisher.
1854-6 Wallace **132** Salvadori 1874.

210. Halcyon sancta Vig. and Horsf.
The Sacred Kingfisher. 1836 S. Muller **139** Schlegel 1863.

211. Halcyon chloris Bodd. *collaris* Scop.[1]
The White-collared Kingfisher.
1844 Schwaner **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

212. Halcyon concreta Temm.
The Brown-collared Kingfisher. 1826 Diard **100** Low 1848.

Sub-Order IV. Bucerotes.

FAM. XXXI. BUCEROTIDAE.

213. Buceros rhinoceros Linn. *rhinoceros* Linn.
The Rhinoceros Hornbill.
1836 S. Muller **113** S. Muller 1839-44.

214. Anthracoceros coronatus Bodd. *convexus* Temm.
The Javan Pied Hornbill. 1826 Diard **221** Temminck 1832.

215. Anthracoceros malayanus Raffl.[2]
The Malayan Pied Hornbill.
1826 Diard **221** Temminck 1832.

216. Cranorrhinus corrugatus Temm.
Blyth's Plaited-casqued Hornbill.
1826 Diard **221** Temminck 1832.

217. Rhytidoceros undulatus Shaw.
The Corrugated-casqued Hornbill.
1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

218. Rhytidoceros subruficollis Blyth.
The Plaited-casqued Hornbill.
1876-7 Ussher[3] **163** Sharpe 1879.

219. Anorrhinus galeritus Temm.
The Black Hornbill.
1826 Diard **114** Schlegel & Muller 1839-44.

220. Berenicornis comatus Raffles.
The White-headed Hornbill.
1880-1 Platen **7** Blasius & Nehrkorn 1881.

221. Rhinoplax vigil Forst.
The Solid-casqued Hornbill.
1836 S. Muller **113** S. Muller 1839-44.

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1. *H. armstrongi* is known from Borneo. It occurs with the common *chloris*, though rarely, and I regard it as an aberration or variety only.

2. Salvadori (1874) records *H. albirostris* from Sarawak collected by Doria. Everett (1889) quotes this under the name of *A. malabaricus*. I am inclined to doubt the accuracy of this and suspect that the birds mentioned under these names should be referred to *convexus* or *malayanus*.

3. Treacher is also cited.

Sub-Order V. Upupae.

FAM. XXXII. UPUPIDAE.

222. Upupa epops Linn.
The Hoopoe. Treacher **162** Sharpe 1879.

Sub-Order VI. Meropes.

FAM. XXXIII. MEROPIDAE.

223. Merops viridis Linn.[1]
The Sumatran Bee-eater.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.
224. Merops philippinus Linn. *philippinus* Linn.
The Philippine Bee-eater.
1845 Schwaner **139** Schlegel 1863.
225. Nyctiornis amicta Temm.
The Red-bearded Bee-eater.
1826 Diard **139** Schlegel 1863.

Sub-Order VII. Caprimulgi.

FAM. XXXIV. CAPRIMULGIDAE.

Sub-fam. Caprimulginae.

226. Lyncornis temmincki Gould.
The Malayan Crested Nightjar.
1836 S. Muller **65** Gould 1838.
227. Caprimulgus concretus Bp.
The Bornean Goatsucker. 1826 Diard **14** Bonaparte 1850.
228. Caprimulgus affinis Horsf. *affinis* Horsf.
The Chuppa Goatsucker. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.
229. Caprimulgus macrurus Horsf.
The Javan Goatsucker. Low **152** Sharpe 1875.
230. Caprimulgus indicus Lath. *jotaka* Temm. and Schleg.
The Northern Goatsucker.
1893 Buttikofer **32** Buttikofer 1900.

Sub-Order VIII. Cypseli.

FAM. XXXV. MACROPTERYGIDAE.

231. Macropteryx longipennis Rafin *harterti* Stresem.
The Long-winged Swift.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.
232. Macropteryx comata Temm.
The White-eyebrowed Swift.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

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1. Hartert (1910) shows that this name does not apply to the Indian form and has priority over *sumatranus*, long-used for the Malayan bird.

FAM. XXXVI. CYPSELIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Chaeturiinae.

233. COLLOCALIA LOWI Sharpe.
The Bornean Esculent Swift. Ussher **162** Sharpe 1879.

234. COLLOCALIA FUCIPHAGA Thunb.
The Esculent Swift. 1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

235. COLLOCALIA LINCHI Horsf. and Moore *cyanoptila* Oberhols.
The Small Malayan Esculent Swift.
1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

236. COLLOCALIA LINCHI Horsf. and Moore *dodgei* Richmd.
The Small Kinabalu Esculent Swift.
1887 Whitehead **184** Sharpe 1890.

237. CHAETURA GIGANTEA Temm.
The Giant Malayan Spine-tailed Swift.
1876 Ussher **162** Sharpe 1879.

238. CHAETURA LEUCOPYGIALIS Blyth.
The Small Malayan Spine-tailed Swift.
1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

Sub-fam. 2. Cypselinae.

239. TACHORNIS INFUMATUS Scl.
The Eastern Palm-Swift. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

240. CYPSELUS[1] SUBFURCATUS Blyth.
The Malayan House-Swift. Ussher **162** Sharpe 1879.

ORDER XV. TROGONES.

FAM. XXXVII. TRIGONIDAE.

241. PYROTROGON DIARDI Temm. *diardi* Temm.
The Bornean Trogon. 1826 Diard **221** Temminck 1832.

242. PYROTROGON KASUMBA Raffles.
The Large Malayan Black-headed Trogon.
1826 Diard **100** Low 1848.

243. PYROTROGON WHITEHEADI Sharpe.
Whitehead's Trogon. 1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

244. PYROTROGON DUVAUCELI Temm.
The Small Black-headed Trogon.
1836 S. Muller **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

245. PYROTROGON ORRHOPHAEUS Cab. and Heine *vidua* Grant.[2]
Grant's Bornean Trogon. 1887 Whitehead **208** Grant 1892.

1. Mathews substitutes *Apus* Scopoli for *Cypselus*.

2. Buttikofer (1900) records *orrhophaeus* on two males from Mt. Liong Kubong in Central Borneo.

Grant (1892) describes *vidua* on two females from Mts. Kinabalu and Dulit. As the differences between *vidua* and *orrophaeus* are very slight, I have little doubt that we are dealing with but one species, viz. *orrhophaeus*, of which the typical form comes from the Malay Peninsula, with a doubtfully distinct form, *vidua*, in Borneo.

It is curious that Buttikofer does not mention *vidua* when recording *orrhophaeus* as "new for the ornis of Borneo."

246. PYROTROGON ORESCIUS Temm. *dulitensis* Grant.[1]
The Dulit Orange Trogon.
1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

ORDER XVI. COCCYGES.

Sub-Order I. Cuculi.

FAM. XXXVIII. CUCULIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Cuculinae.

247. COCCYSTES COROMANDUS Linn.
The Red-winged Crested Cuckoo.
1836 S. Muller **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

248. SURNICULUS LEGUBRIS Horsf. *brachyurus* Stresem.
The Drongo-Cuckoo. 1836 S. Muller **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

249. HIEROCOCCYX SPARVEROIDES Vig.
The Large Hawk-Cuckoo. Treacher **162** Sharpe 1879.

250. HIEROCOCCYX BOCKI Wardl.-Rams.
Bock's Hawk-Cuckoo. 1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

251. HIEROCOCCYX FUGAX Horsf.
The Malayan Hawk-Cuckoo.
1841-7 Schwaner **141** Sclater 1863.

252. HIEROCOCCYX NANUS Hume.
The Small Hawk-Cuckoo.
1885 Whitehead **184** Sharpe 1890.

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1. Sharpe (1888 and 1890) records *orescius* in Whitehead's collection from Kinabalu. Grant (1892) describes a closely allied form as *dulitensis* from Mt. Dulit. Sharpe (1900) in the *Hand-List* omits Borneo in his note on the distribution of *orescius* and for *dulitensis* he gives "Mts. of N. W. Borneo (Dulit, Kinabalu)."

In a recent expedition to Kinabalu, typical *dulitensis* were obtained, agreeing well with Dulit specimens in the Museum. In correspondence with me on this Mr. Ogilvie Grant writes "I am now returning the three specimens of *Pyrotrogon dulitensis* which you kindly sent me for examination—all are of one species, and it is quite evident after examining the male from Kinabalu that only one form occurs in Borneo.

"The true *P. oreskios* may be distinguished at once by the wider white bands on the wing-coverts and secondaries and by the distinctly deeper orange colour of the breast. The colour of the back is really a less reliable character, unless one compares examples of the two forms, which are freshly moulted or have become equally faded; but there is no doubt that if a freshly-moulted *P. dulitensis* is compared with a specimen of *P. oreskios* in a similar condition, the former will be seen to be of a very much darker colour on the back.

"I may also add that the Bornean bird has a much shorter tail, about an inch shorter than *P. oreskios* from the Malay Peninsula."

Mr. Grant suggests the possibility of *oreskios* frequenting the lower altitudes, and *dulitensis* the higher, as is the case with *Cissa minor* and *C. jefferyi*. However Whitehead's specimens of "*oreskios*" were obtained between 1000-3000 ft. in old forest, mine between 2500 and 3300 ft. in the same kind of jungle.

253. CUCULUS MICROPTERUS Gould.
The Indian Cuckoo. 1836 S. Muller **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

254. CUCULUS CANORUS Linn.
The Common Cuckoo. 1836 S. Muller **202** Sharpe[1] 1900.

255. CUCULUS INTERMEDIUS Hodgs. *insulindae* Hart.
The Malayan Cuckoo.
1836 S. Muller **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

256. CUCULUS POLIOCEPHALUS Lath.
The Small Cuckoo. Ussher **162** Sharpe 1879.

257. PENTHOCERYX SONNERATI Lath. *pravatus* Horsf.
The Banded Bay Cuckoo.
1854-6 Wallace **225** Walden 1872.

258. CACOMANTIS MERULINUS Scop. *merulinus* Scop.
The Rufous-bellied Cuckoo.
1836 S. Muller **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

259. CHALCOCOCCYX XANTHORYNCHUS Horsf.
The Violet Cuckoo. 1826 Diard **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

260. CHALCOCOCCYX MALAYANUS Raffl.
The Malayan Violet Cuckoo.
1836 S. Muller **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

261. HETEROCOCCYX NEGLECTUS Schleg.
The Small Bornean Metallic-winged Cuckoo.
1836 S. Muller **139** Schlegel 1864.

262. EUDYNAMIS ORIENTALIS Gm. *honoratus* Linn.
The Black Indian Cuckoo.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

Sub-fam. 2. Centropodinae.

263. CENTROPUS RECTUNGUIS Strickl.
The Small Malayan Coucal.
H. H. Everett **143** Shelly 1891.

264. CENTROPUS SINENSIS Steph. *bubutus* Horsf.
The Common Malayan Chestnut Coucal.
1826 Diard **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

265. CENTROPUS BENGALENSIS Gm. *javanensis* Dumont.
The Javan Coucal. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

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1. The species of *Cuculus* recorded from Borneo appear to be involved in a hopeless confusion of names. However it seems safe to record four different species for the island, although a correct statement as to first collector and first recorder must be left for someone who can go into the subject carefully with the aid of a complete library and the collections of the British and Leyden Museums.

Sharpe (1900) in the *Hand-List* gives "Malayan Sub-Region" in his note of the distribution of *canorus*. I can find no definite record for Borneo, though such may be easily hidden in the intricate literature of *Cuculus*. [Dr. Van Oort kindly informs me of a specimen in the Leyden Museum taken by Muller].

Sub-fam. 3. Phoenicophainae.

266. Zanclostomus javanicus Horsf.
The Lesser Red-billed Malkoha.
1836 S. Muller **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

267. Rhopodytes borneensis Bp.
The Bornean Green-billed Malkoha. **18** Bonaparte 1854.

268. Rhopodytes diardi Less.
Diard's Green-billed Malkoha. Bock **26** Buttikofer 1887.

269. Rhopodytes sumatranus Raffl.
The Sumatran Green-billed Malkoha.
1836 S. Muller **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

270. Rhinortha chlorophaea Raffl.
Raffles' Green-billed Malkoha.
1826 Diard **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

271. Urococcyx erythrognathus Bp. *borneensis* Blas. & Nehrk.
The Large Bornean Malkoha.
1826 Diard **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

Sub-fam. 4. Neomorphinae.

272. Carpococcyx radiatus Temm. *radiatus* Temm.
The Bornean Pheasant-Cuckoo.
1826 Diard **221** Temminck 1832.

ORDER XVII. SCANSORES.

Sub-Order I. Indicatores.

FAM. XXXIX. INDICATORIDAE.

273. Indicator archipelagicus Temm.
The Malayan Honey-guide.
1826 Diard **221** Temminck 1832.

Sub-Order II. Capitones.

FAM. XL. CAPITONIDAE.

274. Calorhamphus hayi Gray *fuliginosus* Temm.
The Bornean Red-throated Barbet.
1826 Diard **221** Temminck 1830.

275. Chotorhea chrysopogon Temm. *chrysopsis* Goffin.
The Bornean Golden-cheeked Barbet.
1841-7 Schwaner **100** Low 1848.

276. Chotorhea versicolor Raffles.
The Malayan Blue-throated Barbet.
1841-7 Schwaner **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

277. Chotorhea mystacophanes Temm. *mystacophanes* Temm.
The Gaudy Barbet. 1836 S. Muller **100** Low 1848.

278. Chotorhea mystacophanes Temm. *monticola* Sharpe.
The Kinabalu Barbet. 1887 Whitehead **176** Sharpe 1888.

279. Cyanops armillaris Temm. *henricii* Temm.
The Malayan Blue-headed Barbet.
Treacher **163** Sharpe 1879.

280. Cyanops pulcherrima Sharpe.
The Bornean Yellow-headed Barbet.
1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

281. Mesobucco duvauceli Less. *duvauceli* Less.
The Small Malayan Barbet.
1845 Schwaner **100** Low 1848.

282. Mesobucco duvauceli Less. *eximius* Sharpe.
The Small Dulit Barbet. C. Hose **192** Sharpe 1892.

ORDER XVIII. PICIFORMES.

Sub-Order Pici.

FAM. XLI. PICIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Picinae.

283. Gecinus puniceus Horsf. *observandus* Hart.
The Bornean Crimson-winged Green Wood-pecker.
Schierbrand **123** Pelzeln 1865.

284. Chrysophlegma miniatum Forst. *malaccense* Lath.
The Banded Red Wood-pecker. Brooke[1] **141** Sclater 1863.

285. Chrysophlegma mentale Temm. *humei* Harg.
The Chequered-throated Wood-pecker.
1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

286. Gauropicoides rafflesi Vig.
Raffles' Three-toed Wood-pecker.
1836 S. Muller **101** Malherbe 1862.

287. Iyngipicus aurantiiventris Salvad.
The Golden-vented Pigmy Wood-pecker.
1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

288. Iyngipicus picatus Harg.
The Grey-crowned Pigmy Wood-pecker.
Low **83** Hargitt 1882.

289. Iyngipicus auritus Gm.
The Malayan Pigmy Wood-pecker.
Low **132** Salvadori 1874.

290. Pyrrhopicus porphyromelas Boie.
The Malayan Bay Wood-pecker.
1826 Diard **101** Malherbe 1862.

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1. The earliest Bornean specimens appear to be in the British Museum; No dates are mentioned and I have given Sir James Brooke's name as the first collector simply because he worked in Borneo for some years the catalogue gives the names of Sir James Brooke, Low and Wallace. before Low. Wallace of course was later still.

291. Miglyptes tristis Horsf. *grammithorax* Malh.
The Fulvous-rumped Barred Wood-pecker.
1845 Schwaner **101** Malherbe 1862.

292. Miglyptes tukki Less.
The Buff-necked Barred Wood-pecker.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

293. Micropternus badiosus Temm.
The Bornean Rufous Wood-pecker.
1826 Diard **14** Bonaparte 1850.

294. Tiga javanensis Ljung *javanensis* Ljung.[1]
The Common Golden-backed Three-toed Wood-pecker.
95 Horsfield & Moore 1856-8.

295. Chrysocolaptes validus Temm. *xanthopygius* Finsch.
The Fiery-chested Bornean Wood-pecker.
Brooke **141** Sclater 1863.

296. Hemicercus concretus Bp. *sordidus* Eyton.
The Grey and Buff Wood-pecker.
1854-7 Wallace **141** Sclater 1863.

297. Alophonerpes pulverulentus Temm.
The Great Slaty Wood-pecker.
1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

298. Thriponax javensis Horsf. *javensis* Horsf.
The Malayan Black Wood-pecker.
Brooke **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

Sub-fam. 2. Picumninae.

299. Picumnus innominatus Burton.
The Speckled Piculet. 1893 A. H. Everett **196** Sharpe 1893.

300. Sasia abnormis Temm. *everetti* Sharpe.[2]
The Bornean Piculet. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

ORDER XIX. EURYLAEMIFORMES.

FAM. XLII. EURYLAEMIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Calyptomeninae.

301. Calyptomena viridis Raffles.
Raffles' Green Broadbill. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

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1. Hartert (1901) shows that *Tiga borneonensis* Dubois cannot be kept separate from this species.

2. *Sasia everetti* Sharpe is regarded by Hartert as the young form of this species. The name, however, is retained for the Bornean form of *abnormis*.

302. CALYPTOMENA HOSEI Sharpe.[1]
Hose's Green Broadbill. C. Hose **193** Sharpe 1892.

303. CALYPTOMENA WHITEHEADI Sharpe.
Whitehead's Green Broadbill.
1887 Whitehead **174** Sharpe 1887.

Sub-fam. 2. Eurylaeminae.

304. PSARISOMUS DALHOUSIAE[2] Jamesn. *psittacinus* Mull.
The Malayan Long-tailed Broadbill.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

305. EURYLAEMUS JAVANICUS Horsf. *harterti* van Oort.
Hartert's Broadbill. A. H. Everett **225** Walden 1872.

306. EURYLAEMUS OCHROMELAS Raffl.
The Black and Yellow Broadbill.
Schierbrand **123** Pelzeln 1865.

307. CORYDON SUMATRANUS Raffl.
The Dusky Broadbill. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

308. CYMBORHYNCHUS MACRORHYNCHUS Gm. *macrorhynchus* Gm.
The Bornean Black and Red Broadbill.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

ORDER XX. PASSERIFORMES.

Sub-Order I. Mesomyodi.

FAM. XLIII. PITTIDAE.

309. PITTA COERULEA Raffles.
The Giant Pitta. 1878 W. B. Pryer **166** Sharpe 1881.

310. PITTA CYANOPTERA Temm.[3]
The Lesser Blue-winged Pitta. **221** Temminck 1823.

311. PITTA MEGARHYNCHA Schleg.
The Large-billed Blue-winged Pitta.
1891 Sarawak Museum[4] **111** Moulton 1914.

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1. Dr. Sharpe (1892) makes an interesting note on the discovery of this species. He writes ''Mr. Everett likewise obtained a female of this species in October at the foot of Song mountain, in the Baram district, a few days after Mr. Hose had met with it on Mount Dulit.''

   Dr. Sharpe continues with this tribute to Mr. Everett: ''I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without acknowledging the rare generosity with which my old friend Mr. Everett (who knows Bornean birds as well as anyone in the world, and who was perfectly well aware that the present species was quite new) allowed the specimens to come unnamed to England, in order that I might have the privilege of describing this splendid novelty.''

2. Jameson's name appears in 1835; Muller's in the same year. I cannot find out whose has priority.

Sarawak. In reply to a letter of mine querying this, Dr. Hanitsch
3. Hanitsch (1912) records *Pitta maxima* in the Raffles Museum from
in Haviland's handwriting: 'Sarawak? known only from Giolo?' ''
writes ''*Pitta maxima*: the bird is named correctly, but the label says.

4. Received in exchange from the Raffles Museum, Singapore.

312. Pitta nympha Temm. and Schleg.
The Chinese Blue-winged Pitta.
1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

313. Pitta venusta[1] Mull. *ussheri* Sharpe.
Ussher's Scarlet Pitta. 1877 Ussher **155** Sharpe 1877.

314. Pitta granatina Temm. *granatina* Temm.
The Bornean Scarlet Pitta.
1826 Diard **221** Temminck 1830.

315. Pitta arcuata Gould.
The Blue-banded Pitta. A. H. Everett **66** Gould 1871.

316. Pitta atricapilla Less. *mulleri* Bp.
Muller's Green Pitta. 1836 Muller **221** Temminck 1830.

317. Pitta baudi Mull. and Schleg.
The Blue-headed Pitta.
1836 S. Muller **114** Muller & Schlegel 1839-44.

318. Eucichla cyanura Bodd. *schwaneri* Bp.
The Black and Yellow-striped Bornean Pitta.
1841-7 Schwaner **14** Bonaparte 1850.

Sub-Order II. Acromyodi.

FAM. XLIV. HIRUNDINIDAE.

Sub-fam. Hirundininae.

319. Chelidonaria dasypus Bp.
The Japanese Martin. 1826 Diard **14** Bonaparte 1850.

320. Clivicola riparia Linn.
The Sand-Martin.
1893 Sarawak Museum **214** Shelford 1901.

321. Hirundo[2] rustica Linn. *gutturalis* Scop.
The Eastern Swallow. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

322. Hirundo javanica Sparrm.
The Javan Swallow. Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

323. Hirundo daurica Linn. *striolata* Temm. and Schl.
The Japanese Striated Swallow.
1900 Sarawak Museum **214** Shelford 1901.

FAM. XLV. MUSCICAPIDAE.

324. Hemichelidon sibirica Gm. *fuliginosa* Hodgs.
The Dun Flycatcher. C. Hose **198** Sharpe 1894.

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1. Elliot has recorded *venusta* from Borneo, but, as Salvadori points out, only in the introduction to his monograph, not in the body of that work. The form described as *ussheri* appears to replace *venusta* in Borneo, as Everett remarks.

2. Mathews substitutes *Chelidon* Forster for *Hirundo*.

325. Hemichelidon griseisticta Swinh.[1]
Swinhoe's Dun Flycatcher.
1892 Sarawak Museum **107** Moulton 1911.

326. Hemichelidon ferruginea Hodgs.
Hodgson's Eastern Flycatcher.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

327. Alseonax latirostris Raffles.
The Brown Flycatcher. 1867 Beccari **132** Salvadori 1874.

328. Cyornis concreta Bp. *everetti* Sharpe.
The Large Bornean Blue Flycatcher
A. H. Everett **188** Sharpe 1890.

329. Cyornis unicolor Blyth *infuscata* Blyth.
The Uniform Blue Malayan Flycatcher. **13** Blyth 1870.

330. Cyornis elegans Temm.
The Blue Malayan Flycatcher.
A. H. Everett **225** Walden 1872.

331. Cyornis erythrogaster Sharpe.
The Red-bellied Blue Flycatcher.
Schierbrand **123** von Pelzeln 1865.

332. Cyornis nigrigularis Everett.
Everett's Blue Flycatcher.
1889 A. H. Everett **48** A. H. Everett 1891.

333. Cyornis rufifrons Wall.
Wallace's Blue Flycatcher.
1854-6 Wallace **226** Wallace 1865.

334. Cyornis beccariana Salv.
Beccari's Blue Flycatcher.
1865 Beccari[2] **130** Salvadori 1868.

335. Cyornis elopurensis Sharpe.[3]
The Sandakan Flycatcher. Pryer **187** Sharpe 1890.

336. Schwaneria coeruleata Bp.
Schwaner's Blue Flycatcher.
1841-7 Schwaner **20** Bonaparte 1857.

337. Nitidula hodgsoni Moore.
Hodgson's Blue Flycatcher.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

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1. Nine specimens in the Museum which appear to be this species. Previously recorded from Palawan, but not from Borneo.

2. Salvadori notes this species in Mus. Lugd. from Borneo, no doubt obtained by one of the earlier Dutch collectors whose name I cannot find mentioned: Beccari is therefore noted provisionally as the first to collect this species in Borneo. [Dr. Van Oort writes that the earliest Bornean specimen in the Leyden Museum is one collected by Buttikofer in July 1894].

3. Dr. Sharpe regarded this as the Bornean representative of the Javan *C. vordermani* Sharpe. It is described from a single specimen which I suspect will turn out to be a female of one of the other Bornean species of *Cyornis*.

238. ANTHIPES OLIVACEA Hume.
Hume's Flycatcher. A. H. Everett **196** Sharpe 1893.

339. ANTHIPES OBSCURA Sharpe.
Sharpe's Bornean Flycatcher. **165** Sharpe 1881.

340. ERYTHROMYIAS MUELLERI Sharpe.
Muller's White-striped Flycatcher.
1841-47 Schwaner **13** Blyth 1870.

341. POLIOMYIAS LUTEOLA Pall.
The Small Eastern Orange-breasted Flycatcher.
1865 Beccari **132** Salvadori 1874.

342. DENDROBIASTES HYPERYTHRA Blyth *malayana* Grant.
The Malayan White-eyebrowed Flycatcher.
1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

343. MUSCICAPULA MELANOLEUCA Hodgs. *westermanni* Sharpe.
The Small Black and White Flycatcher.
1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

344. GERYGONE SULFUREA Wall. *salvadorii* Buttikof.
Salvadori's Bornean Flycatcher.
1841-7 Schwaner **132** Salvadori 1874.

345. XANTHOPYGIA NARCISSINA Temm.
The Black and Yellow Flycatcher.
Lempriere **115** Nicholson 1883.

346. CYANOPTILA BELLA A. Hay.
The Beautiful Blue-headed Flycatcher.
Low **164** Sharpe 1879.

347. HYPOTHYMIS AZUREA Bodd. *prophata* Oberhols.
The Black-crowned Blue Flycatcher.
Schierbrand **123** Pelzeln 1865.

348. RHIPIDURA ALBICOLLIS Vieill.
The White-throated Fantail Flycatcher.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

349. RHIPIDURA PERLATA S. Mull.
The White-spotted Fantail Flycatcher.
1854-6 Wallace **132** Salvadori 1874.

350. RHIPIDURA JAVANICA Sparrm.[1]
The Javan Fantail Flycatcher.
1836 S. Muller **113** S. Muller 1839-44.

351. TERPSIPHONE AFFINIS Blyth.
The Burmese Paradise Flycatcher.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

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1. Two more species of *Rhipidura* have been recorded from Borneo; these are *R. phoenicura*, of which Sharpe (1879) writes "Capt. Elwes possesses a specimen said to be from that island," and *R. euryura*, of which there is a purchased specimen in the British Museum, supposed to have come from Borneo. The true habitat of both these species is Java; their occurrence in Borneo is unlikely and these single records require confirmation before the two species can be added to the Bornean list.

352. PHILENTOMA VELATUM Temm.[1]
The Maroon-breasted Flycatcher.
1826 Diard **12** Blyth 1865.

353. PHILENTOMA PYRRHOPTERUM Temm.
The Chestnut-winged Flycatcher.
1826 Diard **221** Temminck 1836.

354. RHINOMYIAS PECTORALIS Salvad.
The Malayan Grey-breasted Flycatcher.
1843 Schwaner[2] **130** Salvadori 1868.

355. RHINOMYIAS RUFICRISSA Sharpe.
The Bornean Grey-breasted Flycatcher.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

356. RHINOMYIS GULARIS Sharpe.
The Kinabalu Grey-breasted Flycatcher.
1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

357. CULICICAPA CEYLONENSIS Swains. *ceylonensis* Swains.
The Grey-headed Flycatcher.
1854-6 Wallace[3] **132** Salvadori 1874.

358. CRYPTOLOPHA NANTIS Sharpe.
The Small Mountain Flycatcher
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

359. ABRORNIS SCHWANERI Blyth.
Schwaner's Small Yellow-vented Flycatcher.
1841-7 Schwaner **13** Blyth 1870.

360. STOPAROLA THALASSINOIDES Cab.
The Malayan Black-throated Blue Flycatcher.
1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

361. STOPAROLA CERVINIVENTRIS Sharpe.
The Kinabalu Black-throated Blue Flycatcher.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

FAM. XLVI. CAMPOPHAGIDAE.

362. ARTAMIDES SUMATRENSIS S. Mull.
The Sumatran Swallow-Shrike.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

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1. The British Museum Hand-List (1901) records Bartlett's two species of Philentoma (*P. saravacense* and *P. maxwelli*) from Borneo. As Shelford pointed out in 1901, the former is only the young form of this species, the latter an aberration of the next. Bartlett's types are in the Sarawak Museum.

2. On the authority of Buttikofer (1900).

3. Everett in 1889 quotes Wallace as an authority for this species in Borneo. Salvadori in 1874, apparently in ignorance of Wallace's specimen, gives Beccari as the discoverer of this species in Borneo.

Beccari's specimen was collected in 1865, Wallace's from 1854-6; the former's record was first published in 1874, the latter's apparently not until 1889. Thus Wallace is regarded as the first captor of the species in Borneo, and Salvadori as the first to record it from Borneo.

363. ARTAMIDES MELANOCEPHALUS Salv. *normani* Sharpe.
The Kinabalu Swallow-Shrike.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

364. CHLAMYDOCHERA JEFFERYI Sharpe.
Whitehead's Cuckoo-Shrike.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

365. PERICROCOTUS XANTHOGASTER Raffl.
The Malayan Yellow-bellied Minivet.
Schierbrand **123** Pelzeln 1865.

366. PERICROCOTUS MONTANUS Salvad.
The Mountain Minivet. 1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

367. PERICROCOTUS PEREGRINUS Linn.
The Small Minivet. **14** Bonaparte[1] 1850.

368. PERICROCOTUS IGNEUS Blyth.
The Fiery Minivet. 1866 Beccari[2] **132** Salvadori 1874.

369. PERICROCOTUS CINEREUS Lafr.
The Ashy Minivet. 1875 A. H. Everett **154** Sharpe 1877.

370. LALAGE TERAT Bodd.
The Pied Cuckoo-Shrike.
1836 S. Muller **114** S Muller 1839-44.

371. LALAGE FIMBRIATA Temm. *culminata* Hay.
The Malayan Cuckoo-Shrike.
1836 S. Muller **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

FAM. XLVII. PYCNONOTIDAE.

372. AEGITHINA VIRIDISSIMA Bp.
The Small Malayan Green Bulbul.
1826 Diard[3] **14** Bonaparte 1850.

373. AEGITHINA TIPHIA Linn. *viridis* Bp.
The Small Yellow-breasted Green Bulbul.
1826 Diard **14** Bonaparte 1850.

374. CHLOROPSIS VIRIDIS Horsf. *viriditectus* Hart.
The Bornean Green Bulbul.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

375. CHLOROPSIS KINABALUENSIS Sharpe.
The Black-throated Green Bulbul.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

376. CHLOROPSIS ICTEROCEPHALUS Less. *viridinucha* Sharpe.
Everett's Green Bulbul. **221** Temminck 1829.

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1. The record of this species for Borneo requires confirmation; Bonaparte is the sole authority as yet. Everett omits it from his list.
2. Salvadori notes this species in Mus. Lugd.; probably collected before Beccari's specimen; Dr. Van Oort kindly informs me that these particular specimens in the Leyden Museum, collected by the earlier naturalists, do not bear the collector's name; but he adds that the species was collected in 1866 by Semmelink, *i.e.*, the same year as that in which Beccari's specimen was collected.
3. Dr. Van Oort very kindly informs me that this species and the next were collected by Diard in 1826.

377. CHLOROPSIS CYANOPOGON Temm.
The Blue-whiskered Green Bulbul.
1836 S. Muller **138** Schlegel 1857.

378. IRENA CRINIGER Sharpe.
The Bornean Fairy Bluebird.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

379. HEMIXUS CONNECTENS Sharpe.
The Bornean White-throated Bulbul.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

380. HEMIXUS MALACCENSIS Blyth.
The Streaked Bulbul. **75** Gray 1869.

381. IOLE OLIVACEA Blyth.
The Olive Bulbul. 1826 Diard **49** Finsch 1867.

382. EUPTILOSUS EUPTILOSUS Jard. and Selb.
The Crested Brown Bulbul. 1826 Diard **75** Gray 1869.

383. POLIOLOPHUS NIEUWENHUISI Finsch.
The Bornean Wattled Bulbul.
1900 Nieuwenhuis **60** Finsch 1901.

384. MICROTARSUS MELANOCEPHALUS Gm. *melanocephalus* Gm.
The Black-headed Bulbul. 1866 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

385. MICROTARSUS MELANOLEUCUS Eyton.
The White-winged Black Bulbul.
1836 S. Muller **132** Salvadori 1874.

386. CRINIGER TEPHROGENYS Jard. and Selb. *gutturalis* Bp.
The Ashy-throated Bornean Bulbul.
1843 Schwaner **14** Bonaparte 1850.

387. CRINIGER RUFICRISSUS Sharpe.
The Large White-throated Bornean Bulbul.
1877 Burbidge **161** Sharpe 1879.

388. CRINIGER FINSCHII Salvad.
Finsch's Yellow-throated Bulbul.
1865 Doria **131** Salvadori 1871.

389. ALOPHOIXUS PHAEOCEPHALUS Hartl.
The Grey-headed Bulbul.
1826 Diard **14** Bonaparte 1850.

390. ALOPHOIXUS DIARDI Finsch.
Diard's Yellow-breasted Bulbul.
1826 Diard **49** Fisnch 1867.

391. TRICHOPHOROPSIS TYPUS Bp.
Van Bemmelen's Bulbul.
1836 S. Muller **16** Bonaparte 1854.

392. TRICHOLESTES CRINIGER Blyth.
The Bristle-backed Bulbul.
1845 Schwaner **16** Bonaparte 1854.

393. TRACHYCOMUS OCHROCEPHALUS Gm.
The Yellow-crown Bulbul.
1854-6 Wallace **225** Walden 1872.

394. PYCNONOTUS GOIAVIER Scop. *analis* Horsf.
The Yellow-vested Bulbul.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

395. PYCNONOTUS PLUMOSUS Blyth.
The Large Olive Bulbul. 1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

396. PYCHONOTUS SIMPLEX Less. *simplex* Less.
Moore's Olive Bulbul. 1854-6 Wallace **167** Sharpe 1881.

397. PYCHONOTUS SALVADORI Sharpe.
The Small Olive Bulbul.
1854-6 Wallace **132** Salvadori[1] 1874.

398. OTOCOMPSA MONTIS Sharpe.
The Small Bornean Crested Bulbul.
1877 Burbidge[2] **161** Sharpe 1879.

399. OREOCTISTES LEUCOPS Sharpe.
The White-faced Mountain Bulbul.
1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

400. RUBIGULA CYANIVENTRIS Blyth *paroticalis* Sharpe.
The Bornean Slate-breasted Bulbul.
H. H. Everett **157** Sharpe 1878.

401. RUBIGULA WEBBERI Hume.
Webber's Scaly-breasted Bulbul.
1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

FAM. XLVIII. TIMELIIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Crateropodinae.

402. EUPETES MACROCERCUS Temm.
The Brown Laughing-Thrush.
A. H. Everett **188** Sharpe 1890.

403. POMATORHINUS BORNEENSIS Cab.
The Bornean Scimitar Babbler.
1836 S. Muller **114** S. Muller 1839-44.

404. GARRULAX SCHISTOCHLAMYS Sharpe.
The Bornean Brown-winged Laughing-Thrush.
1888 Whitehead **178** Sharpe 1888.

405. ALLOCOTOPS CALVUS Sharpe.
The Bald-headed Laughing-Thrush.
1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

406. RHINOCICHLA MITRATA S. Mull. *treacheri* Sharpe.
Treacher's Red-headed Laughing-Thrush.
1877 Burbidge **161** Sharpe 1879.

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1. Salvadori records a specimen collected by Beccari in 1865 as *P. pusillus* Salv. Everett in 1889 mentions Wallace as a collector of this species in Borneo, *i.e.* ten years previous to Beccari.

2. The first examples of this species were obtained on Kinabalu by Mr. Treacher's native collectors, who accompanied Mr. Burbidge on his expedition to this mountain. Mr. Treacher did not go at all.

Sub-fam. 2. Timeliinae.

407. OPHRYDORNIS ALBIGULARIS Blyth.[1]
The White-throated Babbler.
1865 Doria **130** Salvadori 1868.

408. ANDROPHILUS ACCENTOR Sharpe.
The Small Friendly Babbler.
1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

409. TURDINUS ABBOTTI Blyth. *buttikoferi* Finsch.
The Bornean Brown-backed Tit-Babbler.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

410. TURDINUS PERSPICILLATUS Bp.
The Large Ashy-throated Babbler.
1841-7 Schwaner **14** Bonaparte 1850.

411. TURDINUS PYRRHOGENYS Temm. *canicapillus* Sharpe.
The Bornean Mountain Babbler.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

412. TURDINUS RUFIVENTRIS Salvad.
The Bornean Lowland Babbler.
1826 Diard[2] **132** Salvadori 1874.

413. TURDINUS MAGNIROSTRIS Moore *kalulongae* Sharpe.
The Kalulong Babbler. C. Hose **196** Sharpe 1893.

414. TURDINUS ATRIGULARIS Bp.
The Bornean Black-throated Babbler.
1841-7 Schwaner **14** Bonaparte 1850.

415. ERYTHROCICHLA BICOLOR Less.
The Malayan Red-tailed Babbler.
1841-7 Schwaner **14** Bonaparte 1850.

416. DRYMOCATAPHUS CAPISTRATOIDES Temm.
The Malayan Black-capped Babbler.[3] **217** Strickland 1849.

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1. There appears to be some confusion over this species resulting in the record from Borneo of two Timeliine birds called *albigularis* Blyth. Sharpe (1883) records *Dumetia albigularis* Blyth and *Malacopterum albigulare* Blyth, the former from Madras and Ceylon, the latter from Malacca and Borneo. In the Handlist (1903) he refers to these respectively as *Ophrydornis albigularis* Blyth and *Setaria albigularis* Blyth. To the former he adds as locality "Borneo (*teste* Finsch in litt.). Buttikofer (1895), however, gives *Ophrydornis albigularis* Blyth with distribution Malacca and Borneo and refers as synonyms the *Setaria albigularis* of Blyth and of Salvadori, and the *Malacopterum albigulare* of Sharpe.
   In this list I accept Buttikofer's *Ophrydornis albigularis* Blyth with distribution Borneo and Malacca, and suggest that Finsch's record of a Bornean specimen of Sharpe's *Ophrydornis albigularis* Blyth be rejected pending further inquiry.
   The question of whose *Ophrydornis albigularis* Blyth is right I must leave to some more experienced ornithologist.

2. Buttikofer (1895) states that specimens collected by Diard and Schwaner exist in the Leyden Museum.

3. Dr. Van Oort informs me that this species is represented from Borneo in the Leyden Museum, but that the specimens are very old and without collector's name.

417. Aethostoma rostratum Blyth *umbratila* Strickl.
The Malayan White-vented Babbler. **217** Strickland 1849.

418. Setaria magna Eyton.
The Large Red-headed Tree-Babbler. **14** Bonaparte 1850.

419. Setaria cinerea Eyton.
The Smaller Red-headed Tree-Babbler.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

420. Setaria affinis Blyth.
The Small Brown-tailed Tree-Babbler. **100** Low 1848.

421. Setaria cinereicapilla Salvad.
The Grey-headed Tree-Babbler.
1865 Doria **130** Salvadori 1868.

422. Ptilopyga leucogrammica Bp.
The Bornean Streaked Babbler.
1826 Diard **14** Bonaparte 1850.

423. Anuropsis malaccensis Hartl. *malaccensis* Hartl.
The Malacca Babbler.
1836 S. Muller **217** Strickland 1849.

424. Turdinulus epileppidotus Temm. *exsul* Sharpe.
The Little Bornean Bob-tailed Babbler.
1888 Whitehead **178** Sharpe 1888.

425. Laniotturdinus crassus Sharpe.
The Kinabalu Streaked Babbler.
1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

426. Alcippe cinerea Blyth.
The Little Brown Tree-Babbler.
1854-6 Wallace **170** Sharpe 1883.

427. Stachyris nigriceps Hodgs. *borneensis* Sharpe.
The Bornean Dark-throated Babbler.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

428. Stachyris poliogaster Hume.
The Grey-breasted Babbler.
1894 Buttikofer **32** Buttikofer 1900.

429. Stachyris poliocephala Blyth.
The Fiery-chested Babbler. **221** Temminck 1836.

430. Strachyris nigricollis Temm.
The Black-necked Babbler.
1836 S. Muller **221** Temminck 1836.

431. Stachyris leucotis Strickl.
The White-eared Babbler. H. H. Everett **157** Sharpe 1878.

432. Stachyris maculata Temm.
The Red-rumped Babbler. 1826 Diard **100** Low 1848.

433. Kenopia striata Blyth.
The Streaky-backed Babbler.
1836 S. Muller **14** Bonaparte 1850.

434. CYANODERMA ERYTHROPTERUM Blyth. *bicolor* Blyth.
The Small Bicoloured Babbler.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

435. MIXORNIS JAVANICA Cab. *borneensis* Bp.
The Bornean Brown Babbler.
1836 S. Muller **14** Bonaparte 1850.

436. MIXORNIS MONTANA Sharpe.
Whitehead's Brown Babbler.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

437. MACRONUS PTILOSUS Jard. & Selby.
The Hairy Babbler. 1836 S. Muller **221** Temminck 1836.

Sub-fam. 3. Brachypteryginae.

438. MYIOPHONEUS BORNEENSIS Slater.
The Bornean Whistling-Thrush. Harvey **216** Slater 1885.

439. BRACHYPTERYX ERYTHROGYNA Sharpe.
The Kinabalu Short-wing.
1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

Sub-fam. 4. Sibiinae.

440. STAPHIDIA CASTANEICEPS Moore *everetti* Sharpe.
Everett's Babbler. 1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

441. HERPORNIS XANTHOLEUCA Hodgs. *brunnescens* Sharpe.
The Bornean Oliver Babbler.
1854-6 Wallace **153** Sharpe 1876.

Sub-fam. 5. Liotrichinae.

442. PTERYTHIUS AERALATUS Tick. *cameranoi* Salvad.
Camerano's Shrike-Tit. 1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

FAM. XLIX. TROGLODYTIDAE.

443. ORTHNOCICHLA WHITEHEADI Sharpe.
The Kinabalu Wren. 1888 Whitehead **178** Sharpe 1888.

FAM. L. TURDIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Turdinae.

444. MERULA SEEBOHMI Sharpe.
Seebohm's Blackbird. 1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

445. GEOCICHLA INTERPRES Kuhl.
Kuhl's Ground-Thrush. 1887-8 Adams **40** Elliot 1890.

446. GEOCICHLA CITRINA Lath. *aurata* Sharpe.
The Golden-headed Kinabalu Ground-Thrush.
1888 Whitehead **178** Sharpe 1888.

447. GEOCICHLA EVERETTI Sharpe.
Everett's Ground-thrush. Hose **192** Sharpe 1892.

448. TURDUS OBSCURUS Gm.
The Dark Ouzel. Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

449. PETROPHILA CYANUS Linn. *manilla* Bodd.
The Eastern Rock-Thrush.
1872 Ussher **154** Sharpe[1] 1877.

Sub-fam. 2. Henicurinae.

450. HENICURUS LESCHENAULTI Vieill. *borneensis* Sharpe.
The Bornean Forktail. 1888 Whitehead **181** Sharpe 1889.

451. HYDROCICHLA RUFICAPILLUS Temm.
The Chestnut-headed Forktail.
1874 A. H. Everett **153** Sharpe 1876.

452. HYDROCICHLA FRONTALIS Blyth.
The White-crowned Forktail.
1841-7 Schwaner **132** Salvadori 1874.

Sub-fam. 3. Ruticillinae.

453. LARVIVORA CYANEA Pall.
The Siberian Blue Robin. Low **144** Seebohm 1881.

454. COPSYCHUS SAULARIS Linn. *musicus* Raffl.[2]
The Malayan Magpie-Robin.
1826 Diard **14** Bonaparte 1850.

455. COPSYCHUS SAULARIS Linn. *niger* Wardl.-Rams.
The Black-vented Magpie-Robin.
Pryer **230** Wardlaw-Ramsay 1886.

456. CITTOCINCLA MACRURUS Gm. *suavis* Sclater.
The Common Bornean Shama.
1860 Motley **140** Sclater 1861.

457. CITTOCINCLA MACRURUS Gm. *stricklandi* Motl. & Dillw.
The White-crowned Bornean Shama.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

458. TRICHIXUS PYRRHOPYGUS Less.
The Brown-tailed Robin.
1854-6 Wallace **132** Salvadori 1874.

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1. Sharpe records a specimen collected by Everett in 1875 as the first Bornean examples; Seebohm (1881) notes a specimen collected by Ussher in 1872.

2. Hartert calls the Bornean form *amoenus* and states that the black-bellied form (= *niger* Wardl.-Rams.) occurs together with the white-bellied form in Borneo. I think the latter is replaced in North Borneo by the black form which may be kept apart as a northern subspecies. The Sarawak specimens agree with the description of *musicus* better than with that of *amoenus*. If this is correct we have a more natural distribution, *viz.*

C. saularis saularis L., India to China and Hainan.
C. saularis musicus Raffl., Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo.
C. saularis amoenus Horsf., Java and Bali (and South Borneo?)
C. saularis niger Wardl.-Ram., North Borneo.

Buttikofer (1900) notes the Javan form *amoenus* from "East Java, Bali and Borneo, with the exception of Sarawak and the Kapuas region."

Sub-fam. 4. Saxicolinae.

459. PRATINCOLA MAURA Pall.
The Indian Bush-Chat.
1898 Sarawak Museum **210** Shelford 1898.

460. PRATINCOLA CAPRATA Linn. *caprata* Linn.
The Common Pied Bush-Chat. **9** Blasius 1883.

FAM. LI. SYLVIIDAE.

461. LOCUSTELLA OCHOTENSIS Midd.
Middendorff's Grasshopper-Warbler. Low **162** Sharpe 1879.

462. LOCUSTELLA CERTHIOLA Pall.
Pallas's Grasshopper-Warbler.
1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

463. ACROCEPHALUS ARUNDINACEUS Linn. *orientalis* T. and S.
The Chinese Great Reed-Warbler.
1836 S. Muller **14** Bonaparte 1850.

464. ORTHOTOMUS ATRIGULARIS Temm.
The Black-necked Tailor-bird. **221** Temminck 1836.

465. ORTHOTOMUS RUFICEPS Less.
The Red-headed Tailor-bird.
1836 S. Muller **221** Temminck 1836.

466. ORTHOTOMUS SEPIUM Horsf. *cineraceus* Blyth.
The Ashy Tailor-bird. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

467. CISTICOLA CISTICOLA Temm.
The Rufous Fantail-Warbler. **170** Sharpe[1] 1883.

468. PHYLOSCOPUS TRIVIRGATA Strickl. *kinabaluensis* Sharpe.
The Small Kinabalu Warbler.
1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

469. PHYLLOSCOPUS BOREALIS Blas.
The Arctic Willow-Warbler.
1866 Beccari **132** Salvadori 1874.

470. PHYLLOSCOPUS XANTHODRYAS Swinh.
Swinhoe's Willow-Warbler. Treacher **162** Sharpe 1879.

471. HORORNIS FORTIPES Hodgs. *oreophila* Sharpe.
The Kinabalu Bush-Warbler.
1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

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1. Sharpe (1883) mentions "Indo-Malayan Islands" for part of the distribution of this species, though no Bornean specimens are given in his Catalogue. In the Hand-list (1903) "Greater and Lesser Sunda Is." appears in the distribution.

In a paper on Palawan Birds, Sharpe (1888) notes that the species is found in Borneo and Palawan. But I can find no more definite record for Borneo.

C. exilis is referred to the Malay Archipelago (among other regions) in the Hand-list, but as the Catalogue lists the Malayan Islands, in which it occurs, without giving Borneo, I omit it from this list.

472. PHYLLERGATES CUCULLATUS Temm. *cucullatus* Temm.
Temminck's Warbler. 1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

473. BURNESIA SUPERCILIARIS Salvad.
The Bornean Wren-Warbler.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

FAM. LII. ARTAMIDAE.

474. ARTAMUS LEUCORHYNCHOS Linn. *leucorhynchos* Linn.
The White-bellied Swallow-Shrike.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

FAM. LIII. PRIONOPIDAE.

475. HEMIPUS OBSCURUS Horsf.
The Malayan Pied Shrike. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

476. HEMIPUS PICATUS Sykes.[1]
The Black-backed Pied Shrike.
1887 Whitehead **180** Sharpe 1889.

477. TEPHRODORNIS GULARIS Raffles *frenatus* Buttik.
The Bornean Wood-Shrike.
1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

478. PLATYLOPHUS CORONATUS Raffles.
The Brown Crested Jay-Shrike.
1841-7 Schwaner **16** Bonaparte 1854.

479. PLATYLOPHUS LEMPRIERI Nicholson.[2]
Lempriere's Jay-Shrike. Lempriere **115** Nicholson 1883.

FAM. LIV. LANIIDAE.

Sub-fam. 1. Gymnorhinae.

480. PITYRIASIS GYMNOCEPHALA Temm.
The Bald-headed Mynah. 1826 Diard **221** Temminck 1835.

Sub-fam. 2. Laniinae.

481. ENNEOCTONUS TIGRINUS Drap.
The Thick-billed Shrike. 1881 Grabowsky **9** Blasius 1883.

482. CEPHALOPHONEUS SCHACH Linn. *nasutus* Scop.
The Bornean Black-headed Shrike. **15** Bonaparte 1853.

1. Buttikofer (1900) shows that *Hemipus intermedius* Salvad. cannot be kept separate from this species.

2. This species is described as like *P. coronatus*, "sed clarius rufus, et genis nigris distinguendus." Dr. Sharpe has examined the type and regards it as a good species. Specimens in the Sarawak Museum vary; thus one with brown cheeks is distinctly a redder brown on the back than most of the others. Two have blackish cheeks but in these the brown colouring above is similar to the majority of brown-cheeked birds. Everett notes that it and *P. coronatus* appear to have been taken by Pryer in the same locality and I think there can be little doubt that *lemprieri* is a variety or more probably a younger phase of *P. coronatus*. However, without having examined the type of *lemprieri* I retain them provisionally as distinct.

483. OTOMELA CRISTATA Linn. *cristata* Linn.[1]
The Brown Shrike. **73** Grant 1902.

484. OTOMELA CRISTATA Linn. *lucionensis* Linn.
The Philippine Shrike.
1841-7 Schwaner **14** Bonaparte 1850.

485. OTOMELA CRISTATA Linn. *superciliosa* Lath.
The Chestnut-crowned Shrike. **73** Grant 1902.

Sub-fam. 3. Pachycephalinae.

486. HYLOTERPE GRISOLA Blyth. *grisola* Blyth.[2]
The Grey Malayan Shrike.
1841-7 Schwaner **14** Bonaparte 1850.

487. HYLOTERPE HYPOXANTHA Sharpe.
The Kinabalu Yellow-breasted Shrike.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

FAM. LV. PARIDAE.

488. PARUS SARAWACENSIS Slater.
The Sarawak Titmouse. Harvey **216** Slater 1885.

FAM. LVI. SITTIDAE.

489. DENDROPHILA FRONTALIS Swains. *corallipes* Sharpe.
The Red-legged Blue Nuthatch.
Schierbrand **123** Pelzeln 1865.

FAM. LVII. ZOSTEROPIDAE.

490. ZOSTEROPS PALPEBROSA Temm. *aureiventer* Hume.
Hume's White-eye. 1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

491. ZOSTEROPS FLAVA Horsf. *flava* Horsf[3].
The Yellow White-eye.
1841-7 Schwaner **96a** Jacquinot 1853.

492. ZOSTEROPS ATRIFRONS Wall. *clara* Sharpe.
The Kinabalu White-eye.
1888 Whitehead **178** Sharpe 1888.

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1. The species of *Lanius* were revised by Grant (1902) whose work was adversely criticized by Hartert (1906). Grant's arrangement of this particular group of *Lanius* species appears unnatural, but unfortunately Hartert's corrections, being for the most part confined to Palaeartic forms, do not cover this group. Two courses are therefore open to me: (i) to regard our three as separate species, (ii) to guess their relations as sub-species. I have chosen the latter course and suggest that typical *cristata* breeds in Eastern Siberia, with a sub-species *lucionensis* in Corea and Mongolia and another, *superciliosa*, in Japan. All three migrate southwards and join the Bornean list.

2. Stresemann describes another subspecies, *H. grisola secedens*, having practically the same distribution as typical *H. grisola*.

3. The Bornean form appears to be more yellow than the typical form from Java and probably merits subspecific distinction.

493. ZOSTEROPS SQUAMIFRONS Sharpe.
Hose's White-eye. C. Hose **192** Sharpe 1892.

494. CHLOROCHARIS EMILIAE Sharpe.
Whitehead's White-eye. 1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

FAM. LVIII. DICAEIDAE.

495. DICAEUM FLAMMEUM Sparrm.
The Javan Flower-pecker. Schwaner **14** Bonaparte[1] 1850.

496. DICEUM CRUENTATUM Linn.[2]
The Scarlet-backed Flower-pecker.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

497. DICAEUM SULAENSE Sharpe *monticolum* Sharpe.
Whitehead's Flower-pecker.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

498. DICAEUM TRIGONOSTIGMA Scop.
The Orange-bellied Flower-pecker.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

499. DICAEUM CHRYSORRHOEUM Temm.
The Yellow-vented Flower-pecker.
1836 S. Muller **126** Reichenbach 1853.

500. PRIONOCHILUS PENCRUSSUS Temm. *ignicapillus* Eyton.
The Crimson-breasted Flower-pecker.
1881 Grabowsky **9** Blasius 1883.

501. PRIONOCHILUS XANTHOPYGIUS Salvad.
The Yellow-rumped Flower-pecker.
1865 Doria **129** Salvadori 1868.

502. PRIONOCHILUS THORACICUS Temm.
The Black-throated Flower-pecker. **221** Temminck 1836.

503. PRIONOCHILUS MACULATUS Temm.
The White-throated Flower-pecker. **221** Temminck 1836.

504. PRIONOCHILUS EVERETTI Sharpe.
Everett's Flower-pecker. A. H. Everett **154** Sharpe 1877.

FAM. LIX. NECTARINIIDAE.

Sub-fam. Nectariniinae.

505. CHALCOSTETHA PECTORALIS Temm.
Maklot's Sun-bird. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

506. AETHOPYGA SIPARAJA Rafll. *temmincki* S. Mull.
Temminck's Sun-bird. H. H. Everett **157** Sharpe 1878.

1. Buttikofer (1900) confirms this record.

2. The Bornean form is usually known as *nigrimentum*, characterized by the black chin in the male, which is further developed into a black-throated form, *pryeri*, in North-east Borneo. A long series in the Sarawak Museum from Kuching shows both forms, as well as the typical continental forms with buff-white chin and throat. The separation of the Bornean forms is therefore unnecessary.

507. AETHOPYGA SIPARAJA Raffles *siparaja* Raffles.
The Purple-headed Sun-bird.
1836 S. Muller **114** Muller & Schlegel 1846.

508. LEPTOCOMA HASSELTI Temm.
Van Hasselt's Sun-bird.
1836 S. Muller **114** Muller & Schlegel 1846.

509. CYRTOSTOMUS PECTORALIS Horsf.
The Malayan Yellow-breasted Sun-bird.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

510. ARACHNOTHERA LONGIROSTRIS Lath. *buttikoferi* Van Oort.
The Little Bornean Spider-hunter.
1836 S. Muller **114** Muller & Schlegel 1846.

511. ARACHNOTHERA AFFINIS Horsf. *everetti* Sharpe.
Haviland's Spider-hunter.
1892 Haviland[1] **196** Sharpe 1893.

512. ARACHNOTHERA AFFINIS Horsf. *modesta* Eyton.
The Grey-breasted Spider-hunter.
1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

513. ARACHNOTHERA CHRYSOGENYS Temm.
The Yellow-eared Spider-hunter.
1836 S. Muller **113** Muller & Schlegel 1846.

514. ARACHNOTHERA JULIAE Sharpe.
Whitehead's Spider-hunter.
1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

515. ARACHNORHAPHIS ROBUSTA Mull. & Schleg. *robusta* M. & S.
The Long-billed Spider-hunter.
1836 S. Muller **33** Cabanis 1850.

516. ARACHNORHAPHIS CRASSIROSTRIS Reichenb.
The Grey-throated Spider-hunter.
1866 Beccari **132** Salvadori 1874.

517. ARACHNORHAPHIS EYTONI Salvad.
Eyton's Yellow-eared Spider-hunter.
1865 Beccari **132** Salvadori 1874.

518. ANTHOTHREPTES HYPOGRAMMICA S. Mull.
The Banded Sun-bird. 1836 S. Muller **113** Muller 1843.

519. ANTHOTHREPTES SIMPLEX S. Mull.
The Plain-coloured Sun-bird.
1836 S. Muller **113** Muller 1843.

520. ANTHOTHREPTES MALACCENSIS Scop. *malaccensis* Scop.
The Brown-throated Sun-bird.
1836 S. Muller **114** Muller & Schlegel 1846.

521. ANTHOTHREPTES RHODOLAEMA Shelley.
The Rufous-throated Sun-bird. Treacher **163** Sharpe 1879.

1. Sharpe describes this species in October 1893 from specimens collected by A. H. Everett's hunters, presumably a few months before. The Sarawak Museum has one specimen collected by Haviland on Kinabalu in april 1892 at an altitude of 3,200 ft. (labelled *A. affinis* by him.)

522. CHALCOPARIA PHOENICOTIS Temm.
The Ruby-cheek.
1836 S. Muller **114** Muller & Schlegel 1846.

FAM. LX. MOTACILLIDAE.

523. MOTACILLA LUGENS Kittl.
The Chinese Streak-eyed Wagtail.
1896 Sarawak Museum **107**[1] Moulton 1914.

524. MOTACILLA BOARULA Linn. *melanope* Pall.
The Grey Wagtail. 1854-6 Wallace **132** Salvadori 1874.

525. MOTACILLA FLAVA Linn. *simillima* Hart.[2]
The Yellow-breasted Wagtail.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

526. DENDRANTHUS INDICUS Gm.
The Forest Wagtail. **14** Bonaparte 1850.

527. ANTHUS RUFULUS Vieill.[3]
The Indian Pipit. **75** Gray 1869.

528. ANTHUS GUSTAVI Swinh.
The Siberian Pipit. Treacher **163** Sharpe 1879.

FAM. LXI. ALAUDIDAE.

529. MIRAFRA JAVANICA Horsf. *javanica* Horsf.
The Malayan Lark. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

FAM. LXII. FRINGILLIDAE.

530. PASSER MONTANUS Linn. *saturatus* Stejn.[4]
The Oriental Tree-sparrow. **206** Sharpe 1909.

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1. Apparently the first published record for Borneo.

2. The allied form *M. flava taivana* Swinh. is said to occur in the Malay Archipelago in winter. I can find no record for Borneo.

3. Sharpe (1889 and 1890) records *Anthus richardi* Vieill. in Whitehead's collection from Labuan, Nov. 8th, 1887.

Everett (1889) quotes Whitehead for this same locality and date for *Anthus campestris* Linn. without any explanation of this change in name.

Neither the British Museum Catalogue (1885) nor the Hand-List (1909) allow Malayan countries for the distribution of either of the species. Possibly Whitehead's specimens should be referred to *A. rufulus* Vieill.

A. cervinus is also recorded from Borneo on a young male collected by A. H. Everett at Bintulu in 1875. No mention of an Eastern or Indo-Malayan range appears in the Hand-List, so presumably this specimen has since been referred to one of the two Anthus species now recognized from Borneo.

4. Van Oort (1910) notes that the Malayan form *malaccensis* is not separable from the Japanese, and he recognizes only a Western form *montana typica* and an Eastern form *montana saturatus* Stejn.

FAM. LXIII. PLOCEIDAE.

Sub-fam. Viduinae.

531. MUNIA ORIZIVORA Linn.
The Java Sparrow. 1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

532. MUNIA ATRICAPILLA Vieill. *brunneiceps* Wald.
The Bornean Black-headed Munia.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

533. UROLONCHA LEUCOGASTER Blyth *leucogaster* Blyth.
The White-bellied Munia. 1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

534. UROLONCHA FUSCANS Cass.
The Dusky Munia. **36** Cassin 1852.

535. ERYTHRURA PRASINA Sparrm.
The Long-tailed Munia. 1865 Doria **132** Salvadori 1874.

536. CHLORURA HYPERYTHRA Reichenb. *borneensis* Sharpe.
The Bornean Munia. 1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

FAM. LXIV. STURNIDAE.

537. STURNIA VIOLACEA Bodd.
The Japanese Mynah. Treacher **163** Sharpe 1879.

FAM. LXV. EULABETIDAE.

538. EULABES JAVANENSIS Osb.
The Malayan Grackle.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

539. LAMPROCORAX CHALYBEUS Horsf.
The Glossy Tree-Starling.
Motley **105** Motley & Dillwyn 1855.

FAM. LXVI. ORIOLIDAE.

540. ORIOLUS MACULATUS Vieill *maculatus* Vieill.
The Yellow Malayan Oriole.
1846 Low[1] **139** Schlegel 1867.

541. ORIOLUS XANTHONOTUS Horsf. *xanthonotus* Horsf.
The Black-headed Malayan Oriole.
1841-7 Schwaner **141** Sclater 1863.

542. ORIOLUS XANTHONOTUS Horsf. *consobrinus* Wardl.-Rams.
Everett's Oriole.
H. H. Everett **229** Wardlaw-Ramsay 1879.

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1. Everett (1889) notes that the Oriole recorded by Schlegel as *O. indicus* is identical with *O. maculatus*. This (and two other specimens) were obtained by Croockewit in 1851. Everett also notes a specimen in the British Museum registered as collected by Low in Borneo in 1846. He continues, "I include the species with considerable doubt, for it is very singular that so conspicuous a bird has not occurred to any one of the numerous collectors since 1846."

The Sarawak Museum has one example collected near Kuching in 1893.

543. ORIOLUS CRUENTUS Wagl. *vulneratus* Sharpe.
Whitehead's Oriole. 1887 Whitehead **173** Sharpe 1887.

544. ORIOLUS HOSEI Sharpe.
Hose's Oriole. C. Hose **191** Sharpe 1892.

FAM. LXVII. DICRURIDAE.

545. DICRURUS ANNECTENS Hodgs.
The Crow-billed Drongo. Ussher **157** Sharpe 1878.

546. DICRUROPSIS PECTORALIS Wall. *borneensis* Sharpe.
The Bornean Hair-crested Drongo.
Treacher **161** Sharpe 1879.

547. CHAPTIA AENEA Vieill. *malayensis* Blyth.
The Malayan Bronzed Drongo.
1860 Motley **141** Sclater 1863.

548. BUCHANGA STIGMATOPS Sharpe.
The Bornean Ashy Drongo.
1877 Burbidge **161** Sharpe 1879.

549. DISSEMURUS PARADISEUS Linn.
The Large Racquet-tailed Drongo.
1841-7 Schwaner **14** Bonaparte 1850.

FAM. LXVIII. CORVIDAE.

550. CORVUS MACRORHYNCHUS Wagl.
The Jungle-Crow. 1851 Croockewit **138a** Schlegel 1859.

551. CORVUS ENCA Horsf. *compilator* Richm.
The Slender-billed Crow.
1846 Schwaner **138a** Schlegel 1859.

552. DENDROCITTA OCCIPITALIS Mull. *cinerascens* Sharpe.
The Bornean Tree-pie. Treacher **163** Sharpe 1879.

553. CISSA CHINENSIS Bodd. *minor* Cab.
The Malayan Green Magpie. Treacher **162** Sharpe 1879.

554. CISSA CHINENSIS Bodd. *jefferyi*[1] Sharpe.
Whitehead's Green Magpie.
1888 Whitehead **177** Sharpe 1888.

555. PLATYSMURUS LEUCOPTERUS Temm. *aterrimus* Temm.
The Black Bornean Jay.
1826 Diard **221** Temminck 1825.

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1. Hartert notes that "in view of the occurrence of two closely allied species together on Borneo, we cannot be too careful in regarding any *Cissa* as a subspecies of another."

Whitehead expressly states that *jefferyi* is only found above 4000 ft., *minor* only below 3000 ft. Therefore they are *not* found together and thus admirably fit the definition of a subspecies or geographical race, the one being the mountain form of the other. The only two specimens obtained on my recent expedition were one *C. minor* in secondary jungle at 3000 ft. (below the Minitindok gorge which forms the entrance to the higher jungle region of the mountain), and one *C. jefferyi* in virgin jungle at 4500 ft.

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J. C. MOULTON.

Sarawak, June 22, 1914.

Shaer Burong Punggok.

A MALAY ROMANCE.

EDITED BY H. OVERBECK.

"Sĕpĕrti punggok mĕrindu-kan bulan" is one of the proverbial sayings of the Malays, which is met with in conversation and literature so often, that one uses it without inquiring much further into its origin: but the dictionaries inform us that the "Punggok" is a little night-owl (according to Mr. Wilkinson[1] *Glaucidium brodii*) and for the Malays the symbol of a despairing lover, the bird being supposed to be in love with the moon. As to the story attached to the proverb, Mr. Skeat in his "Malay Magic"[2] relates the following:

> "Once upon a time the owl (Punggok) fell in love with the princess of the Moon (Putri Bulan), and asked her to marry him. She promised to do so if he would allow her first to finish her quid of betel undisturbed; but before finishing it she threw it down to the earth, where it took the form of a small bird. The princess requested the owl to make search for it, but as, of course, he was unable to find it, the proposed match fell through. This is the reason why the owl, to quote the Malay proverb, "sighs longingly to the Moon," and is the type of the plaintive lover."

This was all I could find out about the story of the Punggok and the Moon, either in European or Malay books, until some years ago I picked up, by chance, in a book-auction at Batavia a little torn booklet, badly printed in Malay character, bearing the title of "Shaer Burong Punggok." The story it contains differs entirely from that told by Mr. Skeat, and I give below a romanized transcription, trusting it will be of interest to students of Malay literature and folklore.

"Shaers" have always been the step-children of the Malay literature, especially to European students. Mr. Wilkinson says of them:[3]

> "The more ambitious "shaer," or long metrical romance, is often a very artificial product and is intended more as a display of the author's learning than as an outburst of poetic

1. R. J. Wilkinson, Abridged Malay-English Dictionary, Kuala Lumpur 1908, F.M.S. Government Press.

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sense; it rarely arouses much enthusiasm amongst the masses of the people"

which is certainly only too true as regards most of the shaers I have read. But for the "Shaer Burong Punggok" I beg to claim an exception to the rule, as it seems to belong to a class on which de Hollander[1] says:

"In poetical value they stand far above the pantuns, and he, who finds beautiful the poems of Homeros, will also read with pleasure the Malay "shaers," as soon as he becomes accustomed to not being put out by the sometimes annoying repetitions. One finds in the "shaers" a childlike naiveté, a simple representation of events and circumstances, a natural expression of feelings and emotions, which has something touching and captivating, and fascinates the reader in spite of the many gaps that occur to him, and of the many words, for the presence of which in their place he will be unable to find any reason, unless he realises that it must be looked for in the compulsion of metre and rhyme."

Besides, may not the story of the love of the poor Punggok and of his sad death after a short happiness, be based upon a simple love-tragedy, that has occurred, and still may occur any day, in Malay kampongs, not of the Malaya as we know it, but as Clifford and Swettenham have seen it, and of which now but very little remains, until one comes to the remote places of the Malay Peninsula, to some out-of-the-way island, or to the forests of Sumatra.

I cannot find the "Shaer Burong Punggok" in any book on Malay literature, unless the "Hikayat Burong Pinggit" mentioned by de Hollander[2] refers to the Punggok, and not to the "Pipit," as suggested by him.

The book in my possession was published in Padang, "tĕrchitak di-atas timah," on the 26th day of Rabi-ul-awal 1301.[3] The handwriting and printing is very bad, and in many places quite illegible; the spelling is very faulty. Another "Shaer Burong Punggok" was published in Singapore in Arab Street in 1910: it contains, with a few exceptions, all the quatrains of the Padang-shaer, but in absolute disorder, and varying, within the quatrains, a good deal from the Padang-version. It appears as if the writer of the Singapore-edition knew the Padang-shaer by heart and simply jotted it down from memory, which failing him he put in his own poetry, unless both writers, independent of

1. J. J. de Hollander, Handleiding tot de Kennis der Maleische Taal, Letterkunde, Breda 1845 page 153.

2. J. J. de Hollander, l c. page 156.

3. 1881.

each other, separately wrote down a shaer of much older date, generally known amongst the Malays. That a "Shaer Burong Punggok" was known in Singapore before the Arab-Street-publication of 1910, appears from a couple of dozens of quatrains that were given to me in 1905 or 1906 as "pantun unggas," which, however, are parts of a "Shaer Burong Punggok," differing only slightly from the quatrains of the complete shaers. Amongst them is the following:

Di-atas kayu punggok mĕrindu
Paksi mĕnangis tĕr-sĕdu-sĕdu
Mĕndĕngar-kan bunyi buloh pĕrindu
Ingat-kan kĕkaseh, mĕrasa pilu.

Certainly one of the prettiest pictures ever drawn by a Malay poet.

In the romanized transcription I have strictly followed the Padang edition, completing from the Singapore edition only where the Padang edition was absolutely illegible. In the footnotes Pad. refers to the Padang, and Sing. to the Singapore edition. As regards the spelling, I have followed the rules laid down in Mr. Wilkinson's Abridged Malay-English Dictionary. For any mistakes that have been made, I beg to use the Malay author's captatio benevolentiae:

—banyak ta kĕna
Daripada faham bĕlum sĕmpurna.

SHAER BURONG PUNGGOK.

Dĕngar-kan tuan mula rĕnchana
Di-surat-kan oleh dagang yang hina
Karang-an janggal, banyak ta kĕna
Daripada paham bĕlum sĕmpurna.

Daripada hati sangat-lah morong
Di-karang-kan shaër sa-ekur burong
Sakit-nya kaseh sudah tĕr-dorong
Gila mĕrawan sa-gĕnap lorong.

Pĕrtama mula punggok mĕrindu
Bĕr-bunyi-lah guroh mĕndayu-dayu
Hati-nya rawan bĕr-champur pilu
Sĕpĕrti di-hiris dĕngan sĕmbilu.

Punggok bĕr-madah sĕraya mĕrawan
Wahai bulan, tĕrbit-lah tuan
Gondah-ku tidak bĕr-kĕ-tahu-an
Kĕluar-lah bulan tĕr-chĕlah awan.

Sa-buah tilam kita bĕr-adu
Mĕndĕngar-kan bunyi punggok bĕ-rindu
Suara-nya halus tĕr-sĕdu-sĕdu
Laksana orang birahi-kan jodo.

Bĕr-shaër-lah burong chĕndĕrawaseh
Punggok ini rindu-kan kĕkaseh
Mĕlihat bulan chahaya-nya pĕrseh
Chinta yang lain banyak mĕnyiseh.

Kĕtika bulan sĕdang bĕr-kurong
Punggok tĕrbang sa-gĕnap lorong
Ramai bĕr-tanya sa-kali-an burong
Punggok wahai, mĕngapa dia nan morong?

Jikalau sĕdia bulan nan rĕmbang
Baharu-lah punggok saleh tĕrbang
Paksi mĕlangsi dua bĕr-abang
Di kaki awan ia mĕngambang.

Tatkala punggok di-goda bayu
Tĕrbang sa-gĕnap dahan-nya kayu
Barang main-an tidak-lah payu
Mĕnjadi kalbu paksi nan rayu.

Di-atas kayu punggok mĕrindu
Paksi mĕndĕngar tĕr-sĕdu-sĕdu
Mĕndĕngar-kan bunyi burong pĕladu
Tĕr-sĕdar-kan kĕkaseh dalam pĕr-adu.

Abang nan tuan tidak kĕ-tahu-an
Sinar dan silam igau-igau-an
Jikalau tidak kaseh-an tuan
Mĕngeret-lah[1] abang didalam rawan.

Punggok mĕrawan sa-gĕnap hutan
Sa-bilang jitun[2] bĕr-lompat-an
Bulan mĕngĕmbang di sa-bĕlah laut-an
Dĕngan-nya bĕr-sambut-sambut-an.

Ka-sana ka-mari punggok tĕrbang
Mĕlihat bulan chahaya mĕngĕmbang
Daripada sangat takut-kan sambang
Jadi-lah punggok bĕr-hati bimbang.

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1. Pad. always معيرت Sing. always مغيرت

2. Pad. جيتون Sing. زيطن

Punggok bĕr-tengger di dahan bĕraksa
Di-dalam hati-nya rosak binasa
Lĕteh lĕsu sĕraya rasa
Di-goda-i bulan di angkasa.

Bĕrapa lama punggok di-situ
Dari ahad sampai ka sabtu
Bulan mĕngĕmbang chahaya-nya tintu
Paksi mĕmandang, hati-nya mutu.

Di-atas kayu punggok bĕr-chinta
Gondah-nya tidak mĕndĕrita
Bulan pun tĕrang, chahaya-nya nyata
Hanchur-lah luloh rasa anggota.

Punggok bĕr-chinta pagi dan pĕtang
Mĕlihat bulan di-pagar bintang
Tĕr-sĕlap rindu dĕndam pun datang
Dari saujana punggok mĕnĕntang.

Punggok mĕnĕntang dari saujana
Di-dalam hati gondah gulana
Jikalau di-tolong tuhan yang ghana[1]
Maka-nya punggok boleh ka-sana.

Di-atas bĕraksa bĕrapa lama
Gila-kan chahaya bulan purnama
Jikalau bulan jatoh kĕrama
Di-mana-kan dapat punggok bĕr-sama.

Bulan purnama chahaya-nya tĕrang
Bintang sĕpĕrti intan di-karang
Rawan-nya punggok bukan sĕmbarang
Birahi-kan bulan di tanah sĕbĕrang.

Gĕmĕrlapan chahaya bintang kĕrtika
Bĕr-atur mĕjĕlis bagai di-jangka
Sa-kali-an-nya bintang tĕrbit bĕlaka
Punggok mĕlihat kalbu-nya duka.

Bintang di langit bĕr-bagai rupa
Punggok bĕr-chinta badan tĕr-lepa
Minta doa tiada-lah lupa
Dĕngan bulan hĕndak bĕr-jumpa.

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1. غانا

Tĕngah malam punggok tĕr-jaga
Mĕlihat bintang puyoh laga
Bintang bĕlantik bĕr-atur tiga
Chahaya-nya tĕrang tidak tĕr-hingga.

Punggok mĕlihat bintang pĕradah[1]
Paksi nan sangat bĕr-hati gondah
Tĕr-kĕnang-kan bulan chahaya-nya ĕndah
Habis umur dĕndam ta sudah.

Rawan-nya punggok tidak tĕr-pĕri
Mĕlihat bintang putih bĕr-sĕri
Bulan purnama chahaya-nya bĕr-sĕri
Haram ta boleh punggok hampir-i.

Bulan mĕngĕmbang di sa-bĕlah utara
Chahaya pĕrseh tidak bĕr-tara
Kalbu-nya hanchur tidak tĕr-kira
Mĕrosak-kan hati punggok nan lara.

Tĕrbit-lah bintang sa-bĕlah laut-an
Chahaya-nya lempah di tĕngah laut-an
Punggok bĕr-chinta bĕr-larat-larat-an
Mĕnanti-kan sampai janji surat-an.

Sa-tĕlah timbul bintang-nya barat
Paksi mĕmandang hati-nya ghairat[2]
Jikalau ta sampai sĕpĕrti hasrat[3]
Ridza-lah[4] punggok sama mĕngĕret.

Sa-kali-an bintang sudah-lah pĕsti
Bulan-nya juga mĕmutus hati
Boleh lama punggok mĕnanti
Habis-lah bulan tahun bĕr-ganti.

Sinar pun hampir parak-kan silam
Shamsu masok chahaya-nya kĕlam
Bĕr-bagai-lah bunyi punai dan balam
Mĕrosak-kan hati sĕgala islam.

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1. ڤراداه

2. غيرة

3. حسرت

4. ريضا

Hari malam bulan nan tĕrang
Paksi bĕr-bunyi suara-nya jarang
Mĕrak bĕr-bunyi sa-gĕnap jorang
Chĕngkĕrek bĕr-shaër mĕngatur sarang.

Bĕrbagai bahana sa-kali-an burong
Gĕgak gĕmpita sa-gĕnap lorong
Unggas pĕrgam sa-bilang jorong
Punggok mĕrawan laku-nya morong.

Tĕrbang-lah punggok dua sa-kĕmbar
Dĕngan kakanda muda mutabir
Kadua-nya mĕjĕlis iman-nya sabar
Saleh mĕlayang ka gunong ambar.

Tĕrbang mĕlayang mĕngadu tuah
Hinggap di jitun tidak bĕr-buah
Hati-nya sudah tumpah ruah
Kapada bulan punggok mĕruah.

Ada-lah kunun suatu taman
Paksi tĕfĕkur di halaman
Baharu-lah hati punggok siuman
Sĕbab mĕnĕntang kuntum di taman.

Taman-nya ĕndah kapada pĕmandang-an
Laksana taman dalam kĕyangan
Kuntum-nya rata bĕr-kĕmbang-an
Paksi dan kumbang bĕr-tĕrbang-an.

Taman-nya ĕndah sangat rupa-nya
Kolam bĕr-ikat kiri kanan-nya
Bĕr-atur jĕmbangan di halaman-nya
Kuntum sĕroja di sĕri taman-nya.

Punggok bangsawan hĕndak mĕnitir
Tidak di-bĕri kakanda sa-itir[1]
Adinda jangan tuan bĕrshaër
Jikalau turun guroh dan pĕtir.

Dĕmi di-lihat burong dewata
Hairan-nya tidak tĕr-kata-kata
Sampai-lah hasrat yang di-chinta
Tuan nan sudah bĕr-pandang mata.

1. P.d. سأيتر Sing. سيتر

Burong dewata mari ku tanya
Taman ini siapa yang punya
Bĕr-jĕnis kuntum banyak bagai-nya
Kumbang mĕnggĕram di hujong tangkai-nya.

Bĕr-shaër bagi burong dewata
Adinda dĕngar madah-nya beta
Muda wai jangan bĕr-banyak kata
Jikalau bangsawan bĕr-oleh lĕta.

Ini-lah taman orang yang bahari
Punggok wahai jangan tuan ka-mari
Bukan-nya tidak kakanda bĕri
Jikalau tuan di-goda pĕri.

Jĕmbangan ambar, lantar-an baiduri
Bĕr-tatah nilam nila kĕndi
Pahat bagai sa-daun pudi
Bata-nya zamrud intan pudi.

Taman-nya ĕndah amat tĕr-ala[1]
Pagar-nya ĕmas bĕrjala-jala
Jitun bĕr-buah akan kĕmala
Ini-lah taman purbakala.

Timba-nya ĕmas tatah pĕrmata
Ukir-nya kalau jangan di-kata
Di-sana-lah punggok mĕndĕngar chĕrita
Paksi murai mĕmbawa warta.

Bĕr-shaër bagi bintang chandong
Punggok-nya tuan baik-lah ka gunong
Jikalau di-tĕntang Sang Yang Mandong
Banyak-lah bayu datang mĕrundong.

Bĕr-madah-lah bagi kuntum sĕroja
Punggok nan sahaja orang yang manja
Banyak-lah laku-nya di-sĕngaja-ngaja
Supaya jangan sa-barang kĕrja.

Unggas tu mĕjĕlis baik paras
Bulu-nya ĕndah bagai di-jaras
Di-goda-i bayu tĕr-lalu kĕras
Punggok tĕr-sĕlam di laut yang dĕras.

1. دترعلا

Punggok tĕfĕkur bĕrtungkat paroh
Bulu jang ĕndah habis-lah luroh
Kĕtika putus kilat dan guroh
Kapada bulan punggok mĕnyuroh.

Bĕr-shaër bagi mega antara
Punggok nan tidak gĕntar-kan mara
Kita didalam huru-hara
Laku-nya nan jangan sangat sa-tara.

Bĕr-madah-lah pula mega dan awan
Punggok wahai mari-lah tuan
Jikalau sangat hati-mu rawan
Mari-lah masok ka-dalam pĕr-adu-an.

Beta nan tidak boleh mĕrapat
Hati-ku gondah bukannya sa-tampat
Paras yang ĕndah sudah tĕr-sifat
Bila gĕrangan tuan-ku dapat.

Bangkit bĕr-tĕlut bintang bĕlantek
Tuan dengar-kan sĕmbah-nya patek
Sunggoh-lah bagai kuntum dĕrik[1]
Masa-kan muda dato pĕtek.

Jikalau punggok sabar sa-umur ama
Nanti kapada bulan purnama
Biar-lah beta bĕr-sama-sama
Supaya boleh bĕr-tentang lama.

Jikalau punggok hĕndak bĕr-siram
Jangan ka tasek ayer yang juram
Sungai-nya itu banyak bĕr-tiram
Jikalau punggok durja nan muram.

Jangan-lah gondah tuan turut-i
Jadi pĕnyakit didalam hati
Jikalau sudah ajal-kan mati
Walau pun duduk di-dalam pĕti.

Wahai punggok jangan tuan mĕrambang
Beta nan hĕndak saleh tĕrbang
Jikalau tuan dĕndam-kan abang
Tĕntang kapada bulan mĕngĕmbang.

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1. ربك

Bĕrshaër bintang puyoh laga
Punggok wahai jangan tĕrbang juga
Jikalau tuan kĕna murka
Di-mana-kan tuan dapat tĕr-sangka.

Bĕr-madah bagi awan bĕr-arak
Punggok wahai jangan tĕrbang jarak
Jikalau tuan tĕrundong mĕrak
Tidak boleh tuan bĕr-gĕrak.

Wahai punggok jangan tĕrbang dahulu
Nanti-kan buboh minyak hulu
Jikalau tuan mĕngirai-kan bulu
Supaya leka mĕnchium bahu.

Bĕr-shaër bagi unggas mĕrpati
Wahai-lah punggok baik mĕnanti
Sambang-nya banyak bĕr-puloh kĕti
Jikalau tuan bĕrusak hati.

Punggok wahai sabar dahulu
Jangan-lah tuan bĕr-hati pilu
Jikalau bĕr-tĕmu dewa pĕnghulu
Jadi-lah kita bĕr-oleh malu.

Bukan-kah punggok muda budiman
Mĕngapa-kah tidak ka-masok-kan iman
Di-pohon-kan tolong Allah Alrahman
Sampai kapada akhir zaman.

Biar-lah beta jadi alamat
Minta doa biar sĕlamat
Jikalau ada bĕr-oleh rahmat
Supaya tuan bĕr-tĕmu bangat.

Bukan-kah punggok orang yang sakti
Mĕngapa-kah tidak mĕnahan hati
Boleh juga tuan mĕnanti
Gondah tu jangan tuan turut-i.

Dĕndam nan baik di-tahan-i
Jangan-lah mĕjĕlis sa-laku ini
Jikalau ada tolong rabani[1]
Sigĕra juga undur ka-sini.

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1. رباني

Bĕr-shaër bagi bintang timur
Insh'allah lanyut-kan umur
Sunggoh pun siku sĕmbir[1] bĕr-siur
Sampai-lah juga ka bandar maamur.

Gĕnap-lah sudah ampat-puloh hari
Baharu-lah hati punggok bĕr-sĕri
Sudah bĕr-dĕndan bĕr-hias-i diri
Tĕrbang-lah ka pohon si nagasari.

Di-sana-lah tampat ia bĕr-malam
Pasir-nya daripada pĕrmata nilam
Tĕpayang bĕr-turap ayer-nya dalam
Punggok bĕr-hĕnti lalu bĕr-siram.

Punggok mĕnanti daripada pĕtang
Minta-lah doa tangan tĕr-lintang
Bulan mĕngintai angin pun datang
Mĕnyamar diri-nya chahaya bintang.

Sĕdang bulan aram tĕmaram
Hati-nya punggok bĕr-tambah gĕram
Tuboh layu durja-nya muram
Turun-lah ka kolam pĕrgi bĕr-siram.

Bĕr-shaër bagi chĕndĕrawaseh
Punggok wahai mari kĕkaseh
Mĕlihat bulan chahaya-nya pĕrseh
Awan yang lain habis mĕnyiseh.

Punggok tĕrbang dĕngan pilu-nya
Sĕrta mĕmakai bulang hulu-nya
Daripada punggok sangat malu-nya
Sĕrta mĕlangkah mĕngirai bulu-nya

Bĕr-shaër bagi bintang zuhara[2]
Wahai punggok khabar bichara
Unggas tu sahaja unggas udara
Chumbu-nya banyak tidak tĕr-kira.

1. سمبر

2. زهارا

Bĕr-madah bagai bintang-nya ria[1]
Punggok nan sahaja orang mulia
Kuku-nya sĕpĕrti intan mutia
Mĕnjadi luput daya upaya.

Bĕr-madah bintang si puyoh laga
Punggok nan obat lapar dahaga
Ragam-nya tidak dapat di-harga
Mata mĕnĕntang tĕr-lalu suka.

Ia sa-orang muda tĕr-bilang
Wajah-nya bĕr-chahaya gilang gĕmilang
Bija laksana bukan kĕpalang
Patut-lah tuan bela-ku hilang.

Punggok nan datang mĕndapat-kan bulan
Di-bawa oleh bintang bĕr-jalan
Mega dan awan bĕr-kumpul-an
Langsong melangkah di kota sĕmbilan.

Punggok pun duduk bĕr-tĕntang-an
Leka di atas papan dan dulangan
Bulan mĕnyambut bĕr-pĕgang tangan
Bintang yang banyak bĕr-chĕngang-an.

Sunggoh pun duduk didalam gondah
Pilu dan rawan tidak-lah sudah
Sĕbab tĕr-pandang paras yang ĕndah
Punggok tĕfĕkur tundok tĕngadah.

Punggok mĕlihat hati-nya rawan
Di-bujok-nya dĕngan chumbu-chumbu-an
Di-angkat di-riba dalam pangku-an
Sĕdap manis barang ka-laku-an.

Mari-lah tuan kĕmala ratna
Usul yang pĕrmai sifat sĕmpurna
Elok mĕjĕlis sapa[2] mĕngĕrna
Mĕmbri kalbu gondah bulana

Tuboh-nya nipis sĕdĕrhana panjang
Surai-nya ikal lĕhĕr-nya jinjang
Warna tuboh-nya ĕmas kĕrajang
Laksana radin di tanah Palĕmbang.

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1. ريا

2. ساف

Bulan bĕr-shaër durja bĕr-sĕri
Di-jĕling-nya dĕngan durja-nya kiri
Mulut-nya manis bija bĕstari
Di-tipis-kan dĕngan ujong-nya jari.

Di-sambut punggok bulan bĕr-kisar
Tuan-ku obat pĕnawar bĕsar
Sĕri mahkota jangan-lah gusar
Kĕchil molek badan-nya langsar.

Mari-lah inche' mari-lah tuan
Mari-lah molek usul bangsawan
Di-dukong-nya masok ka-dalam pĕr-adu-an
Di-bujok-nya dĕngan chumbu-chumbu-an.

Chantek manis tidak tĕr-kira
Laksana bidiadari dalam udara
Sedap manis peng-lipur lara
Patek mĕnĕntang tulus mĕsra.

Bulan bĕr-madah pilu dan rawan
Dĕndam-kan apa tĕman-nya tuan[1]
Bĕr-shaër nan tidak bĕr-kĕ-tahu-an
Sĕpĕrti orang mabok chĕndawan.

Punggok tĕr-sĕnyum sĕraya bĕr-kata
Utama jiwa ĕmas juita
Ridza-lah abang mĕngĕret sĕrta
Tuan-lah obat hati yang chinta.

Didalam budi bichara-nya abang
Tuan-lah bunga mĕlur yang kĕmbang
Jikalau kakanda mĕnjadi kumbang
Tuan-ku di-sambar di-bawa tĕrbang.

Tujoh bulan di kandong bonda
Mĕjĕlis jadi mahkota kakanda
Jikalau abang bĕr-bohong sabda
Adinda mĕnikam dĕngan khanda.[2]

Bĕr-shaër bagi bintang mushtari
Bulan wahai apa bichara diri
Punggok nan sudah mĕnghampir-i
Ka-mana lagi bulan hĕndak lari.

1. Sing. dendam-kan apa ini wai tuan.

2. خندا

Ini-lah taman paduka chinta
Endah-nya tidak dapat di-kata
Reka-an utusan desa keminta[1]
Tidak-lah dapat di-tĕntang nyata.

Taman nan handai banyak pĕng-goda
Di halaman balai pancha pĕrsada
Jitun bĕr-puchok akan pĕrada
Di-sana-lah kalbu punggok mĕnggoda.

Bulan tu diam tidak bĕr-kata
Bĕr-adu-lah ka-dua-nya di atas gĕta
Bujok dan chumbu di balai sĕrta
Baharu-lah puas kalbu bĕr-chinta.

Fajar suboh shamsu pun rĕmbang
Punggok bĕr-mohon saleh tĕrbang
Tinggal-lah bulan bĕr-hati bimbang
Chinta-nya tidak lagi tĕr-timbang.

Mĕlayang ka gunong Indĕra Sari
Dĕndam bĕr-siram sa-hari-hari
Bĕr-siram jamjam mawar kĕsturi
Bĕr-bĕdak-kan ambar ratna baiduri.

Sudah mandi di-patut mĕndĕra[2]
Tĕrbang-lah punggok mĕngudara
Mĕlintas dari tĕngah sĕgara
Tasek bĕr-pagar pasir mutiara.

Bĕr-shaër bagi ikan tĕmpong[3]
Punggok wai tuan baik ka gunong
Di-sana-lah tampat tuan tĕr-mĕnong
Bintang yang banyak jangan di-rĕnong.

Baik-lah tuan pergi bĕr-amal
Mohon-kan kapada tuhan yang akmal
Tilek didalam ĕlmu dan ramal
Supaya pĕr-kĕrja-an tuan nan kĕkal.

1. Sing. سباکمڤيت

2. مندرا

3. تمڤوڠ

Tĕrbang-lah punggok pĕrgi bĕr-tapa
Ka atas gunong Indĕra Maharupa
Badan sĕpĕrti di-gonchang gĕmpa
Melihat bulan hĕndak di-tĕrpa.

Punggok sahaja birahi-kan bulan
Chinta didalam ka-shurhul-an[1]
Barang di makan tidak di-tĕlan
Jamjam tĕr-hambur sa-panjang jalan.

Datang-lah kapada suatu masa
Bulan bĕr-main bĕr-suka rasa
Tĕr-sĕdar-kan punggok hati binasa
Ka-mana gĕrangan bĕr-tandang desa.

Ia-pun sa-orang muda bujanggi
Laksana sĕroja kĕmbang pagi
Jikalau tidak di-pandang lagi
Ka desa mana gĕrangan pĕrgi.

Paksi tĕrbang dĕngan bĕr-chinta-nya
Sayang mĕndĕngar ragam bahana-nya
Tĕrbang bĕr-siram ayer mata-nya
Sayang mĕndĕngar ragam bahana-nya.[2]

Bĕr-datang sĕmbah burong angkasa
Tuan-ku tidak patek pĕriksa
Jikalau bayu sudah biasa
Hawa juga rosak binasa.

Di-sahut oleh unggas mĕrpati
Tuan jangan bĕ-rosak-kan hati
Patek nan sa-orang mambang yang jati
Mahu juga bĕr-buat bakti.

Di-sahut oleh burong dewata
Patek nan tidak mĕndĕngar warta
Jikalau ada khabar bĕrita
Di-pĕr-sĕmbah-kan juga kapada mahkota.

Di-sahut oleh bintang jadi
Punggok tu duduk di gunong sari
Khabar-nya mĕndam hal banggi[3]
Tidak boleh mĕlayang lagi.

1. شغل

2. Pad. sic, Sing. di-mana gĕrangan khabar warta-nya.

3. بغكي

Bĕr-datang sĕmbah burong dewata
Patek pun ada mĕndĕngar warta
Di-gunong ledang kunun bĕr-takhta
Tunggu bĕr-siram ayer-nya mata.

Sunggoh-pun ber-tengger di dahan kayu
Siang dan malam mĕnghidup-kan rayu
Lĕmah lĕngkai mĕndayu-dayu
Laksana taroh si batang kayu.

Dĕmi bulan mĕndĕngar warta
Di-pĕr-sĕmbah-kan oleh burong dewata
Hati-nya pilu amat bĕr-chinta
Tundok tĕr-hambur ayer-nya mata.

Paksi wahai pĕrgi-lah diri
Bawa-lah punggok saleh ka-mari
Bawa ka taman banjaran sari
Barang ka-hĕndak-nya sĕmua ku bĕri.

Tĕrbang-lah paksi bijaksana
Masok ka hutan rimba kĕlana
Mĕnuju gunong ĕntah pĕrmana
Jikalau-kan ada punggok di-sana.

Kapada masa kĕtika itu
Punggok bĕr-tapa bĕr-hati mutu
Mĕnanti bulan hĕndak bĕr-satu
Dĕmikian kunun pinta-nya itu.

Dahulu Allah bĕrkat Mohamad
Mĕminta doa barang sĕlamat
Kapada tuhan mĕmohon-kan ampun rahmat
Barang di-pinta supaya bangat.

Minta doa tangan tĕr-lintang
Supaya jangan mara mĕlintang
Bĕrkat Mohamad pagi dan pĕtang
Daripada bulan pĕnyuar[1] datang.

Pĕrtama mĕnyĕmbah mega antara
Bangsawan tĕruna rĕmaja putĕra
Tuan-ku di-sambut mahkota Indĕra
Bulan tu rayu didalam salira.

1. ڤپور

Rindu-nya tidak mĕndĕrita
Tuan ta lĕpas dari dalam chinta
Siang dan malam duduk bĕr-chinta
Bĕ-rĕndam dĕngan ayer-nya mata.

Gondah-nya tidak lagi tĕr-hingga
Kalbu-nya tidak ada yang suka
Chahaya yang pĕrseh suram bĕlaka
Rasa-nya dĕndam didalam leka.

Bĕr-chinta sangat rupa-nya bulan
Duduk didalam ka-shurhul-an
Sa-lama bĕr-chĕrai dengan tuan
Rĕzĕki di-makan tidak tĕr-tĕlan.

Bĕr-madah paksi sambil bĕr-chura
Ayohai tuan mega antara
Bĕr-mohon-lah beta kembali sigĕra
Biarlah mĕngeret didalam sĕngsara.

Daripada badan tidak bĕr-untong
Bulan ta boleh tampat bĕr-gantong
Daripada duduk tĕr-atong-atong
Anggur-lah jadi kĕra dan lutong.

Duduk dĕmikian tidak bĕr-guna
Biar-lah pĕrgi barang-ka-mana
Mĕngikut nasib dagang yang hina
Diam di gunong jadi bĕrahmana.

Mega bĕr-madah bĕr-sali-sali
Punggok wahai, baik tuan kĕmbali
Jikalau tuan mĕngali-ngali[1]
Biar-lah beta mĕngeret sakali.

Jikalau-kan punggok saleh ka-mari
Bintang yang banyak beta siseh-i
Di lawang taman kakanda diri
Supaya jangan aib-aib-i.

Jikalau tuan mahu kĕmbali
Maksud tu tidak abang sangkali
Bulan nan sangat bĕr-hati sali
Ridza sama mĕngeret sakali.

1. مڠالي غالي

Punggok mĕndĕngar kata dan madah
Lalu bĕr-pikir tundok tĕngadah
Jikalau dĕmikian apâ-lah sudah
Supaya lipur hati yang gondah.

Punggok bĕr-kata jikalau bagitu
Tidak-lah hati paksi nan mutu
Punggok bĕr-duli ka muka pintu
Mĕmĕtek kuntum di chĕlah batu.

Lalu bĕr-madah burong chĕntayu
Punggok nan hĕndak rupa-nya layu
Barang main-an tidak-lah payu
Sĕpĕrti dondangan di-puput bayu.

Punggok nan orang yang baik-nya laku
Mĕnjadi heran pula hati-ku
Bulu-nya ĕndah mĕmatah paku[1]
Bagai-kan chuchur ayer mata-ku.

Bĕr-madah bagi bintang tu tuan
Ayohai punggok unggas hartawan
Ayohai punggok jangan mĕrawan
Mangkin bĕr-tambah pĕr-chinta-an tuan.

Bĕr-madah bagi bintang kĕrtika
Khabar nan jangan kakanda buka
Bukan-nya kawan beta ta suka
Jikalau mĕnjadi mala pestaka.

Bĕr-shaër bagi bintang suraya
Kakanda wai dĕngar madah-nya saya
Kita nan sudah bĕr-buat rahsia
Apa mula-nya mĕnjadi bahaya.

Punggok pun sampai kapada bulan
Duduk bĕr-sanding bĕr-bĕtul-an
Tĕrang-lah hati bĕr-tĕmu tuan
Hĕndak mati dua sa-jalan.

Bĕr-adu-lah punggok bulan bangsawan
Bĕbrapa bujok dĕngan chumbu-an
Bulan mĕrapat-i pilu dan rawan
Laksana orang igau-igau-an.

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1. Sing. mĕmatut laku.

Bulan dan punggok bangun mĕrapat
Mĕlĕnggoh kapada suatu tampat
Dalam tirai kĕlambu sĕlimpat
Paras ĕndah tidak tĕr-sifat.

Bangsawan punggok lalu bĕr-kata
Mĕmbujok bulan dĕngan suka-chita
Bulan pun lari ka-balek gĕta
Bĕrlinang-linang ayer-nya mata.

Punggok bĕr-kata manis bĕr-sĕri
Bangsawan wai hampir juga ka-mari
Abang nan minta hĕndak tambar-i[1]
Akan obat dĕndam birahi.

Tuan laksana intan baiduri
Di mata abang tidak tĕr-pĕri
Rindu-nya abang sa-bilang hari
Rĕzĕki di-tĕlan sĕpĕrti duri.

Hampir ka-mari gĕrangan tuan
Akan obat hati yang rawan
Tidur bĕr-malam igau-igau-an
Laksana orang mabok chĕndawan.

Mari-lah tuan mari-lah balai[2]
Supaya hati kakanda lalai
Molek laksana sunting dan malai
Di mata abang tidak tĕr-nilai.

Bĕr-madah bagi burong dewata
Baharu-lah puas rasa-nya anggota
Sampai-lah maksud yang di-chinta
Tuan sudah bĕr-tĕmu mata.

Bintang bĕr-madah bĕr-shaĕr-lah tuan
Supaya hilang hati yang rawan
Punggok itu sahaja orang chumbu-an
Leka mĕmujok dalam pĕr-adu-an.

Punggok mĕmujok dalam kĕlambu
Mĕrisek tĕr-silam dalam kĕtambu[3]
Dĕngan bulan ia bĕr-chumbu
Birahi dĕndam didalam kalbu.

1. تباري = تاواري

2. بالي

3. كتمبو

Bĕrshaër bintang dĕngan chumbu-an-nya
Ghairat mĕndĕngar ragam bahana-nya
Sa-orang pun tidak tolok banding-nya
Tĕr-lalu mĕrdu bahana suara-nya.

Bĕr-madah bulan yang bijaksana
Jangan-lah sangat mĕnghambur bahana
Ji-kalau di-dĕngar oleh gĕrhana
Jadi-lah mĕngeret ka-mana-mana.

Jangan-lah tuan mĕrawan sali
Abang nan hĕndak sigĕra kĕmbali
Jikalau bĕr-tĕmu si rajawali
Marah-nya tidak bĕr-kĕchuali.

Jangan-lah abang mĕrindu sangat
Lĕmas rasa-nya nafsu sĕmangat
Jikalau lupa kurang-kurang ingat
Paksi nan tidak kĕmbali bangat.

Punggok tĕr-sĕnyum mĕnyahut-i
Ayohai tuan yang baik pĕkĕrti
Mahu-kah tuan bela-ku mati
Supaya lama beta bĕr-hĕnti.

Bĕr-shaër bulan dĕngan rawan-nya
Sayang mĕlihat tingkah laku-nya
Karna sangat satiawan-nya
Bĕbrapa lama di-nanti-nanti-nya.

Punggok tĕr-sĕnyum sĕrta mĕnyahut-i
Tuan-ku bela kakanda mati
Adoh gusti emas sa-kati[1]
Hilang ta dapat kakanda ganti.

Hati abang tĕr-lalu gondah
Mĕlainkan mana juga pĕrĕntah
Kakanda sudah di-bawah titah
Tidak-lah mĕlawan barang sa-patah.

Wahai tuan adinda abang
Rindu-ku tidak lagi tĕr-timbang
Tuan laksana payong tĕr-kĕmbang
Tampat bĕr-naung tatkala rĕmbang.

Masa-kan tuan tidak satiawan
Dĕngan kakanda raya bangsawan
Tatkala lagi didalam awan
Sudah tĕr-surat kapada mu tuan.

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1. سكاتي

Ayohai tuan bulan purnama
Mĕjĕlis-lah bela mati bĕr-sama
Jikalau datang suatu kĕrama
Ridza-lah mĕngeret dĕngan utama.

Bulan purnama bĕr-janji sudah
Bĕr-waad dengan paksi yang ĕndah
Sa-kali-an bintang tundok tĕngadah
Tidak-lah ia bĕr-hati gondah.

Bintang mĕndĕngar tĕr-lalu suka
Sa-kali-an-nya ramai sĕnda jĕnaka
Lalu bĕr-kata bintang kĕrtika
Punggok sangat birahi-kan meka.

Di-sahut bintang pari bĕr-pari
Jangan-lah bagi kata-nya diri
Jikalau di-kuis[1] dengan kaki kiri
Tujoh kali beta mĕnari.

Bĕr-shaër pula bintang kĕchura[2]
Beta nan tidak banyak bichara
Jikalau di-ambil akan sudara
Sa-rasa naik ka-atas udara.

Bĕr-shaër pula bintang anjong
Mulut-nya luas kapala lonjong
Laksana kuntum si bunga tanjong
Siapa gĕrangan hĕndak mĕnjunjong.

Di-sahut bintang pĕrada patah
Kita yang bagai orang yang latah
Sĕbab-nya tidak tahu pĕrĕntah
Maka-nya kita jadi bĕr-ĕntah.

Di-sahut bintang puyoh laga
Angkau nan jangan bĕr-ĕntah juga
Rambut-mu merah bagai tĕmbaga
Di-jual tidak ada bĕr-harga.

Punggok mĕndĕngar tĕr-lalu suka
Mĕlihat bintang bĕr-jĕnaka
Sudah-lah nasib untong chĕlaka
Mĕnjadi kaseh sayang ta baka.[3]

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1. دكويس

2. Pad. جوهار Sing. كچور

3. Sing. باك Pad. اڤ

Sa-tĕlah bĕrapa lama sĕlang-nya
Datang-lah chĕlaka dĕngan malang-nya
Daripada tidak pĕr-tĕmu-an-nya
Badan ta lama di-julang-nya.

Jikalau dahulu punggok mĕngerct
Biar-lah beta mĕnunggu jirat
Chinta-nya adek sa-umur hayat
Sudah-lah sampai sĕpĕrti hasrat.

Dĕmi punggok mĕndĕngar bahana
Bĕr-madah sambil mĕrĕnchana
Jikalau beta kĕna bĕnchana
Bulan pun hampir kĕna gĕrhana.

Lalu bĕr-madah bagi-nya bulan
Punggok wahai jangan salah ambil-an
Pakai-lah bĕr-salin pĕm-bĕri bĕr-taulan
Akan bĕkal abang bĕr-jalan.

Punggok mĕnyahut kalbu-nya rawan
Tĕr-sĕnyum manis bujok chumbu-an
Di-sambut-lah kapan[1] dari bangsawan
Akan suloh abang ka awan.

Di-sambut pĕr-salin-nya lalu di-pakai
Tĕpi-nya bĕr-tĕkat awan sa-tangkai
Gĕmĕrlapan pĕrmata sĕmbilan bagai
Di-sambut-an dĕngan sinar-nya jangkai.[2]

Mĕmakai bulang pĕlangi awan
Sĕrta di-ikat pĕr-bĕkal-an
Chantek mĕjĕlis amat ĕndah-an
Patut sa-kali mĕnjadi taulan.

Sudah mĕmakai kurnia duli
Punggok bĕr-mohon lalu kĕmbali
Mĕlayang ka gunong chĕndĕra-muli
Lalu mĕnyisi awan sa-kali.

Saleh tu dĕngan gurau dan sanda
Mĕnyanggul-kan bulang mĕngĕna-kan khanda
Bĕr-tĕmu dĕngan burong gĕroda
Punggok bĕr-diri mĕnggosok dada.

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1. Sing. kain.

2. جڠکي

Di-lihat gĕroda sudah-lah nyata
Pakai-an punggok kurnia mahkota
Tĕpi pĕ-rakam tatah pĕrmata
Ĕndah-nya jangan lagi di-kata.

Sunggoh-lah gĕroda unggas tĕr-nama
Mĕnyambar punggok dĕngan saksama
Mari-lah saleh bĕr-sama-sama
Tidak di-tĕntang rindu yang lama.

Dĕmi punggok mĕndĕngar bahana
Tundok hormat dĕngan sĕmpurna
Gĕroda tu unggas bijaksana
Hati-nya marah gondah gulana.

Dĕngan gĕroda biram gandasuli
Mĕnĕntang punggok tidak-lah khali[1]
Dĕngan geroda punggok bĕr-duli
Sambar[2] dĕngan rajawali.

Saleh bĕr-duli dua di-sambar
Kalbu gĕroda sangat-lah gusar
Hati-nya tidak tĕr-tahan sabar
Kapada burong di-suroh-nya babar.[3]

Di-kĕpong unggas hina dina
Punggok tĕr-kĕjut ka-mana-mana
Punggok bĕr-sikap bagai Arjuna
Sa-orang pun tidak ada yang lina.

Sudah-lah punggok bĕr-sikap diri
Mĕnghunus keris sĕdang-nya kiri
Mĕngusir unggas kanan dan kiri
Ka-sana ka-mari mĕmbawa-kan diri.

Sunggoh-lah punggok muda tĕr-bilang
Bĕrani-nya bukan alang kĕpalang
Didalam sĕnjata silang bĕr-silang
Sĕrta mĕlangkah mĕnyenget-kan bulang.

Patut-lah punggok unggas yang mandja
Tidak sa-kali gĕntar-kan bĕraja[4]
Tatkala bĕr-pĕrang di medan tĕrsĕnja
Sa-orang ta dapat mĕnĕntang durja.

1. خالي
2. Sing. di-sambar.
3 بابر
4. براجا Sing. كرج

Dĕmi di-lihat si raja-wali
Ia-pun sa-ekur unggas tĕr-jali
Mĕnghunus pĕdang mĕmarang sa-kali
Sĕdikit tidak mĕngali-ngali.

Lalu-lah tĕr-sungkur unggas tĕr-ala[1]
Di-parang-nya kĕna tĕngah kapala
Bulang-nya putus bĕr-jela-jela
Di-situ-lah bulu punggok bĕr-chĕla.

Dĕmi punggok mĕrasa-i parang
Bangkit berang bĕr-tambah garang
Bĕr-tĕmu gajah lalu di-parang
Putus gading-nya bagai di-karang.

Sunggoh-pun punggok unggas yang po'ta
Bĕrani-nya tidak mĕndĕrita
Gĕroda nan garang didalam chinta
Di-bawa-nya dĕngan biram pĕrmata.

Di-tĕrpa biram gandasuli
Sĕrta lĕmbing di-tikam sa-kali
Sĕdikit tidak mĕngali-ngali
Punggok tu bĕlum sampai ajali.[2]

Gandasuli bĕr-nama-nya biram
Di-lontar-kan-nya punggok pada jamjam
Di-sĕlam-kan kapada ayer yang jĕram
Baharu-lah punggok durja muram.

Di-sana-lah punggok mĕrasa-i sakit
Di-sĕlam-kan biram ka-bawah rakit
Sungai-nya tohor jamjam-nya lĕkit
Didalam lumpur bĕr-jĕreket.

Ka-dua-nya punggok sudah-lah mengĕrat
Didalam jamjam badan-nya sakĕrat
Di-suroh geroda tarek-kan ka-darat
Sekutu durhaka sangat kafarat.[3]

Di-tarek ka-darat di tĕpi lumpur
Jamjam-nya mĕrĕchek bĕr-sambur-sambur
Badan-nya sĕpĕrti ubur-ubur
Punggok nan tidak kĕ-tahu-an kubor.

1. ترعلا

2. اجالي

3. سكوتو درهک ساغة كفارة

Sa-tĕlah punggok sudah-lah mati
Bulan-nya tinggal mĕrosak-kan hati
Pĕrgi-lah bintang di-suroh-nya lihat-i
Supaya boleh khabar yang pĕsti.

Pĕrgi-lah bintang perada patah
Bĕr-duli sĕpĕrti orang yang latah
Sambil bĕr-jalan ia bĕr-titah
Jikalau khabar ĕntah-bĕr-ĕntah.

Bintang bĕr-duli sambil mĕngĕrling
Di-lihat-nya punggok sudah tĕr-guling
Saleh kĕmbali bulang baling
Mĕmbawa khabar sangat-lah pĕnggĕling.[1]

Dĕmi bulan mĕndĕngar warta
Lĕnggoh bĕr-siram ayer-nya mata
Jikalau di-kabul-kan sĕpĕrti pĕ-minta
Biar-lah bulan mĕngeret sĕrta.

Bĕr-shaër-lah kuntum gandasuli
Bulan wahai jangan mĕrawan sali
Jikalau di-dĕngar si raja-wali
Mĕnjadi tuan mĕngeret sa-kali.

Demi bulan mĕndĕngar bahana
Kalbu-nya bimbang gondah gulana
Chinta didalam antara pĕrmana
Supaya jangan kĕ-lihatan gĕna.[2]

Tĕr-sĕbut-lah punggok muda utama
Mĕngeret karna bulan purnama
Sĕbab-nya bulan jatoh kĕrama
Maka-nya tidak mati bĕr-sama.

Mĕngeret sa-orang tidak bĕr-bela
Sĕbab menurut hati yang gila
Hanchur-lah badan tidak bĕr-sĕla
Rĕmok-lah rĕdam tidak bĕr-kala.

Sabas-lah punggok muda santĕri
Tidak sa-kali gĕntar dan ngĕri
Patut-lah bulan yang di-hampir-i
Mĕnjadi mati sa-orang diri.

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1. ڤڠݢليڠ

2. ڬنا Sing. ليڠا

Ada-pun ka-layu-an punggok nan tuan
Tumboh-lah ia jadi chĕndawan
Mĕnjĕlĕma kapada sifat-nya haiwan
Jadi-lah rupa-nya tidak kĕ-tahu-an.

Jatoh lalu ka-dalam dunia
Hendak naik apa-kan daya
Sifat pun tidak lagi mulia
Jadi-lah hilang budi upaya.

Duduk-lah punggok mĕrawan sali
Rindu-kan bulan tidak-lah khali
Tidak-lah boleh lagi kĕmbali
Ka-atas awan jadi pĕmali.

Duduk-lah punggok bĕr-chinta sayang
Daripada malam sampai-lah siang
Badan-nya kurus tidak tĕr-goyang
Ka udara ta boleh mĕlayang.

Sampai-lah bulan tĕrbit-nya tĕrang
Sa-kali-an punggok mĕninggal-kan sarang
Sampai-lah masa zaman sĕkarang
Turun tĕmurun rindu ta kurang.

Duduk mĕrawan sa-gĕnap kayu
Suara-nya halus mĕn-dayu-dayu
Bĕr-baka saka-nya punggok mĕrayu
Hati-nya pilu tidak tĕr-payu.

Sampai sĕkarang punggok nan morong
Lain daripada sĕgala burong
Duduk mĕrindu sa-gĕnap lorong
Malam tĕrbang siang bĕr-kurong.

Tamat-lah kesah punggok sa-kawan
Purnama rabi-ul-awal pĕr-tĕngah bulan
Dua-puloh ampat hari-nya bulan
Pukul dĕlapan pĕtang sĕnayan.

The "Rĕjang" in Malay Pantuns.

BY H. OVERBECK.

Mr. Skeat* in chap. VI (pp. 551-3) of his "Malay Magic" mentions the "Rĕjangs," the name of the parts, into which, by a curious system, the lunar month is divided. He affirms that " the Malays have embodied this system in a series of mnemonic verses (known as. Sha'er Rĕjang) of which there are several versions. *e.g.* the Rĕjang of 'Che Busu, the "Rĕjang Sindiran Maiat, and others." In a foot-note, reference is made to a "Sha'er Rĕjang" published in Singapore, and a list of the Malay symbols, together with an extract from the Rĕjang of 'Che Busu, is given in the appendix.

I have not yet been able to procure any of the "Sha'ers" referred to above, but I find that the "Rĕjangs" also appear in Malay pantuns, where they seem to be used to form certain series of those much beloved quatrains. I have in my collections of pantuns three of these series, called "Rĕjang Siak," "Rĕjang Sindiran" and "Rĕjang Sombang" (Sambong?) The latter one, in a version only slightly differing from that in my collection, has been published by Messrs. Koh & Co., Singapore, in their little books, Panton, Dondang Sayang, Baba Baba Pranakan (Vol. I 1911, Vol. II 1912).

The "Rĕjang Siak" and the "Rĕjang Sindiran" merely consist of pantuns, the first word of which is the name of the symbol. The first two pantuns of the "Rĕjang Sindiran" run as follows:

Kuda hanoman dari Acheh
Di-pachu lalu ka Indragiri
Tuntut ĕlmu muda yang bisai
Karna ĕlmu kĕnalkan diri.
Kijang mĕngantok di rumpun buloh
Makan kodok di dalam padi
Tuntut ĕlmu bĕrsungoh-sungoh
Karna hidup tunang-nya mati.

Then follow 28 pantuns, the concluding quatrain being

Tigapuloh gĕnap bilangan
Buah masak di-atas meja
Sudah tĕrlĕpas dari timbangan
Sakalian ummat masok shorga.

The "Rĕjang Siak" in my collection is unfortunately not complete. The "Rĕjang Sombang," however, deals with the matter in quite a different way. The first pantun of the version in my collection begins:

"Satu hari bulan rĕjang-nya kuda"

and in the same way the symbols for the different days of the month are given each in a separate pantun. to each of which three, and in my version beginning from the 21st day, four further quatrains are added, all of which mention the symbol of the day in

*W. W. Skeat, Malay Magic, Macmillan & Co., London 1900.

their first line. The version in my collection ends with the first quatrain of the 30th day, whilst that published by Messrs. Koh & Co. has the full set up to the 31st day.

I could not find out anything definite as to the origin of the "Rĕjang Sombang," except that I have been told that it came from Malacca. There seem to be many Javanese words in it, as for instance "lekur" for twenty, and "sa-lawe" (in Koh's version "lima likor") for twenty-five, but the different "hantus" are unknown in Java, as far as I could ascertain, and besides, I was told by a Palembang Malay that "lekur" and "sa-lawe" were the words used in the old style of counting in that part of Sumatra.

I give below a table of the symbols used in the three "Rĕjangs," for comparison with those in Skeat's "Malay Magic."

Day	Skeat's Malay Magic.	Rĕjang Sombang.	Rĕjang Siak.	Rĕjang Sindiran.
1	Kuda	Kuda	Kuda	Kuda
2	Kijang	Kijang	Kijang	Kijang
3	Harimau	Harimau	Harimau	Harimau
4	Kuching	Kuching	Kuching	Kuching
5	Sapi	Simpai	Simpai	Simpai
6	Kĕrbau	Kĕrbau	Kĕrbau	Kĕrbau
7	Tikus	Tikus	Tikus	Tikus
8	Lĕmbu	Lĕmbu	Lĕmbu	Lĕmbu
9	Anjing	Anjing	Anjing	Anjing
10	Naga	Naga	Naga	Naga
11	Kambing	Kumbang	Kambing	Kambing
12	Mayang	Mayang	?	Mayang
13	Gajah	Gajah	Gajah	Gajah
14	Singa	Singa	?	Singa
15	Ikan	Ikan	Ikan	Ikan
16	Babi	Babi	Babi	Babi
17	Lang	Lang	Lang	Lang
18	Halipan	Kala	Halipan	Halipan
19	Baning	Halipan	Baning	Baning
20	Hantu	Pulai	?	Hantu
21	Arang	Hantu	?	Arang
22	Orang	Shaitan	?	Orang
23	Laut	Iblis	?	Belalang
24	Pari	Jin	?	Pari
25	Pasek	Jĕmbalang	?	Pasek
26	Gunong	Tĕnggĕlong	?	Pĕlandok
27	Gula (Kaldei)	Pĕlĕsit	?	Jampok (?)
28	Punai	Polong	?	Landak
29	Daun	Pontianak	?	Ular
30	Sani (?)	Langsuyar	?	Sunti
31	—	Ampat sudara*	—	—

* only Koh's version.

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